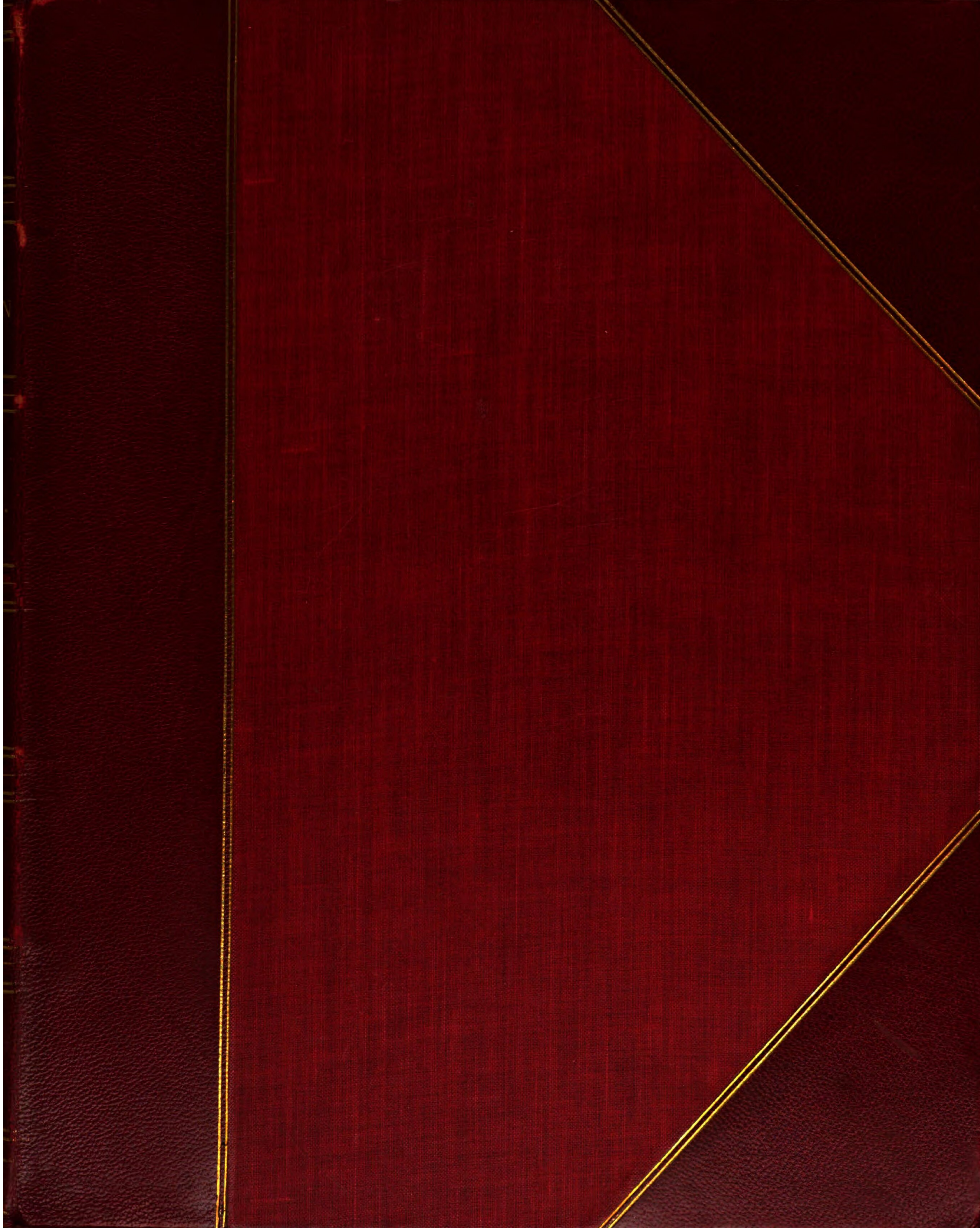
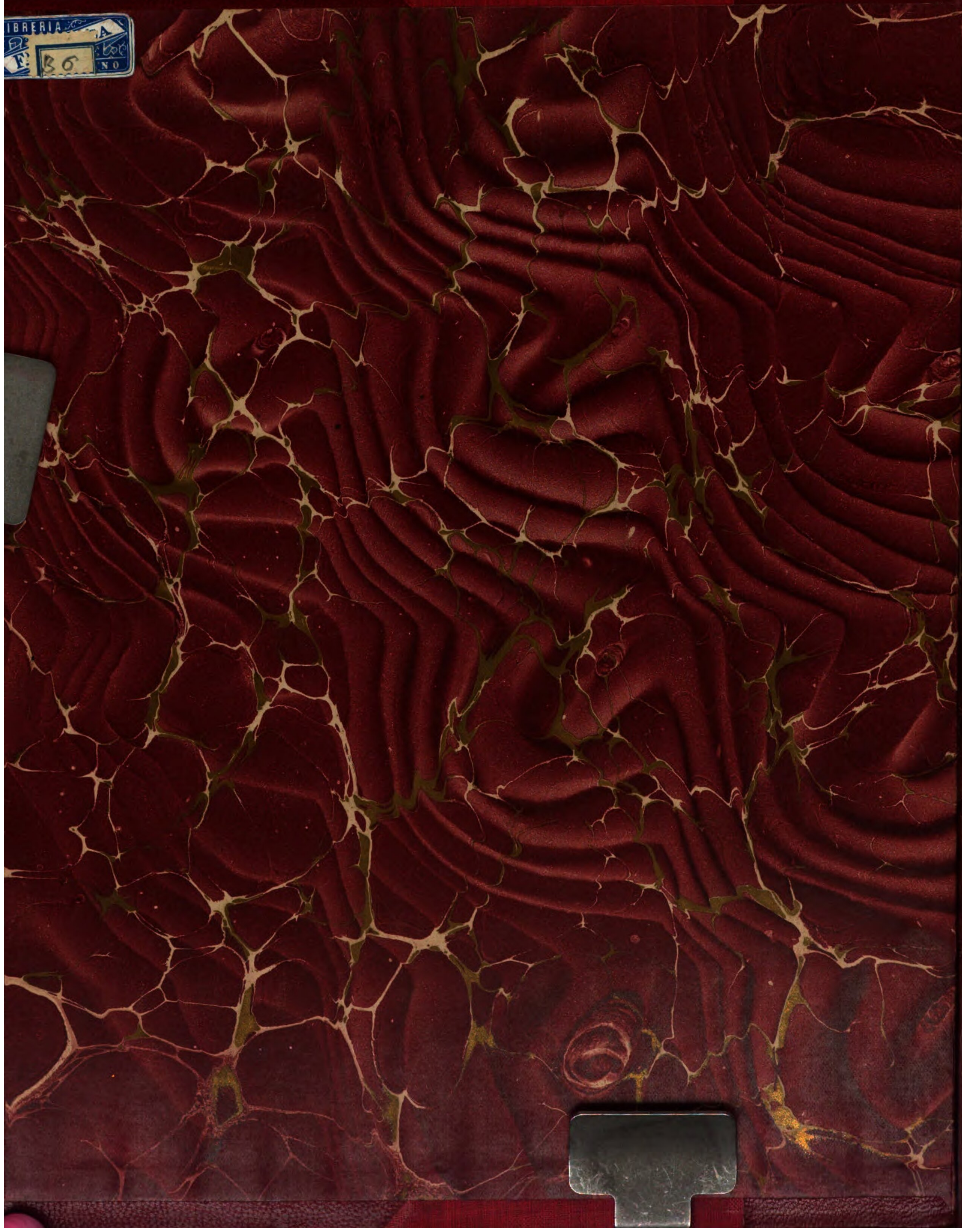






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CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT,
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OF
MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY,
FROM
THE DEATH OF THE ARABIAN LEGISLATOR,
TO THE ACCESSION OF
THE EMPEROR AKBAR,
AND
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE
IN
HINDUSTAN.
FROM ORIGINAL PERSIAN AUTHORITIES.

BY MAJOR DAVID PRICE,
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

Per quas
Crevère vires, famaque et imperi,
Porrecta majestas ad ortum
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.
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1821.

TO
THE READER.

IF, in consigning this, and the preceding volumes, finally, to the protection of a British Public, the Author shall contribute to implant more deeply in the minds of his generous Countrymen, the conviction of that important Truth, that the only sure foundation of NATIONAL HAPPINESS is NATIONAL VIRTUE, and that the best security for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE is NATIONAL RENOWN—to influence them more highly to appreciate the inestimable blessings of a Government by KNOWN and ESTABLISHED LAWS, *impartially administered*, and to cling more devotedly to the institutions, in CHURCH and STATE, transmitted to them by their glorious ancestors—whatever disappointments, in other respects, he may be destined to experience, his labours will, in this assurance alone, have obtained their noblest compensation.

BRECKNOCK,
31st of October, 1820.

TO
THE READER.

It, in consigning this, and the preceding volumes, finally to the protection of a British Public, the Author shall contribute to implant more deeply in the minds of his generous Countrymen, the conviction of that important Truth, that the only sure foundation of NATIONAL HAPPINESS is NATIONAL VIRTUE, and that the best security for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE is NATIONAL RENOWN—to influence them more highly to appreciate the inestimable blessings of a Government by known and established laws, impartially administered, and to cling more devotedly to the institutions, in church and state, transmitted to them by their glorious ancestors—whatever disappointments, in other respects, he may be destined to experience, his labours will, in this assumption alone, have obtained their noblest compensation.

BRACKNOK,
21st of October, 1820.

LIST OF ERRATA.



- Page 71, line 11 from the bottom, *for* distroyed, *read* destroyed.
 82, 17 from ditto, *for* he, *read* the.
 89, 12 from ditto, *for* Shazdah, *read* Shahzâdah.
 120, 11 from the top, *for* erescent, *read* crescent.
 157, the bottom line, *for* be, *read* he.
 183, 17 from the top, *read* he, *before* experienced.
 196, 10 from ditto, *read* with a full stop, instead of a comma, after dominions.
 197, 6 from the bottom, *for* haven, *read* have.
 199, 6 from ditto, *for* afrighted, *read* affrighted.
 248, last line in the notes, *for* cultvated, *read* cultivated.
 353, 10 from the bottom, *for* from, *read* for.
 356, 17 from the top, *for* south, *read* north.
 387, 15 from the bottom, *for* encampent, *read* encampment.
 438, 11 from ditto, omit *be* after *would*.
 476, last line in the notes, *for* 80, *read* 86.

PART II.

- 486, 15 from the top, *for* obnoxioos, *read* obnoxious.
 487, 3 from ditto, *for* solemnny, *read* solemnly.
 558, 7 from ditto, *for* followibg, *read* following.
 567, 6 from ditto, *for* army, *read* troops.
 573, 18 from ditto, *for* effected, *read* affected.
 585, 4 from ditto, *for* order, *read* ordinary.
 592, 4 from the bottom, *for* death Bâber, *read* death of.
 601, 17 from the top, *for* expreas, *read* express.
 608, top line, *for* progreess, *read* progress.
 Do. 19 from the top, *for* distingushed, *read* distinguished.
 636, the bottom line, *for* service, *read* secrecy.
 645, 11 from the top, *for* four fifths, *read* two-fifths.
 692, bottom line, *for* the full stop after victory, should be a comma.
 701, 8 from the bottom, *for* of month, *read* of the month.
 717, 9 from the top, *for* the full stop after brother, a comma.
 728, 13 from the bottom, *for* Mahommedan, *read* Mahommed.
 806, 12 from the top, *for* Homayûm, *read* Homayûn.
 810, 7 from the bottom, *for* cotinued, *read* continued.
 825, in the note, *for* 1450, *read* 1540.
 833, 10 from the top, *for* robbers, *read* robbers.
 850, 8 from the bottom, *for* protractred, *read* protracted.
 876, 10 from the top, *for* satisfaction, *read* satisfaction.
 946, 2 from the bottom, *for* the asterisk, *read* †.
 Do. In the note *for* February, 1566, *read* February, 1556.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

AS the III^d Volume had grown to a magnitude beyond the Author's calculation it was conceived expedient, in order to render it more manageable, to divide it into TWO PARTS; and, accordingly, a centre sheet, that signatured 3 Q, has been cancelled, and so re-printed as to admit of such separation without inconvenience. The title to PART II^d will be found in the concluding sheet of the work, signatured 6 E.

This arrangement became unavoidable, and has been adopted in concurrence with the recommendation of some much esteemed and judicious friends.

N. B. The three sheets from the first 4 R to 4 X have been wrong signatured, the letter U being omitted; but the difficulty will be obviated by a reference to the page.

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of Khodadaud ul Hússeyney. Khaleil Súltan loses the government of Transoxiana, which is then conferred on Olugh Beg. Revolt and death of Sheikh Núr-ud-dein. Notice of an embassy to and from the Emperor of China. Design of Shah Rokh on Azerbáijaun protracted through the refractory conduct of Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh. That prince is besieged in Isfahaun, is taken in an attempt to escape, and finally deprived of sight by his brother Rástum. Hostilities between Olugh Beg and his kinsman Meirek Ahmed. Siege and reduction of Shirauz by Shah Rokh. Return of that prince to Herát, where he rebuilds the citadel of Ekhtiaur ud-dein. The province of Kermaun is subjugated to his authority. He is engaged in an expedition to Kandahaur. Subjugation of Buddukhshaun. The government of Kandahaur, Kabúl, and Gheznein, bestowed upon Mirza Seyúrghetmesh. Extent of the possessions of Shah Rokh at this crisis. He engages in the expedition against Kára Yussuf. Formidable preparations on the part of the latter. Seasonable death of that chief, and consequent dispersion of his army. Subsequent proceedings of Shah Rokh. Observatory at Samarkand erected by Olugh Beg. Obstinate battle at Ateshgúird, between Shah Rokh and the sons of Kára Yussuf. The Shah returns victorious to Herát. Three years of undisturbed tranquillity. Death of Ameir Shah Melek, and of Mirza Seyúrghetmesh. Olugh Beg is defeated by the Khaun of the Ouzbeks. Desperate attempt upon the life of Shah Rokh; terminates in the death of the assassin. Shah Rokh enters Transoxiana; on which the Ouzbeks retire into their own country. Shah Rokh is recalled into Azerbáijaun, to oppose the encroachments of the Turkomauns. Sanguinary conflict with the sons of Kára Yussuf near Selmauss. The Shah returns to his capital. Incursions of the Ouzbeks into Khaurezm. Shah Rokh is again called into Azerbáijaun to repress the usurpations of the Túrkomans. Great mortality at Herát. Jahaun Shah the son of Kára Yussuf finally invested with the government of Azerbáijaun by Shah Rokh. Eskunder the son of Kára Yussuf assassinated by his own son. Increasing infirmities of Shah Rokh, and unbounded influence of his minister Feyrouz Shah. Illness and restoration of the Shah. Death of the minister, and of Mirza Mahommed Jouky. Eminent character of the latter. Premature projects of Mirza Súltan Mahommed, who seizes Isfahaun. Shah Rokh marches to oppose his designs, and he is compelled to retire into Lúrrestaun. The Shah passes the winter [of 1447] at Rey. His last illness and Death. Sketch of his character. - - - - - 485

CHAPTER XI.

Eight Hundred and Fiftieth to the Eight Hundred and Ninety ninth of the Hidjerah.

Proceedings on the death of Shah Rokh. Unworthy treatment of his widow Gouhershaud. Allá ad-doulah ascends the throne at Herát. Abdullutteif is surprised and taken prisoner by the troops of the former; but is released in consequence of a treaty with his father Olugh Beg. Abúl Kaussem Báber obtains possession of Herát. The jealousies between Olugh Beg and his son Abdullutteif terminate in hostilities. While these are carrying on along the banks of the Oxus, Abû Sáeid the grandson of Meiran Shah, makes an attempt to obtain possession of Samarkand, but is prevented by the sudden return of Olugh Beg. The latter is defeated by Abdullutteif, and is refused admission into Samarkand, by his own officers. He is finally murdered through the subornation of Abdullutteif. The latter also perishes by a conspiracy just six months after the assassination of his father. Subsequent proceedings. Sultan Abû Sáeid obtains possession of Samarkand, and preserves it from being pillaged by the Ouzbeks; Allá-ad-doulah again obtains possession of Herát, but is driven into Buddukhshaun, by his brother Báber; is finally seized near Herát, and imprisoned. Hostilities between Mirza Báber and his brother Sultan Mahommed; defeat and death of the latter. Báber obtains possession of Farss; is recalled into Khorassaun, in consequence of the escape of Allá-ad-doulah; his generals expelled from Farss by the Turkomauns. He is recalled from his expedition towards Iràk Ajem, by the approach of Abu Sáeid, who had crossed the Oxus; Mirza Báber subsequently enters Transoxiana, and besieges Abu Sáeid in the metropolis of Samarkand. These hostilities terminate however in a treaty of peace, on which Báber returns to Herát. His officers reduce Seiestaun. He is dismayed by an

accident happening to one of his hawks; takes to drinking, and dies; not without suspicion of poison. Distractions which succeeded to his death. His son Mahommed holds the government for a time; but is expelled from Herat, and defeated in battle by Ibrahim the son of Allâ-ud-doulah. Abu Sâeid from Samarkand now enters Khorassaun, and for a time gets possession of Herat. He puts to death the dowager Gouhershaud; is recalled from Herat by an insurrection in Transoxiana. The Turkomauns enter Khorassaun. Numerous competitors for power at this period in that province. Allâ ud-doulah re-appears at Herat; which he is however compelled to abandon on the approach of Jahaun Shah and the Turkomauns; who are compelled to withdraw in their turn on the advance of Abu Saeid; who takes final possession of Herat; defeats a formidable combination set on foot by the Mirzas Alla-ud-doulah, Ibrahim, &c. Early history of Abulghauzzy Sultan Hûsseyne; who obtains possession of Asterabad. Jealousies between him and Abu Sâeid. Proceedings of the latter. Abulghauzzy is compelled, on his approach, to withdraw into Khaurezm. Attack on Herat defeated by the inhabitants. Death of Alla-ud-doulah. Abu Sâeid is recalled into Transoxiana by intelligence of an insurrection in favor of the son of Abdullûtteif; again constrained to return for the relief of Herat, which had been invested during his absence by Abulghauzzy: the latter again returns into Khaurezm; although the attempts on Khorassaun are repeatedly renewed. Hostilities between Ameir Jahaun Shah the Turkoman, and his son. The former is surprised and killed by Ozûn Hussun; Abu Saeid in consequence determines on the reduction of Azerbaijaun; negociation with Ozûn Hussun; judicious measures of the latter; and distress of Sultan Saeid's army on his arrival on the Araxes; by which the Sultan is finally compelled to retreat. Difficulties attending the retreat; precursory disasters; fruitless attempts at accommodation. The camp of Abû Sâeid is taken possession of by the Turkomauns; and he becomes the prisoner of Ozun Hussun, or Usum Cassan. He is finally put to death in the camp of that prince. Account of his surviving family. Proceedings of Abulghauzzy Sultan Husseyne, who obtains possession of Herat; of all Khorassaun, and finally of Mazanderaun. He is however attacked by Yadgaur Mahommed, supported by the troops of Ozun Hussun; and for some time dispossessed in consequence of the defection of his army. Mirza Yadgaur accordingly occupies Herat. The misconduct of this prince, and of the Turkomauns, nevertheless, enables Abulghauzzy to attack and recover that capital. Capture and death of Mirza Yadgaur; and permanent establishment of the authority of Ahulghauzzy. Sketch of a description of Herat as given by Khondeimeir. - - - 566

CHAPTER XII.

Eight Hundred and tenth to the Nine Hundred and Forty third of the Hidjerah.

The history recedes to the death of Meiran Shah, in the 810th of the hidjerah, in order to trace to its origin the Hindo-Teymurian line; which commences with Sultan Mahommed Mirza, the sixth son of that prince, descending through Sûltan Abû Sâeid. Sûltan Omar Sheikh—who perishes by the fall of a bridge over one of the branches of the Seyhûn, at Aukseiket, in Ferghaunah. His estimable character. Situation and limits of Ferghaunah. Accession of Mahommed Bâber the son of Omar Sheikh, 1st of the house of Teymur, who reigned in Hindustaun—His successful defence of his hereditary possessions. Reasons on which, however, he was induced to abandon them, and try his fortune in the south of Asia. He reduces Kabul. Great earthquake at that place. Bâber is invited into Khorassaun to assist his relatives against the Ouzbeks. On his return from that province he is informed of an insurrection at Kabul against his authority; which he suppresses with singular promptitude. He reduces Kandahaur; obtains possession of Samarkand; which, nevertheless, he is finally compelled to abandon to the Ouzbeks. He turns his views towards the conquest of Hindustaun. His first expedition to that quarter. Second expedition. Third, in which he crosses the Indus, in the vicinity of Kohjoud. Of the fourth expedition the date uncertain. Fifth and final expedition. He crosses the Indus with not more than twelve thousand horse. After some partial engagements he reaches Pânipet; gains a great victory at that place over Sultan Ibrahim Lôdy, who is killed in the battle. Bâber enters Dehly and proceeds to Agrah. His

profuse liberality, and precarious situation. Discontents among his troops. His exhortations and magnanimous resolution; at last supported by that of his principal officers. His measures to suppress the refractory designs of the native chiefs. Successful expedition towards Sumbul and Jounpour, under prince Homayûn, Submission of Gwalior, Beiaunah, and other places. Bâber marches toward Beiaunah to oppose the power of Rana Sankah. Great force of that chieftain. Battle, and signal victory obtained over him, at Khanwah. Further proceedings of Baber. Reduction of Tchendeiry. Death of Rana Sankah. Movements of the Afghans on the Ganges. Bâber's successful operations in that direction. Unexpected return of Homayûn from Buddukhshaun; which is attacked without success by the Khaun of Yaurkend. Mirza Sâliman appointed to the government of Buddukhshaun. Parental affection, and declining health of Bâber. He arranges the succession in favor of Homayûn, and dies. His elegant attainments and great ability. Surviving family. Accession of Homayûn, 11d of the house of Teymur, in Hindûstaun [5th of March 1508]. His liberal conduct towards his brothers. Treaty with Sheir Khaun the Afghan. Further proceedings. Duplicity and disloyal designs of Mirza Kamraun, who contrives to seize on Lahour; confirmed in his usurpations by the generosity of Homayûn. Misunderstanding between the latter and Sûltan Bahauder of Gûjerat. Correspondence between those monarchs, on the subject of Allâ-ud-dein Lody, and the other refugees. Tâtar Khaun Lody is defeated by the troops of Homayûn. The latter determines on the subjugation of Gûjerât, and marches to Oujein. Capture of Tcheitour by Sultan Bahauder, who proceeds to oppose Homayûn; against whom he secures himself, however, in an entrenched camp. He becomes terrified and abandons his camp in the night. His army disperse, and his camp is taken possession of by the troops of Homayûn. Siege and surprise of Mandou, from whence the Sultan escapes with difficulty to Tchampaneir. From thence he is pursued by Homayun to Kambay; but he finally escapes to the Portuguese settlement at Diu. Mirza Kamraun defeats the Persians before Kandahaur. The Bheils attempt to surprise Homayun, near Kambay, but are foiled. That monarch returns to prosecute the siege of Tchampaneir; of which he succeeds in making himself master by a perilous escalade. He omits to take possession of that part of Gûjerat northwest of the river Mehandery; which is in consequence, with Ahmedabad, re-occupied by the officers of Sultan Bahauder. An act of severity unusual with Homayun, exercised at Tchampaneir. The troops of Gujerat are defeated by the officers of Homayûn, on his march to Ahmedabad. He subsequently enters that city. He is suddenly recalled from thence by intelligence of disturbances in Malwah, as well as in other parts of the empire. He fixes the seat of government at Mandou. In consequence of mismanagement among the Moghûl officers in Gûjerat, Sultan Bahauder regains possession of the country, and entirely expels the troops of Homayun. Disloyal designs of his perfidious relatives, disconcerted in the first instance by that prince; who is, nevertheless, constrained to return towards Agrah. Transactions in Gujerat on the restoration of Sultan Bahauder; who is destroyed on his return from a visit to the Portuguese viceroy, on board his squadron, at Diu. Contradictory statements on the subject. Short lived sovereignty of Mahommed Zemman Mirza. Tranquillity restored at Agrah, on the return of Homayun. - - - - - 658

CHAPTER XIII.

Nine Hundred and Forty Third to the Nine Hundred and Fiftieth of the Hidjerah.

Homayûn is prevented from resuming his designs on Gûjerat by the hostile movements of Sheir Khaun the Afghan. Sketch of the origin, and early history, of that celebrated chief; against whom the arms of the Moghul monarch are now directed. Consequent siege and reduction of Tchunar. Contrary to the advice of his officers. Homayun determines on entering Bengal in the rainy season. One of his detachments surprised and defeated near Guhrry, by the troops of Sheir Khaun. He finally obtains possession of Bengal. On the other hand, Sheir Khaun, by a perfidious stratagem, makes himself master of Rohtass. Unaccountable supineness of Homayun, and his generals in Bengal. The Afghan takes possession of Banares, and lays siege to Jounpour. Suspicious proceedings of Mirza Hindal at Agrah; who is joined by some discontented Ameirs from the army in

Bengal; by whom he is persuaded to put to death the agent of Hodayun, and to usurp the royal authority. Anticipated in his design on Dehly by the activity of Yadgaur Nausser, he is compelled to raise the siege of that city by the approach of Mirza Kamraun from Lahour. He submits to that prince, and the whole now unite, professedly, to oppose the growing power of Sheir Khaun. Disgraceful absorption of Hodayun and his officers, in Bengal; from which, being at length awakened, he marches from that province, on his return to Agrah. Proceedings of the Afghan, who selects a position to harass the rear of Hodayun; whom he compels to suspend his march; finally attacks by surprise, and totally defeats at Yossah. Hodayun narrowly escapes being drowned, but makes good his retreat to Agrah. Sheir Khaun resumes possession of Bengal, and extends his usurpations westward. Hodayun prepares to avenge his losses. Refractory and impolitic behavior of his brother Kamraun. Arguments of Hodayun to check the contagion of his example. Incidental reflections. Hodayun marches once more against the Afghans. He is frustrated in his attempt to cross the Ganges. Desertion of some of his most distinguished followers; by which he is compelled to pass the river, in order to give battle to the enemy. His unfortunate choice of an encampment. Sheir Khaun accepts of his offer of battle, and gives him another signal discomfiture. Reflections of the author. Hodayun, with some difficulty, escapes once more across the Ganges; reaches Agrah in safety; determines on retiring into Punjaub for the present, and makes good his retreat to Lahour; where he is, in a short time, rejoined by all his brothers. Various plans recommended. Short sighted and perfidious policy of Mirza Kamraun, who dispatches secret proposals to the Afghan. In consequence of which the latter is encouraged to enter Punjaub. On this Hodayun and the Teymûrians retire towards the Tchûnaub, and finally to the Indus. Projects of Mirza Heyder for the reduction of Kashmeir. Hodayun is successively abandoned by his brothers, and most of his principal generals; and retreats towards Bukkur. Various transactions in the neighborhood of that place; the blockade of which he consigns to Yadgaur Nausser, and from thence proceeds down the Indus towards Sehwaun, of which he forms the siege. Proceedings of Yadgaur Nausser; who suffers himself to be seduced from his allegiance by the prince of Tattah. Hodayun is constrained, by accumulating disappointments, to relinquish the siege of Sehwaun, and return towards the upper Indus. Adopts the resolution of repairing to the territory of Maldeu, Râjah of Joudehpour. On his march being, however, forewarned of some intended treachery, he turns back towards Jesselmeir; after escaping considerable danger from an attack of the hostile Rajah's troops, he reaches the latter place in safety. From thence he proceeds to Amerkôte. Birth of AKBAR. Hodayun returns to the banks of the Indus. Hostilities with the natives in the neighborhood of Jown. He is rejoined by Beyram Khaun, some account of that officer's escape from the power of Sheir Khaun, singular occurrences related of the infancy of Akbar. Hodayun enters into an accommodation with the prince of Tattah; crosses the Indus and proceeds towards Kandahaur; but is finally constrained to direct his flight into Seiestaun. Circumstances which produced that necessity. Mirza Asskery obtains possession of his camp, together with the person of the infant Akbar; who is finally lodged in the castle of Kandahaur. Sketch of the proceedings of Sheir Khaun, subsequent to the expulsion of Hodayun. Death of that celebrated adventurer. Proceedings of Mirza Heyder, who obtains possession of Kashmeir; his sometime prosperous government; and final assassination by the native chiefs. Proceedings of Mirza Kamraun, who establishes himself at Kabûl; obtains nominal possession of Buddukhshaun; reduces Kandahaur, of which he retains the government until the return of Hodayun. Proceedings of Mirza Hindal, and lastly of Yadgaur Nausser; the latter of whom, after separating from the prince of Tattah, is permitted to attach himself to Mirza Kamraun at Kabûl. Disastrous fate of the escort employed to convey his wife, the daughter of Bâber, from the territory of Tattah to Kandahaur, and death of the princess.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Nine Hundred and Fiftieth to the Nine Hundred and Sixty first of the Hidjerah.

Hodayun accomplishes his retreat through Gurrumseyr into Seiestaun; from thence dispatches to demand the protection of Shah Tahmasp, from whom he receives an invita-

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tion to the court of Persia. He proceeds to Herât, and finally to the camp of the Persian monarch, between Sùltauniah and Ebher. His distinguished reception by, and transactions with Shah Tahmasp. A division of twelve thousand horse destined to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. He takes leave of the Persian court; returns into Seistaun. Young Akbar is removed from Kandahaur to Kabul, on intelligence of the approach of Hodayun. Reduction of Bost by the Persian auxiliaries. The troops of Hodayun receive a severe check before Kandahaur. He encamps in person before that place. Beyram Khaun is dispatched with proposals of accommodation to Mirza Kamraun, at Kabûl. Progress of the siege, and final surrender of Kandahaur. Proceedings of Mirza Kamraun, who is successively deserted by most of his relatives. Misconduct of the Persian auxiliaries, who are in consequence dispossessed of Kandahaur, by a stratagem. Hodayun marches towards Kabul. Flight of Mirza Kamraun, and reduction of that city. Minor transactions. Final imprisonment and execution of Yadgaur Nausser. Hodayun proceeds into, and reduces the greater part of Buddukhshaun. His dangerous illness and recovery. Mirza Kamraun repossesses himself of Kabul, and of the person of young Akbar. Hodayun hastens to his relief. Contrary to the opinion of his followers, he attacks, and obtains possession of the suburbs of Kabûl. Further proceedings, and mutual enormities. Kamraun secretly withdraws from Kabul, and escapes into Buddukhshaun; of which he obtains possession through the assistance of the Ouzbeks. Hodayun is again deserted by many of his principal Ameirs; again marches into Buddukhshaun. He invests the fortress of Taulekan, which is finally surrendered to him by Kamraun. The latter becomes reconciled to his imperial brother. Notice of a silver mine in the neighborhood of Perrian. Hodayun returns to Kabul; again re-enters Buddukhshaun, and proceeds against the Ouzbeks of Balkh. Successful opening of the campaign rendered useless by delay. After advancing to the neighborhood of Balkh, he is constrained, by the remonstrances of his Ameirs, to retreat. He is pursued by the Ouzbeks, and exposed to great hazards; but finally effects his retreat to Kabul. Peir Mahommed the Ouzbek's generous treatment of his prisoners. Proceedings of Mirza Kamraun; who is invited to Kabul by the treacherous Ameirs of Hodayun's court. He defeats that monarch, who again withdraws into Buddukhshaun. Abstract of further events derived from Dow's history.

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CHAPTER XV.

Nine Hundred and Sixty first to the Nine Hundred and Sixty third of the Hidjerah.

Reference to the successors of Sheir Shah. Origin and elevation of Himmâ. Hodayun prepares for the recovery of Hindûstaun—arrives on the Indus—enters Lahour. Beyram Khaun crosses the Setleje, and is besieged in Sehrind by Sekunder Sour the Afghan. Hodayun marches to his relief, and obtains a decisive victory over Sekunder and the Afghans. He proceeds to Samaunah—receives intelligence that his officers were in possession of Dehly—prosecutes his march, and finally re-establishes his authority in that metropolis. Subordinate occurrences. Young Akbar is appointed to the government of the Punjaub. Sketch of some singular court arrangements instituted by Hodayun—concluding circumstances of the life of that monarch. He suffers from the effects of a dangerous fall, in consequence of which he expires a few days afterwards. Proceedings on his death, and final accession of Akbar. Conclusion of the work.

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УЧ. РАТНИКЪ

CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

Mahommedan History,

&c.

CHAP. I.

IN the distribution of his vast dominions made, at his death, by the otherwise invincible *Jengueiz*, the territory of *Mawur-un-neher*, lying between the rivers *Seyhûn* and *Oxus*, together with the country of the *Eyghûrs* and of *Kashghâr*, *Badakhshaun*, and *Bâlkh*, was allotted, as formerly shewn, to his second son, *Tcheghatâi Khaun*; who is represented to have surpassed his brothers in the subtilties of legislative and political skill, not less than he was distinguished for his austere and inflexible temper. Notwithstanding this character for superior sagacity, he was, however, consigned by his father, on the close of his eventful career, to the tutelage of the able and experienced *Kâratchaur Nûyan*, the fifth ancestor of *Teymûr*; without the concurrence of whose sage and prudent counsels, he accordingly neither planned nor executed any measure of importance to his government. Of this, on the death of *Jengueiz*, he fixed the seat at *Peish-bâlegh*; residing however, for the most part in his own person, at the court of his younger brother *Ougtâi*. And, hence, the immediate superintendence of the territories allotted to his share appears to have been in general committed to *Kâratchaur*.

A. H. 624-30.

A. D. 1227-32.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Proportion of the conquests of *Jengueiz* assigned to *Tcheghatâi*.

The transactions of the reign of *Tcheghatâi* are confined by the author to a single occurrence; which he, however, considers among the

A. H. 624-30. most singularly extraordinary of a period full of extraordinary events.
 A. D. 1227-32.

Kholaussut-
 ul-akhbaur

A person under the auspicious name of Mahmûd, made his appearance at Taraub, an obscure village about three farsangs from Bokhâra; and having by various impostures drawn together a multitude of disciples from among the lower orders of the inhabitants of the surrounding territory, succeeded at last, some time during the six hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah, in expelling the governor on the part of Tcheghatâi, who fled with all the officers attached to his authority, and in rendering himself master of that city. The insurgent then assuming the government of Bokhâra in his own name, proceeded to put to death many of the most distinguished citizens; and, unfortunately, giving power to the lawless and licentious banditti who had flocked to his standard, these, in their turn, proceeded to indulge in every species of violence and outrage, entering without restraint the dwellings of the wealthier classes, and seizing their property at will.

In the mean time, the fugitive governor, and the Tchegatâian Ameirs, having assembled a sufficient force, returned towards Bokhâra; but the Taraubian hastening to give them battle, at the head of a formidable multitude, the Moghûls were so completely subdued by an impression of awe which had possessed their minds, with respect to the power of this supposed magician's incantations, that not one of them could be prevailed upon to advance a step to the attack. An arrow from an unknown and accidental hand, however, reached the impostor, and put a period to his existence; although, amidst the enormous cloud of dust occasioned by the movement of the hostile squadrons, the circumstance remained undiscovered to his followers. While the Moghûls, ascribing the same cloud to the spells of the inchanter, abandoned the field in the utmost consternation, closely pursued by their adversaries, by whom they were put to the sword to the number of ten thousand men. When the victors returned to their station, and discovered that their chief had fallen, they circulated that he had voluntarily withdrawn himself (perhaps miraculously) from among them; and they proceeded without further deliberation to nominate his two brothers, Mahommed and Ally, to succeed to his authority.

This success on their part, was however not destined to produce

any permanent result. An account of their proceedings had by this time reached the knowledge of Ameir Kâratchaur, who administered, as already observed, the affairs of his kingdom in the name of Tcheghatâi; and Eyldûz Nûyan, and Tchekein Kourtchei, two commanders of distinction in the monarchy, were immediately employed by that minister to terminate the rebellion. The two generals appeared soon afterwards in the territory of Bokhâra at the head of a numerous army; and having speedily closed their account with the brothers of the Taraubian, by the total destruction of the party, they were preparing to exhibit the ordinary spectacle of plunder and slaughter, when the principal inhabitants of Bokhâra adventured to implore that they would suspend their vindictive designs, until such time as a representation of their wretched condition should have been laid before Kâratchaur; on whose final determination they expressed their willingness to rest their fate. The Ameirs, with a placability not frequently exhibited in the Moghûl character, yielded to these intreaties; and the prayer of the Bokharians being conveyed to Kâratchaur, that illustrious chief immediately struck his pen through the record of their offences; and dispatching a mandate in the name of his sovereign, to restrain the Tcheghataians from further pillage and the effusion of blood, the people of Bokhâra were thus at once relieved from the cruelties inflicted upon them by the Taraubians, and from the impending vengeance of the Moghûl troops.

A. H. 630-38.
A. D. 1232-41.
Khol-ussut-
ul-akhbaur.

The death of Tcheghatâi Khaun is stated to have taken place during the month of Zilkadah of the six hundred and thirty eighth of the hidjerah;* and of his successors in the dominions of Tûraun, or western Tartary, thirty in number, either immediately descended from himself, or collaterally from his nearest relatives, we are constrained to limit our account to the following enumeration, as briefly furnished by the author.

Death of Tchegha-
tâi Khaun.

I. Beissoumenka, the son of Tcheghatâi. II. Kâra Hâlaukû, the son of Beissoumenka; who is represented to have been indebted for his elevation, to the zeal and activity of Kâratchaur. And it was during the reign of this prince, some time in the six hundred and

* June A. D. 1241.

A. H. 652-730.
A. D. 1254 1330.

Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur.

Summary enu-
meration of his
successors.

fifty second of the hidjerah,* and at the advanced age of eighty nine, that the veteran and illustrious statesman just mentioned, was removed to a state of more permanent existence. III. Erghanah Khauntûn, the daughter of Noureiltchei Gûrekan. She was the widow of Kâra Hûlaukû, by whom she had a son of the name of Mûbaurek Shah; during whose minority, on the death of her husband, she undertook to exercise the functions of sovereign power. IVth Nalyghoua the son of Bâidaur, the son of Tcheghatâi. This prince is more frequently distinguished among historians, by the name of Alghoua, and Alghû; is represented as a warlike monarch; and had for his lieutenant-general Enjil Nûyan the son of Kâratchaur. Vth Mûbaurek Shah, the son of Kâra Hûlaukû; who was elevated to the sovereign power, on the death of Nalyghoua, through the influence and exertions of the same Enjil Nûyan. VIth Berauk Khaun, the son of Beissountoua, the son of Metoukan, or Menouka. This monarch was the same that invaded Khorassaun, in the time of Abaka Khaun; but embracing the Mahommedan religion, on his return to Bokhâra, after his discomfiture by that prince, he assumed the title of Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein. He died towards the close of the six hundred and sixty eighth of the hidjerah.† VIIth Neikpey, the son of Sarman or Saryan, the son of Tcheghatai. VIIIth Bouka Teymûr, the son of Kedaâi, son of Boury, son of Metoukan, or Menouka. IXth Dowaus, or Dowa Khaun, the son of Berauk Khaun; a just and puissant prince, under whom the authority of Ameir-ul-ûmra or Captain general, was vested in Eylengueir the son of Enjil Nûyan. Xth Kounjek Khaun, the son of Dowaus Khaun. XIth Nalyghoua the son of Kedaâi, and brother of Bouka Teymûr. XIIth Abeisouka the son Dowaus Khaun. XIIIth Kebeik, or Kepek Khaun. He is described to have been a just and virtuous prince, and to have rebuilt the city of Balkh. XIVth Eiltchigâdâi, or Eiltchikedâi Khaun, the son of Dowaus Khaun. XVth Dawa Teymûr Khaun the son of Dowaus Khaun. XVIth, Termahsherin Khaun the son of Dowaus Khaun. He is said to have been a monarch whose actions

* A. D. 1254, so that he appears to have survived his puissant master, for a period of about six and twenty years.

† A. D. 1270.

were governed by a love of justice; and he was the same that led an army into Hindûstaun, and made considerable conquests in that quarter, between the seven hundred and twenty fourth, and the seven hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah. In the seven hundred and twenty fifth, we have already seen that his troops were, however, defeated in the neighborhood of Gheznein, by Sheikh Hussun the son of Tchobaun, during the reign of Abû Sâeid. XVIIth, Jenkeshei, the son of Aboukan, and grandson of Dowaus Khaun. XVIIIth, Beissou Teymûr the son of Aboukan, who put his brother Jenkeshei to death, and usurped his throne. He is described to have been affected with insanity, and to have cut off the breasts of his own mother; because, as he alleged, she had stimulated him to the recent acts of blood and violence, of which he had been guilty towards an injured brother. XIXth, Ally Sûltan of the race of Ougtâi Kaân possessed himself of the sovereign authority by force, after subverting the power of the Tcheghataïan line. XXth, Mahommed Khaun, the son of Pûlaud, the son of Kounjek Khaun. In him the race of Tcheghataï appears to have been restored. XXIst, Kuzzun, or Kazzan Sûltan the son of Beissour Oghlan, descended from Metouka or Menouka. He became the successor to the throne of Tcheghataï, some time in the seven hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah.* Under the reign of this monarch is to be recorded the birth of *Teymûr*; and it was while he exercised the supreme authority, that Ameir Kuzghun, or Kazghan, or Cazagan, obtained his predominance over the race of Tcheghataï; an event which is cursorily described in the following summary.

Having rendered himself extremely odious by his haughty and arrogant demeanor, but more particularly by the frequent executions which he caused to take place among the most distinguished chiefs of the monarchy, the survivors, including many of the race of Tcheghataï, at last entered into a confederacy with Ameir Kuzghun, already one of the most powerful men in Transoxiana, to subvert the authority of Kazan Sûltan. When their resolutions had been finally taken, Ameir Kuzghun proceeded to assemble the troops of the confederacy at Sauliserâi, a town which is described to lie somewhere

A. H. 730-46.

A. D. 1330-45.

Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur.

* A. D. 1332-33.

A. H. 746-60.
A. D. 1345-58.

Kholaussut-
ul akhbaur.

on the Jeyhûn above Termed. But, receiving early intelligence of the designs which were in agitation, the Sûltan hastened in good time to anticipate the danger; and, in the course of the seven hundred and forty sixth of the hidjerah,* he was met, on the plains adjoining to the village of Derrehzengui, by Ameir Kuzghun at the head of the insurgent nobility. In the battle which immediately ensued the general of the insurgents being wounded in the eye by an arrow, they suffered a serious discomfiture, and the Sûltan returned in triumph to Karshy—the city of Nakhshheb, said to be so denominated from a palace there erected by Kepeik Khaun, the thirteenth monarch of his race. The greater part of the Sûltan's cattle of every description, having, however, perished, through the severity of the succeeding winter, his distress became known to Ameir Kuzghun; who hastened to take advantage of his situation, and to try the issue of another conflict. The insurgents were finally victorious, and Kazan Sûltan was killed in the second action. Ameir Kuzghun is described to have used his victory with moderation; to have withheld his troops from plunder, and from the unnecessary effusion of blood; and to have treated the family of the fallen monarch with kindness and humanity.

XXIId, Daneshmundjeh Khaun, another descendant from Ougtâi, was now raised to the sovereign power by Ameir Kuzghun; and at the expiration of two years, with equal facility put to death by the author of his elevation. XXIIId, Beyan Kûly Khaun, the son of Sourghedou, the son of Dowaus Khaun, in whom we find the line of Tcheghatai once more restored, was next invested with the titular sovereignty by Ameir Kuzghun; after which this minister applied himself without interruption, and with exemplary zeal, and unabating diligence, to rectify the disorders of the country—to diffuse to the people the inestimable advantages of a just and benevolent government—and to secure the hearts of all classes of men by numberless proofs of his bounty and liberality. This able and beneficent chief was assassinated, nevertheless, in the course of the seven hundred and sixtieth of the hidjerah,† while on a hunting party, by a person of the name of Kutluk Teymûr, the husband of his sister; from a long smothered spirit of revenge which he entertained against his

* A. D. 1345.

† A. D. 1358.

brother in law. The assassin fled towards Kûndez, in Tokharestaun; but being immediately pursued, he was there overtaken and hacked to pieces by the relatives of the deceased. Ameir Kuzghun was succeeded in his power by his son Abdullah, who fixed the seat of government at Samarkand; and having contracted an adulterous passion for the wife of his sovereign, he proceeded to put the unfortunate monarch to death, and to substitute another pageant in his room. XXIVth, Teymûr Shah, the son of Beissour Teymûr, the son of Aboukan, was the person chosen on this occasion by the regent Abdullah, to sustain the degraded semblance of royal authority. But, Ameir Beyan Seldûz associating with Ameir Hadjy Berlas, a descendant from Yessoumenka the son of Karatchaur, in a design to subvert this obnoxious system of double government, Ameir Abdullah and the pageant of his selection, were soon afterwards attacked by the confederated Ameirs; and both falling in battle, the country of Mawur-un-nehr was taken possession of in full sovereignty, by Ameir Beyan Seldûz. This prince being, however, of a mild and indolent disposition, entirely devoted to his pleasures, but more particularly to an intemperate indulgence in wine, the whole country was suffered to decline into a state of alienation and anarchy. Thus, in every city, aspiring individuals were permitted at will to usurp the governing power, and to invest themselves without restraint with all the functions of the neglected authority. Among others Ameir Hadjy Berlas, asserted his independence at Kesh; while the same was done at Khojend, by Ameir Bayezid Jellâeir; at Balkh by Ouljai Bougha Seldûz; and at Shebreghaun, by Mahommed Khaujah Abredy, or Aperdy. At the same time, Ameir Hûsseyne the son of Mûsella, and grandson of Ameir Kuzghun, at the head of a numerous body of followers whom he had attached to his fortunes, harrassed the whole country in different directions with incessant alarms;* and Ameir Khezzer, or Kheder, Yessoury, maintained himself on his part, without bending to the authority of any of the surrounding powers.

XXVth, Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun, the son of Aeil, or Aymil Khaujah, the son of Dowaus Khaun. This monarch had succeeded to the sovereign authority in the region of Jettah, or of the Getæ,

* According to the younger de la Croix in his history of Teymûr, Hûsseyne was in possession of Kabûl.

A. H. 760

A. D. 1358

Kholaussvt-
ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 760-65. north-east of the Seyhûn; which appears to have been, about this
 A. D. 1360 64. time, separated from the other dominions of the Tcheghataian mon-
 Kholaussut- archy. Apprized however of the distractions which prevailed in
 ul-akhbaur. Mawur-un neher, he marched his armies, in the course of the seven
 hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,† to the frontiers of that pro-
 vince; and succeeded in reducing the greater part of the turbulent A-
 meirs, to acknowledge his authority: after which he withdrew in tri-
 umph from the banks of the Seyhûn, into his own country. But, the
 Ameirs of Transoxiana falling again into dissensions and animosities
 among themselves on the departure of the Khaun, the country became,
 as before, a prey to the mischiefs of anarchy and civil strife. Hence,
 in the course of the year seven hundred and sixty three.‡ Toghlu̇k Tey-
 mûr Khaun again entered Mawur-un-nehr in person with his armies;
 and having put the Ameirs Bayezzid Jellaeir, and Beyan Seldûz to
 death, proceeded to invest his own son Eleias Khaujah with the so-
 vereignty of the province; after which he finally withdrew across the
 Seyhûn, into his hereditary dominions. XXVIth, Eleias Khaujah
 Khaun, the son of Toghlu̇k Teymûr, after holding a precarious govern-
 ment over Transoxiana, for about two years, was finally expelled the
 country, in the course of the seven hundred and sixty fifth of the
 hidjerah,§ by Ameir Hûsseyne, the grandson of Ameir Kuzghun,
 formerly mentioned, assisted by the united gallantry and skill of the
 immortal Teymûr, now in the prime of manhood. Eleias Khaujah
 was killed in his flight towards his father's dominions, by Kummur-
 ud-dein Doughlaut. XXVIIth, Aadel Sûltan, the son of Mahom-
 med Pûlaud, the son of Kounjek Khaun; an ephemeral raised to the
 throne by Ameir Hûsseyne, and in consequence of some indica-
 tions of a hostile tendency, drowned in the river of Jeska at the ex-
 piration of a few days, by direction of the same chief. XXVIIIth,
 Kaboul Sûltan, the son of Dourtchei, son of Eiltchigadâi, was placed
 on the throne by Ameir Hûsseyne, on making away with his prede-
 cessor. XXIXth, Seyûrghetmesh, the son of Daneshmundjeh Khaun,
 was indebted for his nominal elevation, to Teymûr himself now be-
 come irresistible in the Tcheghataian territory. XXXth, Sûltan Mah-
 mûd Khaun, the son of Seyûrghetmesh, whose name, on the death of

† A. D. 1360.

‡ A. D. 1362.

§ A. D. 1364.

his father, Teymûr, from a pretended and specious respect for the institutions of his ancestors, caused to be exhibited at the head of the mandates of government.

A. H. 765-71.
A. D. 1364-70.
Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur.

It is here finally stated that the names and number of the Tcheghatâian princes who enjoyed this pageant sovereignty to the time of the author, being but very imperfectly known, he thought it expedient to confine his account to the above summary, expressly framed from a treatise on the subject of the four cardinal tribes, composed by Mirza Olûgh Beg the son of Shah Rokh. The narrative will now be employed to describe, more at large, the events which have rendered the life of Teymûr so extensively memorable in the history of nations.

The descent of this celebrated conqueror, then, is regularly traced by our author through the following ancestry ; *Ameir Teymûr*, the son of Turaghâi, the son of Berkil, the son of Eylengueir, the son of Enjil, the son of Karatchaur Nûyan, the son of Soghûtchein, the son of Eirdemtchei Berlas, the son of *Katchûly* Bahauder, son of Tournah Khaun ; in whom, as will formerly have been observed, it merges in one common stock with that of *Jengueiz*.

Of Ameir Berkil* it is briefly observed, that he was a man of retired habits, fond of the peaceful enjoyments of life ; and who, voluntarily relinquishing his hereditary command of the armies of the Tcheghatâian monarchy, fixed his residence in the city of Kesh, to which beyond all other places in the world, he declared his preference. But Ameir Turaghâi, the father of Teymûr, was a man of more active benevolence, of distinguished piety and virtue, and of a liberality which knew no bounds. Much of his attention was, at the same time, devoted to the society of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kellaul, perhaps Gûlail, a noted Peir, or religious oracle of that age ; with whom, and with several other individuals of the same character, either distinguished for their blameless lives, or for their total disregard of sublunary concerns, he cultivated on all occasions an innocent and friendly intercourse.

The birth of Teymûr is described to have taken place, in sight, or in the precincts, of the just mentioned city of Kesh, here, and elsewhere, not unfrequently denominated the green city, on Tuesday, the

* Berkulk, of De la Croix.

A. H. 736-61.

A. D. 1336 60.

Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur

Birth of Teymûr.

twenty fifth of Shabaun, of the seven hundred and thirty sixth of the hidjerah ;* precisely four months and eight days after the demise of Abû Sâeid, the ninth of the Perso-Jenguizian monarchs. From earliest infancy the auspicious youth appears to have evinced, what is described as, a remarkable predilection for equestrian exercises, and for the manly and active amusements of the chase ; and many circumstances concurred to indicate that his genius was cast for that exalted station among the sovereigns of the earth, at which he was ultimately destined to arrive.

From infancy to manhood the life of Teymur appears, nevertheless, to have passed in mirthful and contented obscurity, in his native city ; from which he was roused about the seven hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,† by the approach of Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun with the armies of Jettah. Having encamped, however, with the main body at the station of Khenauk Bûlauk, not far from the river of Khojend, that monarch conceived it sufficient to detach a powerful division across that river, under Olûgh Toga Teymûr, Hadjy Beg Arkenouty, and Begtchek a Kankuly chief, to repress the disturbances by which the country had been long molested. On passing the Seyhûn these commanders were peaceably joined by Ameir Bayezzid Jullâeir, who had possessed himself of that part of Transoxiana, with all his adherents ; with whom they proceeded in conjunction, towards Kesh, at this period under the authority of Ameir Hadjy Berlas the uncle of Teymûr. An insuperable impression of terror having prevailed with this chief to abandon his government, he fled immediately towards Khorassaun ; accompanied as far as the banks of the Jeyhûn, by his relative, now about the age of four and twenty. But, on reaching the banks of that river, the nephew communicated a request that, in order to provide for the future welfare and security of his tribe and family, he might be permitted to return to his native city. Having obtained his kinsman's permission for the execution of a design which appeared so honorably directed, Teymûr hastened, in the first instance, to the camp of the associated Ameirs : whom by his singular eloquence and pleasing address, he not only succeeded in dissuading from their plans of hostility and blood, but in impressing

* 8th April, 1336.

† A. D. 1360.

with such favorable conceptions of his own superior talents, that they immediately conferred upon him the government of Kesh, with the tomauns, or districts, formerly annexed to it. The young chief repaired, without delay, to take possession of the territory thus allotted to the indications of superior merit; and at no very distant period it was observed, that a numerous and respectable band of soldiers had already enrolled themselves under a standard, which seemed thus suddenly displayed, to point out the road to success and glory.

A. H. 761-63.
A. D. 1360 62.
Kholassut-
ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, the generals of Toghlûk Teymur Khaun, having quarrelled among themselves, evacuated Mawur-un-nehr, and returned to the north-eastward of the Seyhûn; their sovereign having previously withdrawn into the region of Jettah, his hereditary dominions. This abandonment was succeeded by a train of frequent hostilities between Teymûr, and the other independent chiefs of Transoxiana; which generally terminated to the advantage of the former. But of these, as it would be unnecessary to enter into the detail, the author has conceived it equally inexpedient to take any further notice.

In the course of the seven hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,* finding his presence still necessary to the restoration of tranquillity in Mawur-un-neher, Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun again approached that country at the head of his armies; and Ameir Hadjy Berlas, who had long since returned from Khorassaun, adopted the resolution of accompanying Teymûr to the presence of the Khaun. But when they had proceeded together to some distance on their journey, intelligence reached them that the Khaun had availed himself of some occasion or other to put Ameir Bayezid Jullâeir, the prince of Khojend to death; and this circumstance naturally alarming the apprehensions of Ameir Hadjy Berlas, he withdrew again with precipitation into Khorassaun: where, not long afterwards, at the village of Khorausha, dependent on Jowein in the territory of Subbuzwaur, he was cut off by a band of robbers. Teymûr, however, through the intercession of Ameir Hameid, an officer of distinguished rank about the Khaun's person, experienced a favorable reception from the Tartar monarch; and was continued as before in the government of Kesh, and its dependencies. In the middle of the ensuing winter, determined on the

* A. D. 1362.

A. H. 763 65.

A. D. 1362 64.

Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur.

destruction of Ameir Hûseyne, the grandson of Ameir Kuzghun, at this period in possession of the fortress of Shaudeman northward of Termed, Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun marched with a powerful army to the attack of that chieftain; by whom he was opposed on the banks of the river Wakhesh—possibly one of the tributary streams of the Oxus. But, while the hostile armies were arranging for battle, Key Khossrou Khotlauny from a spirit of resentment for the execution of a brother, suddenly quitting the standard of Ameir Hûseyne, and going over to his adversary, that chieftain was constrained to abandon the field, without a conflict; and to commit his fortunes to the contingencies of a precipitate retreat. Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun proceeded, shortly afterwards, to arrange matters for his return, establishing his son Eleias Khaujah in the government of Mawur-un-neher, with Begtchek and several other chiefs, at the head of a division of the army for the support of his authority; and finally leaving directions that Teymûr should be a constant attendant about the person and court of his son.

On the departure of the Khaun of Jettah, however, the commander whom he had deputed for the above important purpose, evinced, in the measures which he early adopted to retrench certain emoluments, and advantages usually enjoyed by the Ameirs and principal stipendiaries, a disposition so arbitrary and offensive, that Teymûr, becoming disgusted with his behaviour, quitted the court of Eleias Khaujah, and proceeded immediately in quest of the fugitive Ameir Hûseyne; whom he finally discovered by the well or fountain of Saugh-eje, in the desert of Kheyvek dependent on Khaurezm. The meeting appears to have been equally gratifying to both parties; and the two chiefs thence forward uniting their destiny, experienced together, in various parts of Transoxiana and the neighboring provinces, many surprising and perilous adventures, which will be found detailed with sufficient minuteness in the history of the younger De la Croix.

We shall in the mean time pass with our author, at once to the seven hundred and sixty fifth of the hidjerah,* when the associated chiefs led their troops directly to give battle to Eleias Khaujah; whom they finally defeated, after a very obstinate and sanguinary conflict,

* A. D. 1364. beginning the 9th of Oct. 1363.

at a place called Keyametein, or perhaps Cabamitan, about four leagues from Kesh. The Khaun, with his general the obnoxious Beg-tchek, escaped by flight, leaving many of their most distinguished captains, in the hands of the victors; who retired shortly afterwards to their respective places of residence, having, as it would appear, obtained possession of Samarkand in consequence of the recent victory.

The ensuing spring was, however, no sooner at an end, than Eleias Khaujah Khaun returned with a fresh army towards Mawur-un-neher, in order to avenge his disgrace; and the Ameirs Teymûr and Hûsseyne, having re-united their force, again hastened to meet their adversary: with whom they came to a battle some where in the vicinity of the Badaum, which is a stream possibly communicating with the Seyhûn in the territory of Ulshaush, or Taushkent. Here, after a severe and arduous contest, the troops of Eleias Khaujah obtained a signal victory; which is ascribed to the mysterious application of the Jeddah Taush, or Lapis imbrifer, formerly mentioned in the history of the Moghûls. In this battle, to which historians have assigned the name of the battle of the sloughs, [Jung-e-lâi] some perverse and unaccommodating circumstances in the behavior of Ameir Hûsseyne, produced the first serious dissatisfaction between him and his illustrious associate; his remissness, or wilful inactivity in the course of the action, having been followed by the slaughter of nearly ten thousand of his own troops. After so serious a discomfiture it was, however, found expedient to retire immediately across the Jeyhûn, Ameir Hûsseyne taking up his abode at Shebertou, and Teymûr on his part withdrawing to Balkh.

Not long afterwards the troops of Eleias Khaujah appeared before Samarkand; of which he was, however, prevented from taking possession, by the resolute defence of the inhabitants under the direction of Mowlana Zâdah Samarkandi, and Mowlana Khardek of Bokhâra. A dreadful mortality, at the same time, carrying off the greater part of their horses, oxen, and camels, the besiegers were finally compelled to evacuate Transoxiana altogether, and withdraw across the Seyhûn towards the confines of Jettah. On intelligence of this important change, the Ameirs Hûsseyne and Teymûr hastened to a conference near Bakalaun; after which the former proceeded to Sâlise-

A. H. 765.

A. D. 1364.

Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 766-71. rai, on the Oxus about ten leagues north-east of Termed, and Tey-
 A. D. 1365-69. mûr to his native city ; in which circumstances affairs continued un-
 Kholaussut- til the termination of the winter.
 ul-akhbaur.

But in the course of the seven hundred and sixty seventh of the hid-
 jerah* fomented by the malignant reports of parasites and slanderers,
 the jealousy, which had for some time subsisted between the two A-
 meirs, at last broke out into open hostilities, that continued with una-
 bated violence for a period of almost two years. In these, with little
 variation, victory declared in every conflict on the side of Teymûr ; al-
 though at the termination of that period he consented to an accommo-
 dation with his rival, which was brought about some time in the course
 of the year seven hundred and sixty nine ; after which he again took
 up his residence at Kesh ; Ameir Hûseyne proceeding to Balkh, which
 he is now said to have repaired, and to have constituted the seat of
 his government.

About the conclusion of the succeeding year having, nevertheless,
 conceived the treacherous design of seizing the person of Teymûr,
 Ameir Hûseyne dispatched a message to desire that he would, with
 the whole of his family and kindred, repair immediately to Balkh ; al-
 leging that he had matters of weighty importance to arrange, of which
 the execution must necessarily be suspended until he was on the spot.
 In the mean time, because her husband Ameir Mûeyud Erilat had
 already fled to Balkh, in consequence of having, in a drunken quarrel,
 killed one of the Moghûl chiefs, he sent to demand that Sheirin Beg
 Aga the sister of Teymûr, might be permitted to proceed to the same
 place. These, in addition to some other circumstances of a tendency
 more or less obnoxious, excited afresh the resentment of Teymûr ; and
 he accordingly suffered it to be circulated without further reserve, that
 he was about to engage in an expedition, of which the immediate ob-
 ject was the reduction of Balkh. In consequence of this, the majority
 of the Tcheghataian Ameirs and soldiery, disgusted with the sordid
 and illiberal disposition recently betrayed in the conduct of Ameir
 Hûseyne, immediately forsook his standard, and came over to that of
 Teymûr ; which promised to be productive of advantages so much more
 flattering to their hopes.

* A. D. 1366.

In prosecution of his design Teymûr, in the course of the seven hundred and seventy first of the hidjerah,* quitted Kesh at the head of a numerous and formidable army, and directed his march for the capital of his rival. While encamped at the station of Bûya, about three farsangs on that side of the Oxus, from Termed, he received a visit from Ameir Seyud Berrekah, at this period most distinguished among the descendants of the prophet. This personage had been recently dismissed by Ameir Hûsseyne, to whom he had resorted for the purpose of soliciting the just application of those funds, which had been devised on different occasions, for the service of the sacred cities; with a success but little compatible with that sanctity of character with which, as the representative of his illustrious family, he conceived himself to be clothed. Mortified by a reception thus discouraging he now appeared before Teymûr; and presenting him with a standard and kettle drum, formally announced that wherever he bent his course, success and victory would attend him in all his undertakings. Conceiving that the visit of this venerable Seyud, and the presentation of the insignia of sovereign power, were equally auspicious to the attainment of his hopes, Teymûr made little difficulty to place at his disposal the whole of the funds which had been for some time alienated from the proper object; and bestowed upon him in other respects the most liberal marks of his bounty and veneration. And it is well known that a strict and inviolable friendship continued to be cultivated between them ever afterwards, the Seyud becoming the inseparable attendant of Teymûr's person to the day of his death. On his arrival at Oumauje, or perhaps Oubauje, Teymûr was further joined by Sheikh Mahommed Beyan Seldûz, and, at Khullum, by Shah Sheikh Mahommed prince of Badakhshaun, and Meir Ouljaitû Aperdy, the governor of Kondûz, south-west of Termed, on the part of Ameir Hûsseyne.

Having by this time crossed to the westward of the Jeyhûn, the Ameirs Sheikh Ally and Khatâi Bahauder at the head of an advanced division of Teymûr's army, became soon afterwards engaged with the advanced troops of the enemy, whom they defeated with considerable loss. And it was at this period that Teymûr, found it expedient:

A. H. 771.
A. D. 1370.
Kholaussut.
ul-akhbaur.

* A. D. 1369-70.

A. H. 771.
A. D. 1370.
Kholaussut-
ul-akhbaur.

to place *Seyûrghetmesh oghlan* in nominal possession of the throne of the Tcheghatâian monarchy; after which he encamped his army in sight of Balkh; of which, or possibly of the citadel of Hindûaun recently repaired by Ameir Hûsseyne, he immediately commenced the siege. During the operations of the first day, although at this period he had scarcely attained to his fifteenth year, Mirza Omar Sheikh, Teymûr's second son, after signalizing himself by the most distinguished gallantry, was pierced through the foot by an arrow; and is said to have discovered extraordinary fortitude in suffering the wound to be cauterized, without exhibiting the slightest symptom of impatience. But, in these circumstances perceiving, at the expiration of the second or third day, the imminent disgrace and ruin which surrounded him on every side, Ameir Hûsseyne, by repeated messages made known to Teymûr, that he had now nothing to hope or ask for, but that his life might be spared; and that the troops employed in the siege might be directed to let him pass without molestation, as a pilgrim on his way to Mekkah. To this the consent of Teymûr was obtained without much difficulty; and the troops were immediately informed that Ameir Hûsseyne was not to be prevented from passing whenever he chose to take his departure. Not daring, however, to rely altogether on the faith of his rival, Ameir Hûsseyne quitted Balkh privately during the night; but discovering as the day broke that he had taken, contrary to his intention, the road through the old city, he found it necessary to conceal himself, as well as he could, in the upper part of an adjoining minaret. Unfortunately, that same morning, a soldier who had lost his horse ascended the minaret, for the purpose of commanding a wider range of view, and came most unexpectedly upon the unhappy fugitive, whom he instantly recognized. Trembling for life Ameir Hûsseyne drew from his person a handful of loose pearl, which he presented to his discoverer, abjectly intreating that he would forbear to destroy him. The soldier appeased his apprehensions of immediate death by an oath that he should not molest him; but at the same moment hastened to the presence of Teymûr, to whom he disclosed the circumstance of his discovery; and a detachment of troops was immediately ordered to proceed towards the minaret. Ameir Hûsseyne, alarmed by the trampling of their horses, hastened to change

the place of his retreat, and endeavored further to conceal himself in a cavern, or opening, in some of the ruins hard by. He could not however long elude the search of his pursuers. They discovered him in his last retreat, and binding him neck and hand conveyed him in that situation to the presence of Teymûr. The latter declared, on seeing him, that having already promised to spare his life, he considered that engagement once given, as inviolable. But when the unfortunate captive was removed from the presence of his triumphant associate, Ameir Key Khossrou the Khotlanian proceeded to represent that, having without offence presumed to take away the life of his brother Key Kobaud, he conceived he had a just right to demand that Ameir Hûseyne should be placed at his disposal, to suffer by the inexorable law of retaliation. Teymûr endeavored to assuage his resentment by reminding him, with tears in his eyes, of the obligations of mutual friendship that had so long subsisted between them. In the mean time, convinced from appearances that Teymûr was sufficiently sincere in his professions of forgiveness, and conceiving that if the obnoxious chief was now suffered to escape their vengeance, it might peradventure be followed by certain destruction to the whole of the party, Ameir Ouljâitu Apredy cast a significant glance with his eye towards Ameir Mûeyud, and Key Khossrou, who immediately quitted the pavilion of Teymûr; and, without his permission, finally terminated all arguments on the subject, by putting the unfortunate occasion of it, immediately to death. His two sons, with Kaboul Sûltan, the pageant Khaun of his creation, experienced a similar fate very shortly afterwards.

The power of Ameir Hûseyne having been thus forever extinguished, and that of Teymûr now arising, with a splendor that was destined to diffuse itself to the extremities of the earth, the principal Ameirs attached to his interests, including Ameir Sheikh Mahommed Beyan Seldûz, Ameir Ouljâitû Apredy, Ameir Key Khossrou Khotlauny, and Ameir Jaukû Berlas, with the recently mentioned Seyud Berrekah at the head of the race of the prophet, proceeded, on the twelfth day of Ramzaun of the seven hundred and seventy first of the hidjerah,* to elevate their favorite and admired chief to the throne of sovereign authority. The zeal of his followers was rewarded on the part of Tey-

A. H. 771.
A. D. 1370.
Kho'au-sut.
ul-akhbaur.

Teymûr elevated
to the Sovereign
dignity.

* 8th of April, 1370.

A. H. 771-79. mûr by the most liberal proofs of his bounty; to all of them being further
 A. D. 1370-77. assigned advancement, and revenue in proportion to their rank and res-
 Kholaussut. pective merit. After which, conferring the government of Balkh on Mû-
 ul-akhbaur. rad the son of Tchoghaun Berlas, he hastened towards Samarkand, where
 he finally determined to fix the seat of his authority; extending to every
 class and condition of inhabitants in that highly favored territory, the
 brightest beams of a just, and beneficent government.

Subsequent to this, during a period of several years, Teymûr was al-
 ternately engaged in a variety of expeditions to the east-ward of the
 Seyhûn, against the nations of Jettah and Moghûlstaun; northward in
 Keptchauk, in support of Tokhtemesh Khaun; and north-west-ward
 of the Oxus against the territory of Hûsseyne Souffy the Kharezinian.
 Of these, on which it would be here superfluous to dwell, the oriental
 scholar will find the relation detailed with ample minuteness in the Rou-
 zut-us-suffâ, and the general English reader in the work of Petis de la
 Croix the younger, the history of Timur Bec as he calls it, translated
 from the Zuffur-nâmah of the Yezdian.

In the early part of the seven hundred and seventy seventh of the
 hidjerah,* on his return from one of these expeditions to the east-ward,
 he sustained a very severe domestic affliction in the death of his eldest
 son, Ameir zâdah Jahangueir; a loss which was, however, two years af-
 terwards in some measure repaired by the birth, on Thursday the four-
 teenth of the latter Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and seventy ninth
 of the hidjerah,† of Mirza Shah Rokh, who was destined to succeed
 to the principal part of his dominions.

In the winter of the former year,‡ while Teymûr, during one of his
 Rouzut-us-suffâ, campaigns against Orous Khaun the monarch of Keptchauk, was pent
 up at Otraur by the severity of the season, Yûssuf Souffy, who had suc-
 ceeded to the kingdom of Kharezim, availed himself of the opportunity
 to employ a detachment of his troops in the plunder of Bokhâra. An
 agent was immediately dispatched, on the part of Teymur, to demand
 the reason of this unprovoked aggression in defiance of the subsisting
 treaty of peace and amity; and the Kharezinian instead of redress,
 proceeding to aggravate the injury, by the imprisonment of his agent,
 Teymûr dictated a dispatch, which he conveyed to his aggressor by an

* June to Oct. 1375.

† 17th Oct. A. D. 1377.

‡ A. D. 1376.

ordinary messenger, to the following effect. "Yussuf Souffy must be aware that, both with respect to life and liberty, the person of an ambassador is to be considered strictly inviolable; neither is he in ought obnoxious but to the unreserved communications of truth;"* and he concluded by announcing his expectation that his agent might be permitted to return without further delay. With equal arrogance and improvidence, the Kharezinian added afresh to the injuries already sufficiently aggravating, by detaining the messenger; and by sending, moreover, another detachment to Bokhâra, to seize and carry off a tribe of Turkomans with their cattle, settled in the territory adjoining to that city.

A. H. 779 80.
A. D. 1377 78.
Ruzut us-
suffa.

It was at this crisis that Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, on his return from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, described to Teymûr the state of the Persian empire, in consequence of the distractions which had ensued shortly after the death of Abû Sâeid.

Before he proceeded, however, to more serious operations, Teymûr availed himself of a short interval of repose to unite himself, by marriage, to the princess Touman Agha, the daughter of Ameir Moussa; after which he amused himself in giving directions to form, and enclose the gardens of Baugh-e-behisht, west of the city of Samarkand: then retiring to pass the succeeding winter at Zenjeir Serâi, a country palace about two farsangs to the westward of Nakhshab.

In the spring of the seven hundred and eightieth of the hidjerah,† provoked beyond endurance by the insolent behavior of Yûssuf Souffy, Teymûr finally invaded Kharezin; and passing by Eskiakurz, proceeded immediately to invest the capital; his first object being directed to secure his own troops from the attempts of the numerous garrison, by surrounding the city on every side with an immense line of circumvallation. The siege was then prosecuted, with persevering vigor, by a series of attacks carried on from morning till night: from which it might be concluded that the intervening period was devoted to repose, although such a circumstance is little consistent with probability. In the mean time, detachments of the army were employed to ravage and lay waste the country in every direction, and to make captives of the defenceless inhabitants. When the siege had contin-

* Ma-ala-urrussoul-illa-ul-belaugh-ul-mûbeina † A. D. 1378.

A. H. 780.

A. D. 1378.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

ued for some time under these circumstances, Teymûr received from Yûssuf Souffy a note, in which he demanded how long it was proposed to subject so many myriads of Mûssulman beings to be harassed in their lives and property, in a contest in which two individuals were alone concerned. To put at once a termination to these calamities, there was, he said, a very simple and obvious expedient; and this was to decide their quarrel by single combat, to which he now expressly invited his antagonist. Teymûr, whose intrepidity was never questioned, sent to inform him in reply, that he considered his proposal not less just than reasonable, and that he had long cherished the idea among the most ardent wishes of his heart. But in order to demonstrate that he was perfectly sincere in what he stated, he immediately armed himself and mounted his charger; and in spite of the expostulations of his generals, and of Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein in particular, who at the hazard of his life presumed to seize his horse by the bridle, proceeded to present himself under the walls of the town, taking his stand on the very edge of the ditch. From thence he called aloud to the men on the works to announce to their sovereign that in compliance with his invitation, he was come to give him the meeting; and that it particularly behoved the Kharezmian to be punctual in adhering to his own proposal of submitting their quarrel, by an immediate and personal appeal to the sword, to the decision of an over-ruling providence. Terrified beyond measure when this speech was repeated to him, Yûssuf Souffy at once receded from his rash resolution; and the love of life prevailing over the dread of dishonor, he heard the challenge without daring to notice it. Conceiving, nevertheless, that he might yet succeed in stimulating his resentment, although he failed in awakening a sense of honor, Teymûr again raised his voice to proclaim that that man was unworthy of life, who could degrade himself by a departure from his engagement. These and other arguments which he made use of on the occasion, proved however ineffectual, as the Kharezmian continued equally deaf to every appeal; so that wearied out at length by this persevering inattention to the calls of honor, Teymûr withdrew to his tents amidst the applause and acclamations of his admiring soldiers. Not long afterwards receiving a supply of melons from Termed, the first of the season, Teymûr, with a liberality which marks

in some respects, the polished character of this prince, resolved to divide them with his adversary; observing that he found it repugnant to his feelings to indulge in a gratification from which another was debarred. Accordingly setting apart a proportion of the melons, he directed them to be conveyed to the Kharezmian on a tray of gold, notwithstanding the representations of his courtiers that one of wood, or earthenware, would answer the purpose much better; and a person having borne it to the counterscarp of the ditch, there placed it, after announcing to the soldiers on the ramparts, the object with which it had been brought. The present was laid before the Kharezmian, and it might have been expected that this attempt to soften the rigors of war would in common prudence have been received, on his part, with a corresponding moderation. Nevertheless, either through defect of judgment, narrowness of mind, or a misguided policy, according to our author, Yûssuf Souffy, after consigning the golden vehicle to the porter by whom it was brought to him, directed the contents to be cast into the town ditch, with every mark of contempt in his power to display towards the illustrious donor. Immediately afterwards one of his captains at the head of a part of the garrison sallied from the gate, with unexpected and extraordinary resolution; but being opposed with equal vigor and promptitude by Mirza Omar Sheikh, the second son of Teymûr, who crossed the water which separated him from, and attacked them, with a division of the besiegers, they were, after a conflict of peculiar obstinacy, and after considerable slaughter on both sides, again driven within their walls. Two Teymûrian commanders of high distinction, Noushirvaun the son of Aukbouga, and Eiltchy Bahauder, were severely wounded on this occasion, the latter mortally; the former recovered at a subsequent period.

After this Teymûr directing his attacks to be carried on with augmented fierceness and vigor, and a battery of Catapultae being brought to bear immediately on the palace of Yûssuf Souffy, it was in a short time laid in ruins, by the stones incessantly impelled against it from these machines. In short the siege had not been protracted many days longer, before the Kharezmian perceived too many proofs of the ascendancy which the troops of his adversary were gaining over his exhausted garrison; and the terror and despondence which, with all

A. H. 780.

A. D. 1378.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 780-81. their distempered concomitants, now seized upon his frame and habit, producing a disorder which was mortal, soon hurried him to his grave. On the death of their prince, a dissension arose among the principal Kharezmians on the subject of a successor to his authority; part espousing the claims of Mounek Souffy, the brother possibly, and part declaring in favor of Khaujah Lauk, the lineal, and legitimate heir of the deceased. But the party of his competitor prevailing, the latter quitted the town and threw himself upon the protection of Teymûr, to whom he disclosed the state of affairs which reigned within. Teymûr immediately determined on a general assault; and the whole of the army rushing, accordingly, at once towards the walls, and by various methods effecting a passage through and over them, poured into the city from different quarters. The usual scenes of pillage and slaughter ensued. All things, whether moveable or immoveable, were consumed with fire; and scarcely a vestige was left standing to mark the spot once occupied by this flourishing capital. The Seyuds, Sheikhs, and ûlema, or jurisperiti, with the most distinguished of the surviving inhabitants, and tradespeople, were removed to the other side of the Jeyhûn to the favorite city of Kesh. Sheikh Ally Bahauder was appointed to the government of the ruins of Khaurezm, and possibly of the province at large; after which Teymûr returned into Transoxiana, where he passed the cold season at his winter palace of Zenjeirserâi near Nakhshab. The ensuing spring he issued orders for building the walls of Kesh; and the work being distributed in regular proportions to the several tomana of the army, was immediately put in a train of speedy completion. The Kharezmian architects were employed, at the same time, in erecting a sumptuous villa without the town, which when finished received the appellation of Aukserâi,—the white palace.

From his winter quarters at Zenjeir Serâi, Teymûr had dispatched to Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein, the son of Melek Hûsseyne Guerret, prince of Herât, a message to announce that, about the period of the approaching vernal equinox, he proposed to convene a Kuriltâi, or general diet of the states of his empire; and to express an expectation that Gheyauth-ud-dein would not withhold his presence from the august assembly. The prince of Herât treated the messenger with distin-

guished kindness; but availing himself of any pretext that occurred, to elude a compliance with the summons, he conveyed to the court of Teymûr a request in reply, that Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein might be permitted to visit him at his capital, and that on his return, with a mind more perfectly at ease from apprehension, he should not fail to accompany that respectable chieftain. In conformity with an application which seemed so reasonable, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein proceeded to Herât, where he experienced from the prince all those marks of distinction and honor, that bespoke the highest respect for his character, and that of the monarch, whom he was delegated to represent. But, under the pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey, and of providing a course of presents, or peishkesh, suitable to the occasion, he found Gheyauth-ud-dein evidently disposed to protract, from time to time, the expected visit to the other side of the oxus, without any serious design of ever engaging his person on such a journey. On the other hand his exertions were all the while employed, without intermission, to complete an exterior wall of two farsangs in circumference, which, for a twelve-month before the arrival of Seyf-ud-dein, he had begun to erect round the suburbs of Herât. Neither was he less actively engaged in laying in from the surrounding territory, an abundant store of grain, and every description of provision, for the supply of the inhabitants. The stay of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein having been, however, protracted beyond all reasonable expediency, the object of Gheyauth-ud-dein became at last too obvious to be mistaken; and the illustrious envoy returned without further delay to the presence of his sovereign; the prince of Herât engaging to follow him, at some subsequent period, although the performance of such an engagement was of all other circumstances the least in his contemplation. In the mean time, by the return of his agent, Teymûr became fully apprized of all that had been thus disclosed in the behaviour of Gheyauth-ud-dein.

At this conjuncture of affairs, Ally Beg, the son of Arghûn Shah Jowny Kerbauny, appeared, in consequence of a similar invitation, at the court of Teymûr; by whom some recent offences on his part were liberally forgiven, and himself treated with princely hospitality. A daughter of this chief was now betrothed to Ameir Zâdah Mahommed Sûltan, the son of the departed Shahzadâh Jahangueir, and a sump-

A. H. 780-81

A. D. 1378-79

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 781 82.
A. D. 1379 81.

Rouzut us
suffa.

tuous entertainment given on the occasion. He was moreover consulted on the subject of the expedition already determined upon against Herât, which he engaged to accompany at the opening of the spring, and he confirmed this engagement by the most solemn oath; although his evil destiny led him, at the appointed period, to set it at nought, and in the issue to bring upon himself and the greater part of his tribe, final disgrace and ruin.

As a preliminary movement, Teymûr, on the departure of Ally Beg, determined on advancing a powerful division of his troops into Khorassaun, under a general of the first distinction; in order by their presence to deter his adversaries in that province from any act of open hostility, until his measures should be thoroughly ripe for execution. His choice, on this occasion, fell upon his third son, Meiran Shah; whom with fifty Kûshûns,* he directed immediately to enter Khorassaun, and to take up his quarters, for the ensuing autumn and winter,† at Balkh and Shabreghaun. The Shahzadah, accompanied by the Ameirs Jahangueir the brother of Hadjy Berlas, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Aukbougâ, Othmaun, Abbas, Mahommed Sûltan Shah, Komaury the brother of Temoukah Koutchin, with Taban Bahander, Orouss Bouga the brother of Saur Bouga, and other distinguished leaders, proceeded accordingly across the Jeyhûn; and disposed of his troops in the manner indicated by his father's instructions.

At the conclusion of winter the whole territory of Baudgheiss, the most flourishing and populous under the government of Herât, was over-run and laid waste by the Samarkandian Moghûls; who possessed themselves of a vast booty, in horses, camels, sheep, and oxen, with which they rejoined the head quarters of Meiran Shah, without obstacle. In the mean time, a message was communicated to Teymûr from Ally Beg Jowny Kerbauny, or Garbauny, stating with humble zeal, that if in conformity with the plan recently determined upon, the imperial standard was actually about to enter Khorassaun, he should rejoice in the opportunity of evincing his attachment by officiating as guide to the army.

* The Kûshûn appears to have been a subdivision of the hazaurah, probably from three to five hundred men.

† A. D. 1381.

In the spring of the seven hundred and eighty second of the hidje-
rah,* having finally completed his arrangements, Teymûr crossed the
Oxus and conducted his army to Andekhoud. From this station in
consequence of the faith which he uniformly appeared to repose in the
benevolent influence arising from a communication with devout and
pious men, he proceeded to visit Bâba Serkou, described to be without
dispute, one of the most extraordinary enthusiasts of the age in which
he lived. In the spirit of frenzy, or abstraction of mind, affected by
his order, this man, on his approach, throwing a breast of mutton at him,
the incident was held by Teymûr as an omen most auspicious to the
result of his undertaking, and he expressly declared that the king of kings
was about to transfer to him the province of Khorassaun; that being
universally considered by the oriental nations as the breast, or bosom, of
the habitable globe. Advised on the other hand of the approach of the
Teymûrian armies Melek Mahommed the brother of Ghey-auth-ud-
dein, who at this period held the government of Serkhes, hastened to
tender his submission to the Moghûl monarch, who received him with
a distinction that appears to have greatly flattered him. From the
neighborhood of Jûldokhteran, Teymûr dispatched to require that
according to promise, Ally Beg the Kerbaunian would without delay
join the imperial encampment, with the troops which he had already
been able to assemble. Not satisfied with setting at nought the order,
which his evil destiny might have impelled him to disobey, this man
further evinced his perfidy in a manner equally inconsistent with his
character as a soldier, and with his religious duties as a true believer,
by detaining the messenger.

According to some accounts it would appear that a short time pre-
vious to the period under consideration, Gheyauth-ud-dein had con-
quered the territory of Neyshapûr from the Serbedaurians, and a great
part of his troops still continued detached to secure his recent acqui-
sitions in that quarter. In order to prevent the junction of these troops
with the garrison of Herât, Teymûr conducted his army immediately to
Jaum and Kousûyah, thus completely intersecting the line of commu-
nication with the capital. But on this subject, the author further
states to have heard from an aged person of undoubted veracity, that

* A. H. 1381.

A. H. 782.
A. D. 1381.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

the position taken up on the occasion by Teymûr was the result rather of accident than design ; for that Ahmed the son of Mahommed Sûltan Shah, who acted as master of the guides, having lost the road in the obscurity of the night, conducted the army by mere accident to Kousûyah ; and Pehlewaun Mehedy the governor of the place voluntarily submitting, the inhabitants fortunately escaped the mischiefs, which usually accompany the passage of numerous and licentious bodies of troops.

Directing his march further towards Herât, Teymûr next appeared before the town of Foshunge, the inhabitants shutting the gates of the castle in his teeth, and preparing for a resolute defence. The place being surrounded by a formidable wet ditch, the Teymûrians were occupied for three days, in completing their arrangements for the attack ; but on the fourth day at sunrise, having received their final orders they rushed forwards, on all sides at once, towards the works, and some of their most distinguished captains having with their divisions forced the passage of the ditch, and lodged themselves in the *fausse bray*, the rampart was breached in several places. After this the assailants succeeded in entering the castle from different quarters, and, in an indiscriminate scene of pillage and slaughter, abundantly avenged themselves for the unavailing resistance of the garrison.

After the reduction of Foshunje, Teymûr appeared without further obstacle before the gates of Herât ; within which, relying on its improved strength, its numerous garrison, and abundant resources, Mel-ek Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ally seemed disposed to defend himself to the last extremity. The siege commenced on the part of Teymûr, with the exfodiation of an immense ditch which invested the entire circumference of the fortifications of the town, as well to frustrate the attempts of the garrison from within as to cut off all possibility of relief from without ; and which was completed with extraordinary expedition. Nevertheless, while this work was going on, and Teymûr was making a circuit on horseback to view the fortifications, a body of Ghourians, who composed the strength of the garrison, suddenly threw open the gates and, with singular impetuosity and resolution, attacked the besiegers. But, being opposed with equal firmness and valour by the Teymûrians, they were finally driven back into the town

with great slaughter ; both parties on this occasion, in order to render objects visible during the obscurity of the night, displaying innumerable mashauls, or flambeaus, along the ramparts and the advanced posts in front of them.

A. H. 782-83.

A. D. 1381.

Ronzut-us
suffa.

The ensuing morning soon after daylight, the whole Teymûrian army was seen displayed in order of battle, under the exterior walls of the city ; but as the spirit of the garrison appeared to have sustained considerable depression from the result of the recent conflict, they no longer ventured to commit themselves without the gates, and the day passed without the occurrence of any thing remarkable. Under cover of the night, a body of the enemy sallied out once more, notwithstanding, from the Ansaury gate, and succeeded in surprising the besiegers, of whom they put several to the sword ; after which they retired with all possible celerity within the protection of their walls. On the day following, conducted by their sovereign on horseback to the very foot of the works, the Teymûrians proceeded to make a general attack on the exterior line of Gheyauth-ud-dein's defences ; and, led on by Ameir Eidkûtemûr, Sounjek the brother of Khatâi Bahauder, and Mûbasher Berlas in particular, succeeded in carrying the works by escalade. The efforts of Gheyauth-ud-dein, who on his post near the gate, at the head of the bridge of the Enjeil, exerted himself this day with distinguished bravery, availed as little as the harmless flutterings of a gnat, to oppose the irresistible ardor of the assailants. For these, receiving the arrows of their adversaries on their bucklers, and in many instances exposing their heads and shoulders bare to the innumerable missiles directed against them from all quarters, gained the parapets ; Khaleil one of the Yessawels, or exempts of the court, being the first that mounted, and the soldiers animated by his example following in fearful swarms. Part of the assailants entered, however, by the passage through which the stream of the Enjeil is conducted through the town, near the Merghenny pavilion, and breaking open the adjoining gate, gave free admission to their fierce associates ; who now poured without interruption on every side into the new enclosure, the garrison retiring in dismay towards the fortifications of the interior city, accompanied by their prince, notwithstanding the long vaunted arrangements to the contrary. Nearly two thousand prisoners re-

A. H. 783.
A. D. 1381.
Rouzut-us-
suffa

mained, however, in the hands of the Tcheghatâians ; and being conducted to the presence of Teymûr, that monarch immediately availed himself of an opportunity so seasonable to make a display of his bounty ; presenting the whole with rich suits, and dismissing them highly gratified with their reception, with a message to their fellow citizens announcing, that all who forbore to lend their assistance in defence of the town, and confined themselves to their houses, would be inviolably protected in their property, lives, and families. On the other hand that all who neglected this precaution would expose themselves to the direst effects of his vengeance.

This message produced upon the inhabitants of Herât all the impression that could have been desired, since they immediately abandoned their posts on the ramparts ; neither were they to be prevailed upon, either by proclamations, menaces or intreaty, on the part of their sovereign, to appear any more on the fortifications, or to engage in any shape in the defence of the place. In such circumstances Eskunder Sheikhy, the son of Afrasiaub Jellauvy the Mazanderaunian, who, on the assassination of his father, and the accession to power of Ameir Kowaum-ud-dein, had sought an asylum at Herât, recommended to Gheyauth-ud-dein to put to death one person in every ward of the city, in order to terrify the remainder to the performance of their duty ; a measure which was peremptorily rejected by the prince, with the declaration that in no case should his consent be ever given to shed the blood of the innocent ; although this sentiment corresponds but little with the perfidious character generally assigned by historians to the princes of the race of Guerret.

Sufficiently apprized, peradventure, of the difficulty to which he was thus reduced, Teymûr now dispatched a deputation to Gheyauth-ud-dein ; to remind him in the first instance, that the territory of Herât had always been considered as dependent on the dominions of the Moghûl sovereigns, as much as its possessors, the princes of the race of Guerret, had been ever numbered among the acknowledged tributaries of the monarchs of the blood of Jengueiz ; to place under his contemplation the many advantages that would be derived to his country if he abandoned, without further delay, the system of absurd and unavailing hostility to which he had hitherto resigned himself ; and lastly to admon-

ish him of the tremendous fate that awaited himself, and so many myriads of his fellow Mussulmans, should he determine to persist in his present refractory and obstinate course of proceeding. Gheyauth-ud-dein having already too many reasons to perceive that he had no alternative but submission, resolved with a good grace to send out his eldest son Peir Mahommed,* accompanied by the above mentioned Eskunder Sheikhy, here described as a descendant from Pejzhen one of the heroes of the Shahnâmah, with a proposal to surrender to the mercy of Teymûr. The younger chief was favorably received, and was dismissed with the ordinary present of a robe of honor, or pelisse, and embroidered scarf, or girdle. He was, at the same time, instructed to salute his father in the name of Teymûr, and to lament those groundless animosities, which had taken place of the ties of amity and good neighborhood that had formerly subsisted between them; to assure him that there still existed the strongest motives of sound policy and mutual welfare, for re-establishing the friendly system so unhappily interrupted; that he had no difficulty in ascribing all that had recently occurred, to mistaken reasons of state, and to the influence of an over-ruling destiny; and finally, to urge the expediency of his repairing without further delay, and in the full confidence of personal security, to some convenient spot without the walls, in order to replace upon a foundation of permanent stability those relations of peace and friendship, which it would be attended with so many important mutual advantages to cultivate between them. Teymûr, nevertheless, thought fit to detain the person of Eskunder Sheikhy, by whom he was now more fully apprized of all that was passing within the town.

On returning to the presence of his father, Peir Mahommed made a faithful report of all he had heard and seen during his conference with Teymûr; and at the expiration of three days, Gheyauth-ud-dein himself proceeded to visit the Tartar monarch, in the Baugh-e-zaughan, or zoghûn, the raven gardens, where he had fixed his head quarters. He was received with distinguished attention; and permitted to return to the city, bearing with him a diadem enriched with jewels of great price, and a girdle of singular beauty and value presented to him by

* It is also stated in the Zuffur namah, that he was accompanied by Sûltan Khautûn, the mother of Gheyauth-ud-dein, in some degree related to Togha Teymûr Khaun.

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his besieger. The day following, the whole of the Seyuds, descendants of the prophet, with the principal inhabitants, ûlema, or legisperiti, learned in the law, and a multitude of the inferior orders, hastened to the pavilions of the Tartar monarch; and experienced a degree of kindness and liberality in proportion to their several classes. Teymûr, upon this, removed his quarters from the Baugh-e-zaughan to the lawns of Kehdestaun, which lay to the eastward of the city; and, having given his orders for the deportation of the treasure amassed during so many generations, and with so much care and industry, by the Ghourian princes, directed the walls of the city, both old and new to be levelled with the ground. At the same time his commands were issued that Moulana Kûtbud-dein, the head of all the ûlema in Khorassaun, together with two hundred of the most respectable householders in Herât, should proceed immediately, under the escort of Temûr Taush the nephew of Ameir Aukbouka, to Kesh. A moderate contribution having been then imposed on the inhabitants, and levied in the course of three days, and the walls and towers effectually demolished, the gates of the city, which were overlaid with iron, and on which had been engraven the names and designations of the different princes of the Ghourian race from the period of their introduction to power, were also finally directed to be conveyed, as a lasting memorial of his triumph, to his same favorite city of Kesh. It may be further necessary to observe that the reduction of Herât, on this occasion, appears to have taken place sometime in the month of Mohurrim of the seven hundred and eighty third of the hidjerah.*

The strong fortress of Eskiljah, better known by the name of Amankôh, nevertheless, still continued to hold out against the authority of Teymûr, under Ameir Ghoury; another of the sons of Gheyauth-ud-dein, not more distinguished by his illustrious birth than by his superior prowess. Gheyauth-ud-dein was therefore immediately required to exert his influence with his son, and prevail upon him to surrender his charge, on a promise that life and property should be secured to him; at the same time it was intimated to him, in terms sufficiently explicit, that if he felt himself in the slightest degree so disposed he was at perfect liberty to make, within the walls of Amankôh, one

* April A. D. 1381.

conclusive experiment further, in what manner the will of providence might yet be manifested with respect to the destiny of the race of Guerret. With intentions far less hostile Gheyauth-ud-dein, however, succeeded in obtaining an interview with his son, on whom by mild expostulations, and prudent counsels, he finally prevailed to relinquish his impregnable position, and to accompany him to the presence of Teymûr; from whom he experienced also a very liberal and distinguished reception.

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Having secured these important acquisitions, Teymûr next employed a part of his army in the reduction of Neyshapûr, and Subbuzwaur; proceeding himself onwards in the direction of Tâsse, for the purpose of rewarding in his own bosom the multiplied infidelities of Ally Beg the Kerbaunian. The terror of his approach was, however, alone sufficient on this occasion, to bring that chieftain prostrate to the foot of the throne; and he was, as well as Khaujah Mûeyud of Subbuzwaur the ruler of the Serbedaurians, who gladly availed himself of the same opportunity, graciously received by the Tartar conqueror.

While in the neighborhood of Neyshapûr on this occasion, Teymûr paid a visit to the tomb of Abû Mosslem the Merouzian, the champion of the house of Abbas; whose gallant spirit he invoked to prosper him in the execution of his magnificent designs. He then presented himself before Esfrâein, between Neyshapûr and Jurjaun, which he caused to be suddenly attacked before his troops had yet pitched their tents; and before the garrison, on the part of Ameir Wully the Mazânderanian, were well able to take post for their defence. The place was accordingly carried at the very first onset with great slaughter; and an immense booty became the lot of the assailants. It was then rased to the foundations, and not a vestige left to indicate where it had once stood. From thence, however, he dispatched an agent to offer to the prince of Mazanderaun the most honorable terms, if he would immediately repair to his presence; but threatening the most dire calamities if he delayed to avail himself of these conciliatory advances, on the part of his adversary. The envoy returned some time afterwards with a submissive reply from Ameir Wully, and a promise that he would speedily follow, to humble himself at the feet of the destined master of the oriental world.

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Teymûr remained some days, to recover the strength of his cattle, among the rich pastures in the neighborhood of Esfrâein; during which he availed himself of the opportunity to punish the inhabitants of Khe-raushah for the murder of his kinsman Hadjy Berlas, further bestowing the district in Seyûrghaul, or perpetual jagueir, on the grandson and nephew of that chief; with whom it remained to the days of the author. He then departed from the summer quarters of Oghûljâitû, on his return to the metropolis of Samarkand; from whence after a short residence he finally proceeded to pass the winter at Bokhâra. In the mean time Meiran Shah, who had been employed in the direction of Serkhess, against Melek Mahommed the brother of Gheyauth-ud-dein notwithstanding the merit of his early submission, having succeeded in securing the person of that chief and sent him to court, established his winter quarters in the neighborhood of that place.

During his residence at Bokhâra on this occasion, Teymûr appears to have experienced the deepest affliction from the death of his favorite daughter Toghâi Shah, whom he had fondly named his Agah Beggy; and who had been married to Ameir Mahommed Beg,* by whom she left a son called Sûltan Hûsseyne. The Tartar monarch, who, amidst the pursuits of ambition and blood, seems to have ever preserved a sense of the strongest affection for every branch of his family, now suffered that energy of mind, in which he is described to have had no equal under the canopy of heaven, to give way to the violence of his grief; and it was not without considerable difficulty that he was at last aroused by the most serious remonstrances on the part of his eldest sister Kûtlûg Tûrkan Agha, who proceeded, at the instance of his principal Ameirs, to lay before him the dispatches received from Ally Mûeyud the Serbedaurian; stating that Ameir Wully of Mazan-deraun, and Ally Beg Jowny Kerbauny, had united their troops for the purpose of an immediate attack upon Subbuzwaur, and imploring that he might not be permitted to fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies.

Awakened at length from the debilitating torpor into which he had fallen, by a sense of his duty as a sovereign to protect his vassals, and to repel the injury which threatened the empire from whatever quarter,

* The son of Ameir Moussa.

Teymûr directed his armies to be assembled without delay; and, towards the close of winter, causing a report to be previously circulated that he was on his march towards Mazanderaun, proceeded across the Jeyhûn. But when this report had been allowed a sufficient interval to produce the impression which he intended, he suddenly appeared under the walls of Kolaut, a hill fortress of reputed impregnable strength between Abiwerd and Nissa, at this period in the possession of Ally Beg the Kerbaunian, and in an instant swept off the whole of the cattle which in prodigious number the inhabitants, deceived by their information, had neglected to secure within cover of their works. Shortly afterwards Teymûr was joined by his son Meiran Shah with the troops from Serkhess, and by Gheyauth-ud-dein from Herât, who hastened on this occasion to enrol himself among the feudatories in the train of his conqueror.

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Reposing an entire confidence in the strength of Kolaut, Ally Beg, previous to the arrival of his puissant adversary, had taken the precaution to lodge the whole of his family and relatives within the walls of that place; and Teymûr still retaining, or affecting to retain, some consideration for the amicable ties which had formerly subsisted between them, exhibited no small repugnance to consign him, without alternative, to the operation of the dreadful calamities which seemed to impend over him. Thus actuated he dispatched an envoy to expostulate with the Kerbaunian on his needless apprehensions, and to invite him to repair in the full confidence of security to his camp; in order to re-establish, on a basis of permanence, that system of friendship by which they had been so long united, and to avert that train of mischiefs which otherwise threatened to overwhelm him, and all who adhered to his destiny. Against these apparently moderate and friendly admonitions Ally Beg obstinately closed his ears; declining altogether the interview to which he had been invited by the Tartar monarch. On which, the latter, withdrawing from before Kolaut into the territory of Abiwerd, proceeded afresh to circulate among his troops the report that they were now, seriously, about to enter the dominions of the prince of Mazanderaun. Hence, on the departure of Teymûr, and the revival of this report, Ally Beg, in spite of recent experience suffered himself to be thrown completely off his guard, and sent the whole of the

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remaining horses, camels, sheep, and oxen, which had been before prudently collected within the works of Kolaut, to range the pastures in the surrounding vicinity; taking care, however, to remain himself in perfect security behind the fortifications. In these circumstances Teymûr, to the utter surprise of the enemy, suddenly re-appeared, and pitched his tents in full view of Kolaut; while his troops hastened to put themselves in possession of the vast booty in cattle of every description which, without the smallest resistance, awaited their seizure, and which placed whole strings of mules and horses in the hands of many an individual little qualified to estimate his good fortune. The whole circumference of the fortress was then, as if with the web of an adverse destiny, closely invested; the imperial tents of Teymûr being displayed immediately opposite to the gate called the gate of the four villages, and the quarters of the Shahzadahs and other principal generals being distributed in the same way, in front of the other gates and avenues.

Thus cut off from all reasonable prospect of relief, and conceiving himself even in this world surrounded, as it were, with the terrors of the day of judgment, Ally Beg was completely subdued by his fears, and by the sense of accumulating danger. He therefore resolved on humbling himself to the level of his destiny; and in a letter to Teymûr, conceived in terms the most suppliant, proceeded to acknowledge his equal remorse and shame, for his recent contumacious and refractory conduct. At the same time, he represented his sense of guilt to weigh so heavily upon his mind, as to divest him of that confidence which was necessary to sustain him through the distress of a personal interview, with his offended superior. In these circumstances he trusted, as he said, that it would not be considered unreasonable if he requested that Teymûr, with that magnanimity of which he had given so many illustrious proofs, would meet him, with as few attendants as possible, near one of the gates which he mentioned; in order to relieve him from every apprehension, by an immediate and express assurance of pardon, from the lips of him whom he had so grievously offended.

To this proposal Teymûr acceded without hesitation; and on the day appointed proceeded to the place of conference, accompanied by no more than five of his cavalry. The approach to this spot led

through a very gloomy, intricate, and narrow defile; and it was no sooner known to Ally Beg that his adversary had reached the place appointed, with so slender a retinue, than the suggestions of a malignant spirit urged him to form the design of cutting him off. And he accordingly dispatched a party of his followers to lie in ambush in the defile, for the base purpose of assassinating the Tartar monarch on his return. Teymûr, nevertheless, who appears on this and many other occasions to have enjoyed the peculiar protection of providence, contrived by some means or other, to escape the snare which had been laid for him; and he rejoined his camp in perfect safety, after having long in vain awaited the appearance of the Kerbaunian.

The indignation of Teymûr having been inflamed to a degree of fury by the discovery of this perfidious design, orders were immediately issued for a general attack on the mountain, and its different ridges on every side; and a body of the natives of Mekreit and Badakhshaun being particularly selected for this service, from their singular agility and adroitness in scaling rocks and precipices, succeeded in the course of the same night, by an extraordinary and daring exertion, in lodging themselves on the very summit of the mountain; while a division of chosen troops under Aukitemûr Bahauder and Eykû Teymûr, drove the enemy before them on another part of the hill, and Mûbasher and Omar the son of Abbas with a third, established themselves in advance on one of the connecting ridges. This latter division was suddenly attacked by a superior force of the enemy; but being as seasonably supported by some fresh troops detached to their aid by Teymûr himself, they fell together upon the garrison from different quarters, and compelled them, with equal consternation and dismay, to retire within their works, from which they now abjectly implored for quarter. Ally Beg on his part also, finding himself thus driven to the verge of perdition, hastened once more to assay the clemency of Teymûr by dispatching to assure him, that if his victorious legions would for the present cease from further hostilities, he would not fail, on the morrow, to prostrate himself with unfeigned submission at the foot of the throne. These assurances he confirmed by the most solemn appeal to the truths of their common faith, and conveyed to the presence of the Tartar monarch, by Neikrouz and Sheikh Mahom-

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 suffa

No argument of supplication was omitted on the part of these deputies to intercede with, and bespeak the compassion of Teymûr for the abject and hopeless state of their chief; and the Tartar monarch, in consonance with the saying so rarely verified by experience, "that benevolence surpasses in the true believer," was again induced to give credit to the professions of his rebellious vassal; and having directed his generals to retire from the posts, from which they had so successfully repelled the enemy, withdrew to his tents, attended by Neikrouz and Sheikh Mahommed, the agents of the Kerbaunian. Next day, reposing as usual on the protection of an over-ruling providence, Teymûr presented himself on horseback before one of the gates of Kolaut, where on this occasion, with whatever grace, Ally Beg did not fail to give him the meeting, and to become a suppliant for life and forgiveness. In this his prayer having been graciously received, he proceeded next to intreat that he might not be longer detained on the present occasion; and that on the day following he should be most punctual in his attendance to receive the final orders of his superior Lord. Teymûr, with equal moderation and indulgence, yielded to his wishes in this respect also; and both parties retired from the interview, to all appearance, mutually reconciled. But the fortune of this chief being finally destined to terminate in the most gloomy reverse, he assiduously availed himself of the obscurity of the succeeding night to block up and secure the avenues, by which the Teymuriens had contrived to gain the adjoining heights; and having thus, for the present, effectually barred the approach of the assailants, once more boldly forfeited his allegiance, and recurred to hostilities.

A further period of fourteen days having been consumed in fruitless exertions to make himself master of the place, Teymûr found himself at last constrained, a sufficient proof of its impregnable strength, to withdraw from before Kolaut, and to remove his camp to the neighborhood of Kahkah; an old fortress in ruins situate between Kolaut and Abiwerd, which his troops were immediately employed to repair, and put in a state of defence. When this had been accomplished, in

the space of two days and as many nights, through the unintermitting zeal and exertion of the army, the place thus renovated was left in charge of Hadjy Khaujah, at the head of a suitable garrison; while Ameir zadah Ally, the son of Ameir Mûeyud Erlat, the sister's son of Teymûr, and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with their respective tomauns, were stationed to cut off the communications with Kolaut from other quarters.

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When, in the language of the original, Ally Beg had been thus, in a manner entombed alive within his den, Teymûr directed the march of his troops for Tersheiz; a well known mountain fortress of singular strength on the western boundary of Khorassaun, to the reduction of which he next appears to have turned his views with much seriousness of application. At the period under consideration this place was in charge of Melek Ally the Sedeidian, to which he had been selected by Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret himself, with a chosen body of his own tribe, that of Sedeid, the most distinguished among the nations of Ghour for intrepidity and martial skill. The garrison was provided, at the same time, with an abundant supply of every thing necessary for the maintenance of a protracted and obstinate defence. Having, however, been originally stationed under the authority of Gheyauth-ud-dein, Teymûr in the first instance called upon that chief to exert his influence in order to prevail upon the garrison to submit; but, this failing to produce the slightest impression, he proceeded without further delay to employ the means of coercion. His object was now more immediately directed to cut open a channel by which to drain off the water from the surrounding wet ditch; while the most skilful engineers were engaged in planting the warlike machines to batter and dismantle the fortifications. The superior fortune of the besiegers became, however, in a very short time sufficiently obvious; the walls and towers being shaken to pieces by the constant impetus of the machines employed to batter them, and the Sedeidian garrison, convinced that against such formidable means of attack resistance was in vain, finally resolved to supplicate for life, and to cast themselves on the mercy of Teymûr. It was found expedient to wink at their offending, and they were admitted to a favorable capitulation. But, as he had experienced some very conspicuous proofs of their determin-

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ed courage as well as skill in the profession of arms, the Tartar monarch, after treating them on their surrender with extensive liberality, caused them to be removed with all their families into Transoxiana, and ultimately beyond the Seyhûn towards Tûrkestaun; where he employed them in defence of the posts on the more remote frontiers of the empire. The government of Tersheiz was conferred on Saurek Etkah, under the authority of Meiran Shah.

It was about this period that Omar Shah, the ambassador of Shah Shujia of the race of Mûzuffur, prince of Shirauz, equally celebrated for his talents and accomplishments, and for the splendor of his court, appeared in the presence of Teymûr; with letters from his master expressive of his anxiety to cultivate the relations of peace and friendship with the Moghûl conqueror. The letters were accompanied with a display of presents, on the part of the Shirauzian, suitable to the magnitude of the occasion, and exhibiting every article that was rare and costly; and the ambassador, after having experienced a most honorable and liberal reception, was dismissed in due time loaded with favors. He was attended by one of Teymûr's officers, at the same time, bearing for Shah Shujia a letter from his sovereign, which breathed a spirit of benevolence and friendship, corresponding with what had been communicated on the part of the prince of Shirauz, and finally demanding one of the princesses of the race of Mûzuffur for Mirza Peir Mahomed the son of Jahangueir.

On the reduction of Tersheiz, Teymûr prepared in earnest for the invasion of Mazauderaun; and proceeding by the way of Boughed, or Boughy, perhaps Roughy, shortly afterwards encamped his army at the station of Kaboudjâmah. But, alarmed at his approach, Ameir Wully dispatching to intreat that the course of imperial vengeance might for this one period be diverted from his dominions, and promising that he would not fail to present himself at the imperial threshold, and to devote himself for life to the faithful and zealous discharge of his duty, the moment his apprehensions could be in some measure tranquillized, the Tartar monarch was again prevailed upon to suspend the expedition; and, accordingly, changing the direction of his march, drew off, by Selmaghan and Jermagaun, to the luxuriant pastures of Raudegan.

In the mean time Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who, together with Ameir Ally the son of Mûeyud-Erlat, had been stationed to blockade the approaches towards Kolaut, ventured one night, without the concurrence of his colleague, and followed by a few of his own dependents, to ascend one of the ridges of the mountain; and missing his way in the obscurity of the night, found himself contrary to his intention, on the summit of one of the most elevated points adjoining to the works of the enemy. Here, being immediately discovered and attacked by the garrison, he was, after a gallant resistance, during which he discharged every arrow in his quiver, compelled to submit to his destiny, and conveyed a prisoner into the fortress. This misadventure in the issue, proved, however, in no small degree instrumental to the final surrender of that important place; for a contagious disorder having in the course of the summer made cruel ravages among the troops of the garrison, this same Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who had wrought himself, by his singular address, into the confidence of Ally Beg the Kerbaunian, was dispatched in the quality of a mediator, to the camp of Teymûr at Raudegan, and succeeded in obtaining for the rebellious vassal a promise of personal indemnity. On the faith of this he soon afterwards presented himself before Teymûr, with his sword in one hand and his winding sheet in the other, and received an assurance of pardon for his offences; but, with all the chiefs of his tribe and their dependents, he was conveyed without delay to take up his abode in safe custody at Samarkand.

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Having recrossed the Oxus, at the close of the seven hundred and eighty fourth of the hidjerah,* Teymûr proceeded to pass the winter at Samarkand; while Meiran Shah established his quarters for the season at the station of Punjdeh, or the five villages, on the banks of the Mûrghaub. About this period, availing himself of some deceitful prospect of advantage, Melek Mahommed, the son of Fakher-ud-dein Guerret formerly prince of Herât, who had been raised by the liberality of Teymûr, from a state of indigence and wretchedness to the government of Ghour, marched with a body of the natives of his government, with the view of seizing upon the city of Herât; and with the assistance of Abû Sâeid Espahbed, another chief of Ghou-

* January, February, 1383.

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rian extraction, who had also been rescued from penury and a prison by the Tartar monarch, succeeded in making himself master of the town, and ultimately of the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; after compelling the Moghûl garrison of the latter to precipitate themselves from the walls, by setting fire to the gates. On intelligence of this unlooked for event, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein and Ameir Aukbouka hastened, by direction of Meiran Shah, at the head of a part of his division towards Herât; that prince proposing to follow in person with the remainder, as soon as he could put them in motion. The two commanders were opposed at the gates of Herât by the Ghourian insurgents; and an action of considerable duration and obstinacy took place at the entrance of one of the principal streets, that of the Kheyabaun, in which the Moghûls, were however, finally victorious; a great part of the Ghourians being put to the sword, while the remainder who fled into the town, took the opportunity of dispersing in different directions under cover of the night. Meiran Shah arrived shortly afterwards; and the imperial troops, having satiated themselves with slaughter, proceeded to erect several minours, or pyramids, with the heads of the slain, as a frightful memento to deter from future insurrection. In the mean time, the seizure of Herât became no sooner known to Teymûr than he issued a mandate for the death of Gheyauth-ud-dein and his eldest son Peir Mahommed, who were both in confinement in the citadel of Samarkand; as well as of his son Ameir Ghoury and Ally Beg Jowny Kerbauny, who had been recently removed to Andugaun in Ferghaunah, under the care of Omar Sheikh. These fatal orders were carried into execution, as might have been expected, with equal punctuality and dispatch.

In the course of the ensuing year, the 785th of the hidjerah,* after a few days illness, expired the princess Dilshaud Khautûn, one of the wives of Teymûr, and daughter of Kummur-ud-dein Doughlaut the monarch of Jettah; whom he had married some time in the year seven hundred and seventy six. And shortly after this he suffered a further domestic affliction in the death of his eldest sister Kâtlûk Tûrkan Agah, a princess not less distinguished for her uncommon understanding, than for her love of justice and extensive charity. The lat-

ter was buried at Samarkand, close by the tomb of Kothem the son of Abbas, the cousin german of the Arabian prophet.

A. H. 785.

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The Tartar monarch is described to have been again so entirely absorbed in his grief for the loss of these two distinguished females, as for sometime to have neglected the affairs of his government in a manner to endanger the general tranquillity to a very serious extent, until awakened to a sense of impending evil, by the representations and remonstrances of the heads of the law, and other principal inhabitants of Samarkand. His attention being, however, at last sufficiently aroused, his first object was to employ a force under his nephew Ameir zâdah Ally, the son of Mûeyud Erlat, to check the designs of Kummur-ud-dein the father of his departed consort; who is honorably accused of being the fermenting principle of those acts of hostility, by which the armies of Jettah were so perpetually set in motion. Having thus provided as he conceived for the security of his dominions to the right of the Seyhûn, Teymûr retired towards Kesh; but being rejoined, shortly afterwards, by Ameir Ally, in consequence of the defeat of his troops, and the plunder of his camp and equipments by the tribe of Beherein, it was found expedient to dispatch a fresh army, under the Ameirs Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Seyf-ul-Mûlk the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, with Ettelmesh, Arghûn Shah Akhtachei, and other captains, in order to oppose the further progress of the Jettah tribes: and, as no intelligence was for a considerable period received of the success of these troops, a third division, of ten thousand horse, was detached to their support, under the Ameirs Jahaun Shah Jaukû, Eiltchy Bougha, Shums-ud-dein the son of Ouje, or Outch Kâra Bahauder, and Sâein Temûr.* The troops under Ameir Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and his associated commanders, had however, fallen in with, and cut to pieces, a great number of the hostile tribe of Beherein, in the midst of their native solitudes, and were returned to the station of Atakum, with a considerable booty, and a numerous train of captive women and children, when they were joined by the division which was hastening to their support. But as Ameir Jahaun Shah and his colleagues had it in particular charge to seek out Kummur-ud-dein, with un-

* From the manner in which this name is exhibited in De la Croix's history, one might easily be led to imagine it was that of a French knight—*Sainte Maure Bahauder*.

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ceasing activity, and to pursue him as long as there remained the slightest prospect of securing his person, the whole now proceeded together towards Aussigoul, a lake situated to the north-east of Taushkent; from whence, however, after having failed to discover any trace of their object, they again finally led back their troops, and rejoined the camp of their sovereign, by whom their exertions were, notwithstanding, acknowledged with sufficient indulgence and liberality.

On the arrival of autumn, Teymûr, at the head of a formidable army, again crossed the Jeyhûn at the ordinary passage of Termed, with the renewed design of attacking the province of Mazanderaun; but, on reaching the banks of the Mûrghaub, or river of Merû, receiving intelligence that Toumen the Nikoudrian, of Gurrumseir, had placed himself in an attitude of hostility against his government, and that Sheikh Dâoud, who was indebted to the favor of the Moghûl monarch, for his distinguished station at Subbuzwaur, had also, thrown off his allegiance, and destroyed the imperial commissioner, Taban Bahauder; and furthermore, that the people of Seiestaun were in open revolt against his authority, Teymûr found it once more expedient to relinquish the design: and to employ Ameir Sheikh Ally, and Outch Kara Bahauder, in the minor task of confining the hostile plans of Ameir Wully to the limits of his own frontier, while he proceeded in person on the road to Seiestaun. In the mean time, the Ameirs Aukbouka, and Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, with part of the division of Meiran Shah, had invested Subbuzwaur; from whence after a considerable slaughter of his followers, Sheikh Dâoud had recently contrived to make his escape, and to shut himself up in the castle of Budderabad, situated on the summit of a hill, of which the two imperial generals were now prosecuting the siege. Having continued his march, however, as far as Herât, where he imposed a heavy contribution on the inhabitants for the share which they had taken in the late insurrection of the Ghourians, Teymûr turned short in his course and took the direction of Subbuzwaur; where he joined the division of his troops engaged in the attack of Budderabad. In the course of the siege, Sheikh Yaheya one of the Vezzeirs, who conducted the labor of the miners, having carried a gallery under the foundation of the ramparts, a great

part of the wall prematurely fell down, and he was buried under the ruins, together with a considerable number of the people employed under his directions. The fort shortly afterwards fell into the hands of the besiegers; and two thousand of the garrison piled one upon another, and interlaid with brick and mortar into the form of a pyramid, exhibited a memorial, equally horrible and singular, of the punishment of unsuccessful rebellion. In short, observes our original, such were the consequences produced throughout Khorassaun by the daring outrages, and the temerity, of a turbulent and sanguinary set of men, that the whole province became again the scene of the most frightful desolation and ruin. The wretched natives perished, without number or estimate, under the rack and bastinado, and in Herât and Subbuzwaur, the accumulation of the dead was so great, that the living were found insufficient to perform the melancholy rites of sepulture to the remains of their departed fellow citizens. Numbers there were, however, of unhappy Mussulmans who chose to abandon their wives and families, and to pass their lives in hopeless exile, bereaved of every circumstance that is usually considered to render existence desirable.

When he was at leisure from the task of vindicating the rights of his authority at Subbuzwaur, Teymûr sent back a part of his cavalry towards the frontiers of Seiestaun, following in due time, in person, at the head of the main body of the army, in the same direction. On approaching the confines of Seiestaun he was met by Shah Jullaul-udein Ferauh; who held at this period the government of his native city of Ferah, and who was received with distinction by Teymûr, and immediately enrolled among the vassals of the empire. The inhabitants continued, however, refractory, and the imperial troops were directed to over-run and pillage the country. Teymûr appeared himself before the fortress of Zerah, on the lake of that name, and, on the same day, attacked and carried the place by assault. Five thousand of the native soldiery ventured, notwithstanding, to engage the Teymûrians in the field, with extraordinary resolution and obstinacy, although ultimately defeated with considerable loss. Arrived before the gates of the chief city of Seiestaun, bearing the same name with the province,* and having ascended some sand hills in the neighborhood to take a view

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* The Zarenje of the maps.

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of the fortifications, Teymûr was there visited by Shah Shâhan, and Tauj-ud-dein Killagahy with other chiefs deputed to treat of an accommodation, on the part of Shah Kûtb-ud-dein prince of Seiestaun. But when the Tartar monarch was thought to be sufficiently engaged in discussing the terms of the treaty, the men of Seiestaun in formidable strength both horse and foot, suddenly issued from the gates to combat their besiegers. With his usual promptitude and presence of mind, Teymûr instantly directed a body of two thousand horse to be placed in ambuscade in a particular spot which he pointed out, while Ameir Mahommed Sûltan Shah advanced to meet the enemy at the head of a small squadron, with instructions to give way at the very first onset. This commander retiring according to his instructions, the enemy, elated by his apparent dismay, pursued with eager impetuosity, until they found themselves, on all sides, unexpectedly assailed by the body which had been posted in ambush to intercept them. The Seiestaunians defended themselves, nevertheless, with considerable resolution, and although they sustained a very heavy loss during the conflict, continued to keep their ground without the walls of the town, until night interposed to put an end to the combat; both armies then ceasing from the effusion of blood, and betaking themselves to a precarious and perturbed repose in the presence of each other.

The following day at sunrise, Teymûr appears to have discovered more than ordinary precision in the arrangement of his troops for battle; taking post himself in the centre, and assigning the direction of the right wing to Meiran Shah, aided by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Aukbouka Bahauder and other distinguished commanders, while that of the left was committed to the experienced valor of Ameir Saur Bougha, and Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne. In this disposition the Teymûrians proceeded to circumscribe the town more closely; but in order to secure themselves more completely against the enterprising spirit of the garrison, they did not disdain to interpose between them and the works all round, a pretty deep ditch, strengthened, on the side towards their camp, with palisades. The enemy, to the number of ten thousand men, issuing under cover of the night from the town, contrived, notwithstanding, to cross this ditch, where it was, possibly with

design, but negligently guarded by Ameir Shums-ud-dein Abbas and Beraut Khaujah, and to penetrate to the very centre of the imperial encampment; where they discharged their fury on the camels and horses of which they killed and disabled a great number. In this situation, surrounded and assailed on all quarters, by volleys of arrows poured in upon them by the Teymûrians now thoroughly alarmed, they were for the greater part destroyed; although a considerable number bravely fought their way back again, through every obstacle, to the town. On the following day, the contending armies became again fiercely engaged before the gates of Seiestaun, and Ameir Ally the son of Mûeyud Erlat, having repulsed the troops of the enemy opposed to the division under his command, and mixing with the fugitives, in the ardor of the pursuit entered one of the gates at the head of five hundred horse during the confusion. The garrison soon discovered that the division was without support, and availing themselves of their advantage, immediately penned them up in every direction. Here a conflict commenced in which, according to our original, the achievements of the most renowned heroes of Persian story* were far surpassed by the exploits of the warriors of either party now engaged; the imperial division, seeing their retreat cut off, preparing to die resolutely, and combating with all the energy of despair. In the very crisis of their fate, however, Aukitemûr Bahauder with a thousand chosen cavalry, having dislodged the guards at the gate, succeeded in forcing his way into the town; and, with the rapidity of a thunderbolt, dispersing that part of the garrison which intercepted the retreat of his countrymen, most seasonably furnished to the Ameir zâdah an opportunity of withdrawing from the snare, into which he had been led by the impulse of a rash and improvident valor.

Shâh Kûtb-ud-dein by this time, on his part, began to discover the inutility of contending against the superior fortune of his adversary; and, descending at once from his lofty claims of independence, hastened to present himself, in an attitude of humble supplication, before the majesty of Teymûr; and he obtained from the royal magnanimity a promise of life, and a pardon for his rash and contumacious resistance. But, while the Tartar monarch, confiding to the suspension of hosti-

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* Of Rûstum and his renowned grandfather Saum Nerimaun.

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lities, and accompanied by no more than fifteen of his guards and attendants, was proceeding unarmed to visit the left wing of his army, the men of Seiestaun, to the number of thirty thousand, armed with bows and arrows, descended from their walls by clinging hand to hand to one another, and although fully aware that their chief was, at the same moment, in the power of their enemies, advanced with determined audacity to attack the camp of the besiegers. Fortunately perceiving the approach of the assailants, Teymûr returned without delay towards the centre, in order to prepare his troops to repel the danger. He was however exposed in his retreat to a volley of arrows discharged by the Seiestaunians, one of which pierced the horse on which he rode. The monarch reached his tent notwithstanding without further injury; and, having directed the person of Shah Kûtb-ud-dein to be placed in proper security, and his troops to arrange themselves in order of battle, was proceeding on horseback to lead them into action, when his generals affectionately interposed to remonstrate against any further unnecessary hazard of his person; and they finally prevailed upon him in this instance, to confide the discomfiture of the enemy's plans, to the zeal and exertions of those who had so long and greatly prospered under the influence of his bounty. The advancing columns of the garrison were then assailed with irresistible fury on both flanks, and for the greater part miserably perished by the arrows, swords, and lances of the Teymûrians; a small proportion only, and with the utmost difficulty, effecting their retreat, covered with wounds and overwhelmed with dismay, into the town; the gates of which they hastened to secure, idly conceiving, observes our original, that it was possible with a handful of clay to impede the course of that torrent of vengeance, which was about to be let loose upon them. The besiegers immediately effected a lodgment in the *fausse bray*, and soon afterwards breaching the principal rampart in several places became finally masters of the city in every point; and, having put to the sword all who had borne arms in its defence, rased the walls to the foundations, and consigned the empty dwellings as a melancholy residence to the kite and raven. The government was then conferred upon Shah Shahan, one of the native chiefs who was present at the interview with Teymûr, when he first appeared before the walls of the town; but the whole moveable property of the country, toge-

ther with shah Kâtb-ud-dein, the late ruler. and the principal inhabitants, was translated to Samarkand; the ulema, and religious classes, being all conveyed to Herât.

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The reduction of Seietaun having been thus accomplished,* Teymûr directed his march for Bost; in their progress towards which, his troops are described to have possessed themselves of the fortress, or fortified town of Tauk. During their course through the province, in which it was occasionally expedient to remain stationary, a dike or embankment, called the Bund-e-Rûstum, or boundary of Rûstûm, probably thrown up to confine the inundations of the Heirmend, either by accident or design was destroyed on the approach of the Teymûrians. In the usual metaphorical strain, the author, however, states that it was shaken to pieces by the *tentennah*, or sounds of triumph, which attended the march of the imperial armies; but it is more probable that it was demolished from an antipathy to the memory of the hero whose name it bore, the scourge of Tartary, and the champion of the Persian empire. In the mean time, putting his troops in motion from a place called Koukeh Kellah, advices reached Teymûr, that Toumen, the veteran chief of the Nikoudrians, was retired in the direction of Kidge, or Kutch, and Mekraun. On which, ever vigilant to provide for the security of his power, he conceived it immediately expedient to detach his son Meiran Shah, accompanied by Ameirkeh Mahommed, the son of Sheir-e-Behraum, rendered illustrious by his alliance with Teymûr, and Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, with other distinguished commanders, in order to crush at once those plans of hostility that might be engendering in that quarter.

After a march which he continued with little intermission, both night and day, Meiran Shah, on the plains of Keren, at last came up with the Nikoudrian; whom he found at the head of his tribe prepared to give him battle. From a consideration of the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them, and of the advanced age of the old chief, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, nevertheless, ventured to address him aloud by name; and in respectful and soothing language, endeavoured to prevail upon him, without apprehension of evil, to accompany him

* About the ninth of Shavaul, of the 785th of the hidjerah, according to De la Croix-
or December. A. D. 1383.

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to the presence of Teymûr, assuring him at the same time, of the happy consequences that would be the infallible result of such a concession on his part. But, as the messenger of death was already at hand to seize his victim, the counsels of friendship had lost their effect upon the mind of the Nikoudrian; and the action immediately commencing, his head was struck off at the very first onset by the troops of Meiran Shah, who failed not to transmit without delay to his father's camp, this assured proof of the success of his enterprise. The Moghûl monarch now proceeded upwards along the banks of the Heirmen, and in the course of his progress was surprised by an unexpected visit from the prince of Memkatû, by whom in his early career he had been wounded in the hand; at that period when he was returning from the same province of Seiestaun, from an expedition in which he had been engaged, in conjunction with Ameir Hûsseyne, to assist the native ruler of the country. Relying on the change produced in his person by the revolution of more than twenty years, this chief, having provided himself with a suitable present, composed of every thing that was rare and costly, did not hesitate to appear before Teymûr; but being recognized at the very first glance, he had no sooner quitted the audience tent, than a mandate followed to shoot him to death with arrows, which was carried into immediate execution. The fortress of Memkatû, and the Killa sûrk, or red fort, were now taken possession of by the imperial troops.

Information having, in the mean time, been conveyed to Teymûr, during his further progress through the country, that three thousand of the adherents of the Nikoudrian had thrown themselves into the fortifications of Hazaurbenn;* and being the grossest of infidels, equally destitute of the knowledge of God and of the legation of his messenger, that they had long harrassed the neighboring Mussulman inhabitants with every species of outrage and violence, he conceived it peculiarly incumbent upon a monarch of his distinguished pre-eminence among the faithful, to chastize and repress the enormities of this stigmatised banditti. He accordingly led his troops without further delay in that direction. The fortress in which the Nikoudrians ventured on this occasion to combat for existence, does not,

* The Hazaurpez of De la Croix.

however, appear to have long withstood the superior skill and fortune of Teymûr; it was finally taken possession of, and while part of the garrison was thrown headlong from the precipices on which the place was erected, the remainder suffered the milder punishment of jugulation from the retributive justice of their conqueror. The castle of Dehnaï defended by a body of the Togha, or Tagatchei, a tribe of that name, was next attacked and reduced by the Teymûrians, and the garrison put to the sword, several pyramids being erected with the heads of the slain, to commemorate the severity of the execution to the neighboring tribes.

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Some time previous to the period under consideration, the Avghans, or Afghans of Sûlimankoh, the Sûliman mountains south of Kandahaur, had dispatched to signify their submission to the authority of Teymûr, and to request that one of the imperial commanders might be sent to put himself at the head of their government. Nevertheless, intelligence was now received that this fierce and intractable people had already violated their engagement, and were in open and undisguised revolt. The attention of the Tartar monarch was therefore unavoidably drawn to that quarter; and a vigorous attack was commenced upon the stronghold in which the principal body of those Afghans had assembled, on the very day on which the imperial armies encamped before it. The resistance which they experienced was, however, singularly fierce and obstinate, Jengui, or peradventure Yengui Shah, the son of Mûbaurek Shah Bourdaleighy, being killed, and Mirza Ally and Ankû Teymûr, with other commanders of the most distinguished rank, being wounded soon after the commencement of the attack. On this occasion from a knowledge of his inconsiderate and unbridled valor, Teymûr had thought fit to restrain Auky Teymûr Bahauder from engaging in the conflict, by directing him to take his station near the person of his sovereign; neither could he prevail upon his august patron to withdraw this restriction, although, on information of what had occurred to so many distinguished associates, he besought it on his knees with the tears streaming from his eyes. The conflict continued, however, to rage with uncommon fury and obstinacy, the Afghans in their turn having become the assailants, and compelling the Teymûrians to give way in entire divisions; and

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Ramzaun Khaujah, with his Kûshûn, being left to combat alone against overwhelming multitudes, whose efforts he opposed with unshaken firmness, and under every disadvantage, until relieved by powerful reinforcements of fresh troops. The enemy were then beaten back with dismay and loss, and afforded to the Teymûrians ample scope of vengeance for their recent check. As an instance of bravery singular in its kind, the author has not omitted to mention what was performed, on this occasion, by Abed, or perhaps, Aeid Khaujah, a lad belonging to the troops of Teymûr in the very earliest stage of adolescence. Placing himself in ambush near a projecting rock, this lad watched his opportunity, and from thence springing upon one of the flying Afghans, at once bore him by the hair from his horse to the ground, struck off his head, and immediately conveyed it to the presence of Teymûr; who expressed his equal surprise and admiration at such a proof of early hardihood in the youthful warrior—in one who had scarcely escaped from the trammels of the nursery. But, to disengage ourselves from the web of puerilities into which the narrative has been inadvertently betrayed by adhering too closely to the course of the translation, we shall proceed to state that the whole of the imperial army soon afterwards uniting in a general assault upon the works, they were finally carried; and the entire of the garrison, together with every surviving individual in the place, being distributed for the purpose, to the several Hazaurahs and Kûshûns of the army, were put to the sword without distinction.

Having satiated his vengeance against the Afghans of Sûliman Koh, Teymûr directed his march for Kandahaur; which had recently submitted to a division of the army detached against it, under the orders of Ameir Jahaun Shah. From Kandahaur, where, on the arrival of his sovereign, his services were rewarded by distinguished favor, the same chief was further dispatched to the attack of Kûlaut, a fortress of the highest importance in the Gurrumseyr, or hot region, eastward of Kandahaur, which he reduced by assault; returning afterwards to rejoin his master and to enjoy the further reward of his successful exertions. About the same period Meiran Shah, who had been employed in the direction of Khessaud, probably Kosdar, and the Rebbaut of Sûltan Mahmûd, was again restored to the happiness of his father's

presence; and every thing hostile being, by these successful operations, effectually extinguished in both provinces of Seiestaun and Zâbûl, Teymûr at last resolved on returning to the metropolis of Samarkand; a resolution which he carried into immediate effect, traversing on this occasion, according to De la Croix, the distance between Kandahaur and that celebrated capital,* in the comparatively short period of fourteen days; although, with our experience of the improvements of the eighteenth century, this may not appear any very extraordinary instance of expedition.

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* By the maps it would appear about 500 miles.

CHAP. II.

A. H. 786.

A. D. 1384.

Rouzut-us-
suffia.

THE seven hundred and eighty sixth of the hidjerah being arrived, Teymûr, after a few months repose at Samarkand, and provoked by repeated proofs of prevarication on the part of Ameir Wully the prince of Mazanderaun, at last determined to carry into serious execution his long protracted designs against that province. Having accordingly crossed the Oxus, at the ordinary passage of Termed, he proceeded to Balkh, which he had appointed for the general rendezvous of his armies. While he remained at Balkh awaiting the arrival of the different divisions of his troops, the ambassadors whom, in the course of the preceding year, he had dispatched to the court of Shirauz, returned to his presence, conducting the daughter of Sûltan Aweiss, the son of Shah Shujia, whom he had demanded as the bride of his grandson Mirza Peir Mahommed. One of these ambassadors, Hadjy Khaujah, who had either betrayed his trust, or in some shape or other in the course of his mission transgressed the obligations of duty, was now punished with death.

Having quitted Balkh Teymûr was met on the banks of the Mûrghaub by the consort of Meiran Shah from Herât, bringing with her the infant Khaleil Sûltan, the son of that prince, at this period only two years old, to visit his illustrious grandsire. The lady, after having been magnificently entertained, was dismissed on her return to Herât, leaving the infant prince to accompany the queen consort Serâi Melek Khaunum, to Samarkand; for which city, together with all the females of the imperial family, the princess Touman Aga alone excepted, she shortly afterwards quitted the army. Teymûr now prosecuted his march from the Mûrghaub by the rout of Berkehtaush, to Serkhess; and from the latter place, leaving Abiwerd on one side, proceeded to Nissa,* where he again halted for some time. Here intelligence being

* It would appear more correct to have said, "leaving Nissa on one side and proceeded to Abiwerd," since no circumstance is mentioned to have occurred to require the countermarch described in the text, unless, indeed, that which follows gave occasion for it.

received that an officer employed by Ameir Wully had made himself master of the fortress of Dezenkellah, and was adequately prepared to resist, in that quarter, any attempt on the part of the imperial troops, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with Sounjek, and Mûbasher, and other distinguished commanders, was detached in advance, and fell in with and engaged this advanced division of the enemy, at a place called Gaogoush (the bullock's ear). On this occasion in charging his adversaries, the intrepid Mûbasher received an arrow directly in his mouth, which broke two of his teeth, and passed entirely through his throat. The brave chief held on his course, notwithstanding, until he had struck off the head of the author of his misfortune, which he had the satisfaction of laying at the foot of his sovereign; and the district of Gaogoush was immediately conferred upon him in perpetual fee, and in commemoration of the unconquerable fortitude displayed on the occasion. The fortress of Dezen (or Douroun) was then invested, assailed, and carried, in the course of one and the same day by the Teymûrians; by whom the governor and all that fell into their hands were immediately put to the sword.

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Quitting Dezen, the Duran of the maps possibly, and traversing the territory of Dahestaun, Teymûr crossed the river of Jârjaun and encamped at Shasemnaun; while the commanders of the subordinate divisions of the army were assiduously employed in constructing bridges across the creeks and rivers, which intersected the country in frequent succession. The army then proceeded on its march into Mazanderaun, cutting its way through the almost impervious forests, and slowly advancing at the rate of half a farsang, or three thousand paces a day; while the troops of Ameir Wully continued to harass and impede its progress at every step, without intermission. The Teymûrians were however thus gradually gaining ground on the enemy, for nineteen days successively, when on the twentieth day, they found themselves suddenly and desperately attacked by Ameir Wully in person, at the head of the collected force of Asterabad. The efforts of the invaded prince proved however unavailing against the over-ruling and imperious destiny which seems to have accompanied the troops of Teymûr. The Mazanderanians were repulsed with disgrace and loss, and pursued to a considerable distance by the victorious Moghûls. On the retreat

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of Ameir Wully, nevertheless, either prompted by his own sagacity, or inspired by a ray of that divine intelligence, with which, according to our author, as the vicegerent of heaven he seems to have been in some degree endowed, Teymûr gave orders that the commander of each division in the army should, without delay, secure his position in front with a ditch and parapet of fascines, further strengthened by a palisade, or range of sharp stakes driven into the earth. Towards the evening of the same day, urged by some similar felicitous impulse, he selected from the army thirty Kûshûns, of about five hundred each, whom he placed in ambush; to be employed as the occasion might require which he appears to have had in contemplation.

When the night was sufficiently advanced, as appears to have been well foreseen, Ameir Wully and his Mazanderanians again forsook the protection of their bulwarks at Asterabad, and, in the hope of taking it by surprise, approached to attack the imperial encampment. The efforts of the assailants were first directed against that part of the right under the immediate command of Meiran Shah, which they attacked with great fury and impetuosity, endeavoring to cut away and displace the palisades and parapets, with their swords and lances; but falling in heaps one upon another in the ditch of the intrenchment, and Meiran Shah directing his archers to keep up upon them an incessant discharge of arrows, while the thirty Kûshûns in ambuscade rushed from their posts and charged them on every side, they were thrown into irretrievable disorder, and ultimately fled in all directions. To complete their misfortune, Ameir Wully, previous to the last attempt, having caused a number of pits armed with sharp stakes at the bottom, and filled with water, to be opened in the direction in which the imperial troops were marching, the fugitives prevented from discovering their danger by the obscurity of the night, miserably perished, for the most part, in the snare which had been laid for their adversaries; thus affording, according to our original, an illustration of the maxim, "commit not evil lest evil befall thee." This defeat is stated to have occurred in the month of Shavaul of the seven hundred and eighty sixth of the hidjerah.*

Terrified to the last degree by this disastrous discomfiture, Ameir Wully with his wives and children accompanied by a very slender

* December, A. D. 1384.

escort, fled in the course of the self-same night by the way of Lungur towards Damaghaun, and lodging his family in the fortress of Guerdah, finally continued his flight from thence to Rey. Thither he was pursued by a body of the Teymûrians, under Khodadaud the son of Hûseyne, and Ameir Sheikh Ally, who had scarcely obtained a transient view of his encampment before he disappeared, and threw himself into the territory of Rûstumdaur, amidst the forests and inaccessible mountain ranges of which, he found a sufficient asylum against the further designs of his pursuers. In the mean time, having taken possession of Asterabad, Teymûr conferred the government of that place and its dependencies on Lukman Padshah, the son of Togha Teymûr Khaun; who had been long condemned to lead a wandering life, under the usurpation of Ameir Wully, who was originally a dignitary of his father's court.

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Leaving the main body of his troops with his heavy baggage and equipments to pass the winter in Mazanderaun, in charge of Ameir Aukbouga and Ouje Kara Bahauder, Teymûr, with a selection of one in three from the whole army, proceeded towards Rey; and soon afterwards entering the dependencies of that ancient city, the intelligence of his arrival produced no small degree of dismay and indecision in the councils of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir, at this period residing at Sûltauniah. Having, however, employed some exertion to put that place in a state of defence, the Sûltan consigned it to the care of his son Aukbouga, a minor, under the tutelage of one of his officers of the name of Mûbasher, and made the best of his way to Tebreiz. On the other hand, although it was in the very depth of winter, Ameir Omar the son of Abbas with not more than fifty horse, by order of Teymûr approaching Sûltauniah, the garrison conceiving this detachment to be the advanced guard of the imperial army, immediately abandoned the place and carried the young prince after his father to Tebreiz; and Ameir Omar was suffered to take possession of the citadel without resistance, which he despatched a messenger to announce without delay to his sovereign. A report, however, being propagated that Sûltan Ahmed was advancing to relieve Sûltauniah, the misguided and disorderly multitude immediately arose, and put to death the agents employed by Ameir Omar to levy a contribution among the inhabi-

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tants ; but the imperial commander, contriving, with some difficulty to maintain his post in the citadel, and the report proving groundless, took ample revenge for this indiscreet ebullition of popular fury, by cutting the greater part of the insurgents to pieces.

As soon as the severity of winter was at an end, and the season for active operations had returned, Teymûr in person at the head of his army appeared at Sûltauniah ; and on the arrival of Audel Aga, whom he had some time since invited from Shirauz, where he had resided under the protection of Sultan Zeyn-ul-aubbedein, the son of Shah Shujia, ever since the period at which he had been driven from Irâk by Sûltan Ahmed, he restored that chief to his government ; placing at his disposal a division of the army, under Mahommed Sûltan Shah, for the support of his authority against the attempts of the Eylkhau-nian. Teymûr then turned short in his career towards Kohestaun ; the native chiefs relying upon the inaccessible retreats of that country, having declined making their appearance at court with the customary proofs of submission. The Teymûrian troops were therefore employed to pillage, and lay waste the country in every direction "right and left ;" after which, with an immense booty in possession, they were again conducted into Mazanderaun, their sovereign having it in contemplation to lay siege to Amûl and Sâry, two of the principal towns in that province, which with many others had not yet submitted to his authority. The agents of Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein and Seyud Rezzy-ud-dein, in the government of those places, presenting themselves, however, shortly afterwards, before the Tartar monarch, with the necessary peishkesh, and other proofs of submission, he contented himself with laying a strict charge upon the two Seyuds to cultivate a system of cordial friendship with Lukman Padshah, recently established in the government of Asterabad. This arrangement completed, Teymûr finally quitted Mazanderaun and returned into Trans-oxiana ; where he passed the remainder of the summer in the usual recreations at Samarkand, and the winter at his palace of Zenjeir serâi in the neighborhood of Kesh.

It was in the course of the same winter, that of the 787th-88th of the hidjerah,* that Touktemesh Khaun, whom about ten years pre-

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vious to this period he had established on the throne of Keptchawk Tartary, forgetful of the obligations of gratitude, presumed to traverse the designs of Teymûr, and finally became involved in hostilities with him, by dispatching a force of one hundred thousand men under Peyk Pûlaud, and several other Keptchawkian chiefs of the race of Jûjy, to invade the territory of Tebreiz; in which they accordingly proceeded to exhibit the usual train of enormities, although, with our author, we conceive it would be here utterly superfluous to enter into the detail.

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Having determined to extend his conquests in western Persia, and for that purpose reassembled his armies, Teymûr, in the fair season of the seven hundred and eighty eighth of the hidjerah, leaving the government of Transoxiana to the care of Ameir Sûliman Shah, the son of Ameir Dâoud, again crossed the Jeyhûn, directing his march, on this occasion, immediately towards Feyrouzkoh; the fortress so often mentioned on the north eastern angle of Persian Irâk. At that place it is thought of importance to state that he was now joined by Gheyauth-ud-dein the son of Kummaul-ud-dein governor of Sâry, with a considerable detachment of his father's troops. In the mean time, complaints having been long since conveyed to Teymûr of the outrages to which the karavans of Hejauz, and the sacred cities, were perpetually exposed, from the rapacious violence of Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of the lesser Lurrestaun, between Irâk Arab and Khûzistaun; and the same complaints being about this period repeated to him, with circumstances of accumulated aggravation, he resolved to avenge in person the injuries sustained by the defenceless Hadjies, and other unoffending travellers, from this man's unwarrantable proceedings. With this resolution in mind he accordingly directed the Touatcheis, or commissaries of array, to make a draught of two out of ten from the most active soldiers of the army, in order to accompany their sovereign on the expedition; and the arrangements being speedily completed, Teymûr, leaving the main body at Feyrouzkôh, hastened at the head of this select division of his army towards Lurrestaun, which he reached by forced marches, peradventure, before his adversary was prepared to oppose him. The troops were immediately employed to carry pillage and desolation through every part of the province; and the fortress of Khorremabad

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the principal resort of the robbers, being shortly afterwards reduced and rased to the ground, they are said to have been for the greater part exterminated. The period was, however, fatal to some of Teymur's most distinguished captains; among others to Aukitemûr Bahauder, Omar the son of Abbas, and Mahommed the son of Sultan Shah who died in the ordinary course of nature. Khaujah Ally Mûeyud the Serbedaurian also, in the course of the service, was wounded by an arrow, the effects of which he did not long survive.

While yet engaged in Lûrrestaun, on this occasion, intelligence reached Teymûr that Sûltan Ahmed had repossessed himself of Tebreiz. It became therefore expedient to detach Meiran Shah with the advanced guard of the army, immediately to that quarter, the Tartar monarch following in person with the main body, as soon afterwards as it was convenient, having left Sheikh Ally Bahauder to maintain his authority in Persian Irâk. Sultan Ahmed withdrawing, however, on intelligence of the approach of the Teymûrians, and retiring again on the way to Baghdâd through Armenia, the pursuit of him was entrusted to Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; but as the Sûltan had abandoned his baggage with all that could unnecessarily impede his flight, a small part only of the pursuing division, under Eleiaus Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, succeeded in coming up with him, at a station, from its salt-marshes, called Nimmokzaur; where, with infinite disparity of number, the young chief found himself opposed to the whole force of the enemy. A severe conflict ensued in which Eleiaus Khaujah being dangerously wounded, the Sûltan was enabled to continue his flight without further interruption; and a tedious disorder having been brought on in consequence of his wounds, the Khaujah lingered for a long time in considerable pain, although he finally recovered at the expence of a slight injury to his leg. During the expedition to expel Sûltan Ahmed, Nakhtchûan and its dependencies on the river Araxes became, in the mean time, the scene of horrible bloodshed and destruction; among others, according to De la Croix, Komaury Eynauk exercised his vengeance by suffocating five hundred individuals in the smoke of the burning palace of Zeiâi-ul-mûlk, while the horrors of conflagration were extended, in the same vindictive and exterminating spirit, throughout the whole province.

On the subjugation of the greater part of Azerbâijaun by his generals, Teymûr proceeded to encamp at Shûnb, or Shub-e-ghauzan, a station which appears to have lain within two or three leagues of Tebreiz. Here he received the homage of the principal inhabitants of the province in general, and a reasonable contribution having been imposed upon them, as a ransom for their lives and property, it was collected without material difficulty or delay. The imperial army continued stationary during the remainder of this summer at Tebreiz, and in its vicinity.

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In the mean time Audel Aga, by his unaccommodating and arrogant demeanor, had given the utmost disgust and dissatisfaction to the officers of Teymur's court, who had been left to support him in the government of Sultauniah, and that part of Persian Irâk; and an opportunity was early seized to accuse him in the presence of his new sovereign. His neglect, at the same time, to convey to the conqueror on any occasion the ordinary expressions of respect and zeal, and his unrestrained expenditure of the revenues of the country in extravagant largesses, and ostentatious appointments bestowed upon his captains and their followers, altogether, produced at last an impression extremely unfavorable to the sincerity of his attachment. Urged by these considerations Teymûr finally resolved to seize and secure the person of this haughty and turbulent vassal; and for that purpose Arkutemûr was accordingly dispatched to Sultauniah with instructions to arrest him together with all his adherents, on a day appointed; and to take possession of the treasures which in the course of so many years, and notwithstanding some extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, he had still contrived to amass to a considerable amount. Proceeding to Sultauniah Ankutemûr prepared to carry his orders into execution; but by some means or other receiving intelligence of the design, Audel Aga evinced a determination to defend himself: and this circumstance being further intimated to Teymur, measures were so arranged that on the evening which preceded the day appointed for his arrest, the whole of the imperial force should be stationed in such a manner around Sultauniah, as to cut off from the obnoxious chieftain every avenue for his escape. Accordingly on the morning appointed, when he arose to pursue his ordinary avocations, he too distinctly discovered that he was

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on every side environed by the Teymûrians. All his protestations of repentance and regret were now unavailing, his destruction being resolved on; and at the expiration of a few days it was, by some means or other, contrived to throw down a wall upon him, under the ruins of which he finally perished. Not long afterwards Ameir Wully, the fugitive prince of Mazanderaun, was seized by the governor of Khelkhaul and delivered over to Komaury Eynauk, who immediately struck off his head and conveyed it to the presence of Teymur.

With every disposition to adhere to the original plan, the design of which was merely to trace the outline of Teymûr's numerous expeditions, these pages have again insensibly dilated into circumstantial detail; but as it would, otherwise, have been difficult to furnish a distinct review of that celebrated conqueror's ever memorable career, the inconvenience becomes in some measure unavoidable, although it shall still continue the object of the relater to circumscribe his narrative, within the narrowest possible limits consistent with general perspicuity.

Putting his troops again in motion, towards the conclusion of the summer, Teymûr directed his march north towards the Araxes on the road to Nakhtchuaun, and appeared before Kurny, or Kornî, which was reduced without material difficulty. From thence he continued to advance in the same direction and displayed his victorious standards in sight of Sermaulû, situated on the banks of the same river Araxes, or Oras, which was taken by assault, and the governor, Toulân, a Tûrkman by nation, laid neck and heels at the foot of the conqueror. He next appears to have followed the course of the Araxes upwards, turning off towards Karss, from the garrison of which he experienced a very obstinate and pertinacious resistance; but the governor Feyrouz Bukht conceiving, after a defence of considerable duration, that it would be unavailing to contend any longer against the superior fortune of his besiegers, finally surrendered; and the place, after it had been pillaged by the soldiery, was converted into a heap of ruins.

The cold season was now set in; but neither the severe rigour of the weather, nor any other consideration was sufficient to withhold the Tartar monarch from striking across the peninsula, to the city of Teflis, which from its strength and importance, and from the misguided

zeal of the Georgian garrison, seemed prepared to make the most formidable resistance. At the same time, it is said to have been considered by Teymûr as no slight imputation, that among so many surrounding Mussulman states, and by such trifling concessions, this infidel community should have been suffered to retain its independence for so long a period; and he accordingly expressed his determination, now that he possessed the ability as well as the inclination, to remove without further delay, such a nest of pollution and impiety from the face of the land. Aware of these sentiments on the part of their sovereign, the troops exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal, in advancing their approaches against the city on every side. Their efforts were accompanied with their usual success; and they ultimately forced their way into the place sword in hand, surmounting every obstacle, and cutting to pieces the greater part of the garrison and inhabitants. Melek Bokraut, or Hippocrates, prince of Teflis, was bound neck and heels, and in that state carried before Teymûr, by whose orders he was loaded with irons; but apostatising, as it is said, from the faith of Christ at a subsequent period, he sought to ensure a milder destiny by embracing the religion of Mahommed.

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On the reduction of Teflis, Teymûr indulged the national disposition of his followers by devoting a short period to the amusements of the chase. For this purpose the troops of the right and left wing, moving round to unite by their flanks, proceeded to form the Nerkah, or grand circle, in its widest range; after which, contracting towards the centre, they gradually closed in on the numerous assemblage of wild animals driven from every quarter, deer, antelope, onager (gourkherr) and every other species of game, and thus secured such an abundant variety as had but seldom fallen into the toils of the hunter. Then, resuming the more serious operations of war, Teymûr proceeded through the territory on the left of the Kûrr; reducing as he advanced the many towns and fortresses which lay parallel to his march, and enriching his troops with an immense booty, in gold and silver, precious stones and pearl. While encamped at Shekky, in particular, he dispatched a division of the army under Ameir Jahaun Shah, against the Legzies, another division under Mahommed Derwaish Berlas into the mountainous ranges adjoining to Shekky, and Ameir Arghûn Shah Akhta-

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chei, one of the grand equerries, with Ramzaun Khaujah towards the district of Memkenout, or Tengkout; whilst the Ameirs Mahomed Beg and Mûssa ravaged the territory of Aukjeb. All these, at a subsequent period, rejoined their sovereign at the station of Keblah, or Kemblah, it is impossible to determine which, after spreading slaughter, desolation, and havoc, through the several countries which stood within the operation of this career of barbarity and violence.

Having further reduced and demolished the Kellasûrkh, or red fortress, Teymûr encamped on the banks of the Kûrr, which he passed shortly afterwards by a flying bridge, continuing his march towards Berdaa; and the inhabitants of that territory submitting without resistance, he finally conducted his ferocious legions to Kârabaugh of Aran, on the left of the Araxes. It was at this place that he undertook, and succeeded in the conversion of Hippocrates prince of Teflis; whom on his apostacy to the faith of Mahommed, he loaded with favors, and restored to his dominions with a considerable augmentation of territory. At the same crisis Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim prince of both the provinces of Shirvaun, equally distinguished among the Persians of this age, for his magnificent spirit, and for his ancient and illustrious descent, hastened to make his submission to Teymûr, accompanying his professions of amity and homage with a most splendid present of every thing that was rare and costly. Among the circumstances of adulation by which he contrived, in a peculiar degree, to attract the favor of the Tartar conqueror, and to secure the possession of his hereditary dominions undisturbed, the following is described as equally unprecedented and ingenious. According to an established rule it was necessary that all presents offered to the acceptance of the reigning monarch, should consist of nine different assortments of nine articles respectively, or nine times nine. Either by accident or design, part of Ameir Ibrauhim's present consisting of eight purchased slaves only, he very coolly took his place among them in order to make up the requisite complement of nine; a piece of flattery so singularly conceived as to be considered by Teymûr the strongest proof of zeal and attachment, which he returned by evincing the kindest disposition to promote his welfare, and by confirming on the spot the uncontrouled possession of his native dominions, with all the territory which had at any pe-

riod been annexed to them ; so that thus substantially recognized in his title of *Shirvanshah*, under such exalted authority, Ameir Ibrau- him might proceed to exercise the functions of his power with additional confidence and splendor. The princes of Guilân also, who, relying on the inaccessible strength of their mountains and impervious forests, had hitherto but seldom submitted to become tributary to the most powerful of the Persian monarchs, availed themselves of this opportunity to dispatch their sons and representatives, with suitable and costly proofs of homage to the presence of the Tcheghatâyan ; Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who had been left in charge of the heavy equipments of the army, undertaking to conduct these agents by the route of Ardebeil, to Kârabaugh, where Teymûr had now resolved to pass the winter of seven hundred and eighty nine.*

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In the early part of that year, as soon as the rigors of winter had given way to the genial mildness of spring, when Teymûr was on his return towards Berdaa, here celebrated for its local beauties and amenity, and elsewhere as the residence of Keydafah queen of the Amazons,† renowned for her libidinous visit to Alexander of Macedon, he received intelligence, on his march, of impending hostilities with Touktemesh Khaun, indicated by the appearance of a body of his troops on the opposite bank of the Kûrr, which river they had evinced a design of crossing. The Ameirs Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Ankûtemûr, and Othman the son of Abbas, were directed to pass the Kûrr without delay, and to ascertain the truth of this intelligence ; but, with instructions to beware of being the first to commence hostilities with the troops of the Keptchakian monarch, since, however, violated on his part, the peace had not yet in any shape been infringed on the part of Teymûr. Meiran Shah proceeded shortly afterwards in the same direction, in order to support this detachment in case of necessity. In the mean time, the advanced Ameirs crossing the Kûrr, in conformity with their instructions, very soon fell in with a detachment of the enemy, who replied to their interrogations, that they were employed by Touktemesh Khaun, to guard the entrances into that quarter gainst the approach of the armies of Teymûr. Faithful to their instructions the Tcheghatayan Ameirs, restrained themselves from

* A. D. 1387.

† The Thalestris of Quintus Curtius.

A. H. 789. indulging in their native impetuosity, and indicated a disposition to
 A. D. 1387. decline a conflict with their opponents; which being ascribed by the
 Rouzut-us-suffa. latter to motives of fear, or a sense of inferior force, and producing on
 their part an adequate proportion of audacity, they determined to
 avail themselves of these fancied advantages, and immediately opened
 upon the Teymûrians a galling and unceasing discharge of arrows.
 Thus urged by the necessity of self-defence the Teymûrians, with
 their usual ardour, proceeded to chastise the aggression; but impru-
 dently holding their adversaries in too great contempt, and neglect-
 ing the ordinary precautions of discipline in their mode of attack,
 they had experienced a considerable check, with the loss of forty of
 their warriors, when the division under Meiran Shah arrived very
 opportunely to their support. The troops of Touktemesh were now
 repulsed in their turn, and betaking themselves to flight were pursu-
 ed, with considerable slaughter, all the way to Derbend; a multitude
 of prisoners falling into the hands of Meiran Shah, by whom they were
 early conveyed in bonds to the presence of his father. After expos-
 tulating with them on the wickedness of an aggression so unprovok-
 ed, on the part of a prince who was bound to him by every obliga-
 tion of gratitude and duty, Teymûr freely liberated the whole, charg-
 ing them to admonish their master, in his name, to beware in time of
 awakening the sleeping mischief; and to be well advised before he
 finally exposed himself to the recorded execration of the divine law.
 The imperial armies then encamped on the Gouktchehtengueiz, or
 blue water lake, to the eastward of Eirvaun.

Receiving advices, while thus encamped, that Serâi Melek Khau-
 num, the queen consort,* with the young princes Shah Rokh and
 Khaleil Sûltan, was on her way to join him from Samarkand, Tey-
 mûr, shortly afterwards hastened to Marend, to meet these cherished
 branches of his family. But when the feelings of conjugal and pa-
 rental affection had been sufficiently indulged, he resumed with in-
 creased activity the operations of war, and conducted his troops before
 the fortress of Alanjek, north of the lake of Vàn; which the officers
 of Sûltan Ahmed were busily employed in preparing to defend a-
 gainst him. On the night of the third day, after his arrival, he caused

* Baunûi auzemy.

his troops to ascend the mountain on which this celebrated fortress was situated, and the following day, the lower fesseil, or *enceinte*, was carried by assault, the garrison retiring into the citadel or upper fort. Here they continued to defend themselves with considerable firmness and intrepidity, until, reduced to the last extremity by the total failure of their supply of water, they were compelled in the most abject terms to implore for quarter; engaging themselves by oath to descend from their works and submit to mercy, if the imperial troops would cease from hostilities. The clemency of Teymûr was for once awakened at the cries of distress, possibly to be forever laid asleep by the severe disappointment which he was destined to experience on this occasion. For, when the soldiers had withdrawn by his directions from the approaches which had been advanced, with great forwardness, against the last defences of the place, the sky became suddenly overcast, and a heavy fall of rain ensuing, the cisterns and reservoirs soon overflowed; and the garrison, restored to their firmness by this unlooked for relief, proceeded, in defiance of their recent solemn engagement, and with increased audacity, to employ all their means of annoyance against the besiegers. In short, perceiving that the reduction of this place presented obstacles of a greater magnitude than had entered into his calculation, Teymûr yielded to the necessity of rejoining his heavy equipment; leaving the further prosecution of the siege to Mahommed Meirkeh the son of Sheir-e-Behraum, and Ouje Kâra Bahauder. The fortress of Bayezzid, more to the eastward, had been previously invested by the division under Sheikh Ally Bahauder; and the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-udein, and Eidkû Teymûr being now dispatched to join that chief, the operations against the place were carried on with vigorous activity by the united skill of these generals; and the pioneers and miners having at last succeeded in draining the wet ditch, the fortress was finally attacked and overpowered by assault, and the surviving garrison, as on some other occasions, conveyed in bonds to the presence of Teymûr.

While these occurrences were passing in one quarter, information was communicated to Teymûr of the numerous acts of robbery and violence, to which the Kauflahs, or associations of merchants and others travelling towards Arabia, were continually exposed from the barbarity of the predatory Tûrkomans; and as he conceived this a species of

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violation of the rights of society and humanity, which peculiarly demanded the interference of imperial power, he determined for the present to suspend all other designs, and to devote his attention to the punishment of these unbridled banditti. He accordingly quitted the territory of Nakhtchûaun, to which he had by this time transferred his head quarters, and proceeded at the head of his troops against Kâra Mahommed, the chief of the Kârakûynlû, or black wether tribe, and father of the celebrated Kâra Yûssuf; having first directed Mahommed Meirkeh to withdraw from the blockade of Alanjek, and sent his heavy baggage to remain at Alatauk. He then hastened by forced marches, with a chosen division of the army, towards the attainment of his object. As he passed, in the mean time, through the territory dependent on the fortress of Bayezzid, occasionally denominated that of Aeidein, which had escaped hitherto unmolested by the troops employed under Sheikh Ally Bahauder and Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, the unfortunate inhabitants were exposed to the most barbarous pillage, on the part of the rapacious soldiery who immediately followed the imperial standard. From Bayezzid he advanced next to Auneik, or Avaneik, [the city of Van so called, according to De la Croix, but erroneously] ravaging and bestroying the whole of the Tûrkman settlements that lay in his progress.

On the subjugation of Auneik, the imperial troops entered the territory of Arzerûm, and an agent was dispatched towards Erzenjaun to demand the submission of Taherten, the independent prince of that part of the country. Inspired by his better fortune this prince determined on receiving the agent of Teymûr with every mark of respect and kindness, and proceeded to give him, on his arrival, the most satisfactory proofs of zeal and obedience to the authority of his master. Meiran Shah with a division of the army was employed, in the meantime, to explore the retreat of Kâra Mahommed; and having carried pillage and devastation to the very innermost abodes of the obnoxious tribes, returned loaded with booty, and with a multitude of captives of both sexes, to rejoin the imperial encampment. The march of Mahommed Meirkah detached on a similar expedition, leading, however, through a mountainous district, intersected by narrow, and intricate passes and defiles, the enemy availed themselves of these advantages to intercept him at different points, during his progress;

although, after severe and repeated conflicts, and by a conspicuous exertion of superior valour, he also finally succeeded in repelling the danger, and in reconducting his division safe to the camp of his sovereign.

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A third division, which had been dispatched on the same design of hunting out the retreat of the Tûrkman chief, under Sheikh Ally Bahauder the son of Arghûn Berlas, and other distinguished commanders, finally reached the spot, where, on the summit, or ridge, of a lofty and inaccessible mountain, among rocks and precipices, he had taken post. All the resources of valour and skill were immediately employed to open a passage to this inaccessible retreat, without success; and all attempts to dislodge the Tûrkman from his unassailable ridges being found in vain, the Teymûrians thought it prudent to relinquish the enterprize, and so proceeded without delay to rejoin the main body. A fourth division which hastened to enter the lands of the hostile tribe by a yet different route, came suddenly upon one of their principal cantonments, and having possessed themselves of a very considerable booty in horses and arms, made good their retreat to the imperial encampment in perfect safety; while Shah Melek the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein Berlas, who had undertaken to proceed against the enemy without the permission of his sovereign, was found a lifeless corse in the intervening solitude.

Leaving Arzerûm Teymûr turned to the southward to the plains of Moush; and having laid waste and plundered the intermediate country, conducted his troops, after several marches, to the walls of Ekhlaut the capital of lower Armenia, on the northwestern angle of the lake of Van. The magistrates of this place, submitting without resistance, were treated with humanity and kindness; and the Tartar monarch continued his march to the plains of Adeljouz. From the governor of this territory he also experienced a prompt submission; for which he compensated by confirming him in his government, with many gracious marks of liberality and favor. Thence leaving the Guïagoul, [the great lake, or lake of Van possibly so called on occasion] and passing the Bend-e-mauhy, or fish weir, a small stream which discharges itself into the lake of Van, Teymûr, having apparently skirted, on this occasion, the northeastern shore of that lake, returned with his army to Alatauk, where his baggage and heavy equipments had formerly been dispatched to await his orders.

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From Alatauk, shortly after this, Teymûr led his troops towards Van and Vestaun; towns, according to De la Croix, at the distance of six leagues from each other, about northwest and southeast. Against the approaching storm, Melek Ezz-ud-dein the prince of the country, sheltered himself, for the present, in the castle of Van; described as a place of extraordinary strength, situated on the summit of a mountain, and encompassed on one side by a considerable body of water, most probably the lake of the same name. After a resistance of two days, Melek Ezz-ud-dein was induced, however, by a prudent foresight, to descend from his impregnable retreat, and to submit himself to the mercy of Teymûr, by whom he was favorably received; but, the garrison, disdaining to follow the example of their chief, and chusing a person of the name of Nausser-ud-dein to succeed him, hastened to secure the approaches to their works, and evinced a determination to defend themselves to the last extremity against the attempts of their besiegers. The imperial engineers received orders, upon this, to advance their warlike machines, and the troops to renew their attack with unabating vigor, and perseverance; and at the expiration of twenty days, during which it had been contrived to suspend the destiny of the place, it was finally carried by assault. One half of the garrison had their throats cut for their unavailing pertinacity, while the remainder were cast headlong, bound hand and foot, from the summit of the rock on which the castle stood, and the works of which were immediately directed to be rased to the foundations.

The construction of the castle of Van, thus subjugated by the arms of Teymûr, is here ascribed, on the authority of preceding writers, to Aud, the father of Shedaud, a celebrated Arabian prince of remote antiquity; who caused it to be formed of such gigantic masonry, that each separate stone of the fabric is compared to a stupendous fragment of caucasus. The date of its reduction on the present occasion is preserved in the letters which compose the sentence "Keywaun beguer-
eft;" the great king, the modern Key, has reduced Vaun; or possibly, He has made himself master of the Planet Saturn, the remotest on the solar system—exhibiting in the aggregate numerically taken, the period 789. Nausser-ud-dein, upon whom the government had been so inauspiciously obtruded, fell alive into the hands of the besiegers,

and having been ignominiously paraded through the encampment with his hair and beard half shaved, was finally put to death on the day on which the army marched from Van, and his head exposed at a narrow pass, through which the imperial troops had been ordered to defile.

About this period an embassy from Ameir Taherten, prince of Erzenjaun, reached the imperial encampment, conveying at the same time a very superb display of presents, and the most solemn assurances that during life he should devote himself, with inviolable fidelity, to the cause and glory of Teymûr. The ambassador was honorably received, and a patent formally expedited, confirming his master in the independent government of his province. On his arrival at Selmaus, on the borders of Azerbâijaun south-west of Tebreiz, Teymur acknowledged his obligations to Melek-Ezz-ud-dein, by conferring upon him the government of Kûrdestaun; and not long afterwards, availing himself of the impulse of his better fortune, Tenouk the petty prince of Ermi, or Urmia, on the lake of that name, repaired to the presence of Teymûr; and, with other marks of favor, including a female of singular beauty, obtained from the Tartar conqueror a similar confirmation in the government of his province.

On his entrance into Persian Irâk at the commencement of the expedition, Teymûr had dispatched to the court of Zeyne-ul-aubbedein the son of Shah Shujia, who had succeeded to the sovereignty of Shirauz, an agent to remind him of the terms on which he had been recommended to the imperial protection by his departed father, and urging him to avail himself of the short distance by which they were then separated, to secure a friendly interview; in order that the opportunity might not, as it was said, be suffered to escape, by which it was designed to distinguish him, in a manner to exalt him above the most illustrious of his contemporaries. At the same time, he was expressly assured that at the expiration of the conference with his imperial patron, he would be permitted to return to his capital in the full possession of every thing that could contribute to throw a lustre upon, and give stability to his power. But, the fortune of this prince being now arrived at the point at which it was destined to decline, he sought by various and frivolous pretences to elude the summons, and to protract, from time to time, the proposed visit; and he proceeded to give

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 A. D. 1387. under restraint the person of Teymûr's agent employed on this oc-
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 suffa.

It required only the necessary confirmation of this intelligence to produce in the mind of Teymûr the final resolution of undertaking without further delay, the subjugation of Farss, and the remainder of Irâk Ajem; and having again put his troops in motion accordingly, and dispatched his heavy baggage and equipments, under Meiran Shah, accompanied by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, towards Rey, in order to pass the winter at the station of Saurek-kemesh, he proceeded in person, during the autumn of the seven hundred and eighty ninth of the hidjerah, at the head of the main body of the army, directly towards Isfahaun. On his appearance before that city, some time afterwards, Seyud Mûzuffur Kaushy the maternal uncle of Sûltan Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, and the principal inhabitants, hastened to present themselves in the most respectful manner to the Tartar monarch; from whom they experienced, outwardly, a very favorable and encouraging reception. He was, at the same time, permitted without obstacle to enter, and take possession of, the citadel or castle of Teberrek, or Tabarek, which he immediately consigned to the care of Eykûteymûr, one of his principal generals. Then returning to his camp in the neighborhood, he issued orders that all the horses and arms in Isfahaun should be delivered up without reserve to his officers; while detachments of the imperial troops were sent to take possession of, and secure the gates of the town. The city magistrates had now repaired to the camp of Teymûr in order to adjust the terms on which their fellow citizens were to be redeemed from the horrors of plunder and massacre; and a stipulated sum was agreed upon, which they requested that the proper persons might be appointed to collect. Detaining the magistrates in his camp Teymûr sent four of his officers, Nour Melék Berlas, Ameir Mahommed Sûltan Shah, Melek Teymûr, and Ameir Aukbouga, into the town to superintend the collection; but the subordinate agents of these Ameirs, employed in the different districts to levy the several proportions of the ransom, proceeding as usual to the exercise of their power, with unfeeling rigor, and to insult the families of the distressed inhabitants, the Isfahaunians suddenly flew

to arms; and under the conduct of one of their fellow citizens of the name of Ally Kutchehpa,* distinguished for his bold and intrepid spirit, hastened to repel, and to take vengeance on their oppressors. Of these, accordingly, many fell a sacrifice to the fury of the insurgents; while others, by the more cautious prudence of a part of the inhabitants, were protected during the paroxysm of the insurrection. The Tcheghatayan troops, and others in want of various articles of supply, having entered the city at the same time, however, in scattered parties, without suspicion of danger, the number of those who were cut off on this occasion did not amount, altogether, to less than three thousand persons; and among these was included Mahommed the son of Khatai Bahauder, an officer of some distinction. Neither did the fury of the insurgents terminate until they had entirely expelled the Teymûrian detachments stationed at the gates of the town; to fortify which, against those dreadful measures of retaliation to be speedily poured upon them, every possible precaution was immediately employed.

The next day, as soon as this unexpected ebullition of tumultuary vengeance became known to Teymûr, his indignation was awakened to the utmost degree of violence; and he gave orders that the army should be put in motion without delay to attack the city, which orders were carried into immediate execution. The Isfahanians, on the other hand, with the self devotion of men who combated in defence of life, and of all that made it valuable, exhibited the most courageous and determined resistance against the efforts of their assailants, of whom they destroyed considerable numbers; and among those of distinguished rank on the side of the Teymûrians who fell on the occasion, were the Ameirs Beyan Teymûr and Aukbouga. Abbas and Othman Bahauders were also dangerously wounded by arrows, but subsequently recovered. The city was, nevertheless, finally carried; and, an exception having been made in favor of the ministers of religion and agents of the law, and of those quarters where, through the cooler prudence of the inhabitants, the collectors had been sheltered from the rage of the insurgents, a general massacre immediately commenced by the express orders of Teymûr. By the same authority it was further enjoined, that every division of the army from the tomaun

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* Crooked leg.

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to that of an hundred men, should not fail to produce its due proportion of the heads of the slain, which the imperial Tawatcheis or commissaries of muster and array, were instructed to take an account of; and it is stated, on the most authentic reports, that the number of heads collected on this occasion amounted to not less than seventy thousand, all of which were formed, as was the frequent practice, into one or more frightful pyramids in sight of the town. To complete the misfortune of the inhabitants, a considerable number, who had contrived under cover of the night to effect their escape from immediate destruction, endeavoured to find concealment among the recesses of the neighboring vallies; but the unseasonable intervention of a fall of snow, by exhibiting the course of the fugitives, betrayed to their pursuers the place of their retreat, and they were, the following day, led forth to slaughter, and drenched in their own blood.

The massacre at Isfahaun, on this occasion, is said by De la Croix to have happened on monday, the sixth of Zilkaudah, of the seven hundred and eighty ninth of the hidjerah;* and, without expressly ascribing the calamitous event to the influence of the heavenly bodies, the author whom we principally draw upon, here remarks that nearly at the same period a conjunction of the higher planets had taken place in Gemini, followed shortly afterwards by a similar conjunction in Cancer, of the malignant planets Saturn and Mars.

When he was at leisure from this sanguinary adjustment of his concern with Isfahaun, Teymûr, after committing the government of that city to Hadjy Beg the son of Saurbougâ, and Nouban Shah, two of his captains, proceeded on his march towards Shirauz; at present, as has been recently shewn, under the authority of Sûltan Zeyn ul-aubbedein of the race of Mûzuffur. But the approach of his formidable adversary became no sooner known to the Shirauzian than, in conformity with the maxim which teaches us in affliction to draw to our kindred, he retired without delay, by the route of Kâzeroun, towards Tûster the capital of Khûzistaun, then under the dominion of his cousin german Shah Munsûr, the son of Shah Mûzuffur; although there existed grounds of jealousy between the kinsmen, to render the fugitive sufficiently dubious of his reception: and the sequel furnish-

* 16th November, 1387.

es, in truth, an additional example of the bitter regret which that man is likely to experience, who commits his personal safety to the discretion of an enemy. For when it was ascertained that Zeyn-ul-
aubbedein was arrived within a short distance of his capital, Shah Mun-
sûr proceeded by his emissaries, and by promises which he little de-
signed to perform, to seduce from their allegiance the followers of his
too confident relative; so that being finally abandoned by the greater part
of his adherents, the unfortunate prince was soon afterwards seized,
and his person immured in the castle of Sellausil.. Those, however,
by whom he had been so basely forsaken in his distress, did not expe-
rience a milder destiny; they were also consigned to imprisonment,
and their effects of every description converted to the use of their
oppressor.

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Teymûr, on the other hand, equally disposed to chastise his adver-
saries and to cherish his friends, encamped without obstacle on the first
day of Zilhudge,* in sight of Shirauz; the chief magistrates and most
distinguished citizens hastening to prostrate themselves at the feet of
the conqueror, and entering into a composition on the spot, by which
they engaged, from a contribution levied on the property of the inhabi-
tants, to lodge in the hands of the imperial treasurers, the sum of one
thousand Kopeiky Tomauns.† This sum, whatever may have been
its actual value, Othman the son of Abbas was employed to receive,
and the whole was faithfully paid to the utmost dirrem; and the au-
thority of Teymûr was soon afterwards publicly acknowledged by the
annunciation of his name in the Khotbah, during the festival of sa-
crifice usually solemnized on the tenth of Zilhudje. In these cir-
cumstances, Ekhtiaur-ud-dein Hussun, reputed among the most dis-
creet and sagacious of the nobles of Irân, was dispatched to the pre-
sence of Teymûr, on the part of Sûltan Emmaud-ud-dein Ahmed, the
brother of Shah Shujah, while he removed in person to Seirjaun; with
the view of securing himself in the citadel of that place, as soon as

* 11th of December, 1387.

† The modern tomaun is estimated at thirty rupees, or half crowns; but as the sum
of 3750 pounds sterling would appear but an incompetent ransom for such a city as
Shirauz at that period, the capital of a wealthy monarchy, the amount was probably
much more considerable; possibly a thousand times ten thousand dirrems, which would
be equal to about £229166. 13s. 6d.

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the imperial troops should advance in the same direction. The design being, however, intimated to Teymûr, a body of ten thousand horse was immediately detached in company with the same Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, in order to form the siege of Seirjaun, together with that of the citadel or castle of Kermaun; and Emmaud-ud-dein, prudently anticipating the event, and without further hesitation abandoning his plans of offence, repaired directly to the camp of Teymûr, from whom he experienced a reception equally distinguished and indulgent. His example was speedily followed, with similar good fortune, by the chiefs of the neighbouring territory; among whom are enumerated Nûssret-ud-dein Yaheya, the nephew of Shah Shujia, also from Seirjaun; and the Atabeks of Lûrr, and Gûrguein Laury, who claimed descent from Gûrguein Meylaud, of which latter we gather nothing but the name.

Of Kummur-ud-dein Doghlaut the name has already transiently occurred in the early part these pages. It is now stated that after having long combated, with singular variety of fortune, for the sovereignty of Moghûlstaun, that chief had, about this period, been at last compelled to abandon the contest; and to withdraw for assistance to the court of Touktemesh Khaun, the monarch of Keptchauk Tartary, on whom he had finally succeeded in prevailing once more to engage in hostilities with Teymûr. To the advancement of any design concerted against his dominions in the opposite direction, the absence of that monarch on his expedition to the western provinces of the Persian empire, afforded, indeed, sufficient facility; and the plan was accordingly no sooner ripe for execution, than several of the princes of the race of Jûjy, with other distinguished commanders, were selected by Touktemesh to accompany Kummur-ud-dein at the head of a powerful army, into Tûrkestaun. Proceeding to their destination these leaders, on their arrival near Soghnauk, leaving that place on one side, turned to the northward to Sabraun, a city, or fortress, about forty leagues in that direction from the former place, to which they laid siege; but meeting with a brave and resolute resistance from Temûr Khaujah, the son of Aukbouga, who commanded on the part of Teymûr, they were unwillingly compelled, after much fruitless exertion, to abandon the siege: and to employ the force entrusted

to their management, in carrying desolation and havoc throughout the Teymûrian territory eastward of the Seyhûn.

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In order to repel this formidable incursion, Omar Sheikh, who held his court at Andegaun on the opposite side of the river, proceeded to assemble the troops of his province with all the expedition in his power; while the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Abbas, leaving the metropolis of Samarkand to the care of Ameir Laul the brother of Toghâi Bouga Berlas, and Aukitemûr Bahauder, hastened to join the Shahzâdah, by whom they were conducted without further delay across the Seyhûn. At the station of Jouglik about five farsangs to the eastward of Otraur, the Teymûrians came to an action with Kummur-ud-dein and the troops of Touktemesh, which continued from early dawn to the setting of the sun. When the conflict had, however, been maintained to a late hour without producing any decisive result, Omar Sheikh, who was stationed as usual at the head of the centre division, in the post of the captain general, conceived that the moment was arrived when his personal exertions became immediately necessary to determine the fortune of the day; and forming a chosen squadron from the flower of his troops threw himself accordingly, with irresistible impetuosity sword in hand, upon the opposite part of the enemy's line of battle, and succeeded in cutting his way through, entirely to the rear. But, having been thus carried to a distance which precluded all immediate communication with the main body of the army, and his generals having occasion to apply for orders, and their messengers not finding the prince at his post, erroneously concluding, that, with a baseness unworthy of the acknowledged intrepidity of his character, he had abandoned his followers to their fate; such it is observed, being the nature of the report conveyed to the generals, an universal panic communicated itself to the army, which was followed by the immediate flight and dispersion of the whole, in every direction. Omar Sheikh returning shortly afterwards to his station, and discovering to his infinite regret and disappointment, that the centre division had unaccountably disappeared, endeavored for some time, to sustain an unequal conflict with the enemy; but his horse being rendered unmanageable through his wounds, he was at last prevailed upon, by the entreaties of an officer to whom he was particularly attached, to mount another, on which he made the best of his way alone

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and unattended towards Andegaun. That place he finally reached in safety, just as the inhabitants, who had concluded from report that he had fallen into the hands of the enemy, were preparing to retire into the neighboring mountains; when the unexpected arrival of the prince at once removed their apprehensions, and restored them anew to life and confidence.

While Omar Sheikh was yet engaged in re-assembling his scattered troops, and preparing afresh to oppose the designs of Kummur-udein, intelligence was conveyed to him that Ankatoura, the nephew of Hadjy Beg Arknouty, with a numerous force from Moghûlstaun, had made his appearance near Taushkent from the direction of Seiraum; and that his followers were committing the greatest enormities throughout the neighboring territory. This information being confirmed by succeeding accounts the prince, with such troops as he had been able to collect, made the best of his way to Khojend; but learning on his arrival at that place, that these new invaders were directing their march towards Andegaun by a different route, he immediately returned upon his steps, with the design of throwing himself in their way; and he discovered shortly afterwards that he had gained the start of the enemy, whom he found still on the opposite, or right hand, side of the Seyhûn. For several days the two armies proceeded upwards along that river, parallel to each other, equally desirous the one of effecting, the other of preventing, the passage across. At last, by a very ordinary stratagem, that of leaving a detachment of his troops to keep up the fires in his camp, and marching one night with the remainder, to a ford which had been pointed out to him by a native of Andegaun, Ankatoura succeeded in crossing, without the slightest obstacle, to the other side, where he disposed his army in order of battle without delay.

Although he might have been, in some degree, disconcerted by the equal boldness and celerity with which this operation had been executed, the Shahzâdah did not fail to present himself before the enemy, in order to dispute his further progress; but the superiority of number on the part of the invaders so far surpassed his calculation, that, after exhibiting the most conspicuous proofs of intrepidity, he found himself finally compelled to retire within the walls of Ande-

gaun. The enemy immediately followed, and encamped within the distance of about half a farsang from the town; of which it was proposed to form the siege, the moment some necessary arrangements had been completed. Disdaining, however, the humiliation of being thus long cooped up by an adversary whom he had been accustomed to despise, and hurried on by the impulse of an impetuous valour, Omar Sheikh, at the head of a small part of his followers issued from the town, and precipitating himself upon the invaders, carried alarm and slaughter to the very centre of their camp. And here he must probably have fallen a victim to his rashness, were it not for the generous selfdevotion of Towukkel Bahauder; who perceiving at once the danger to which he was exposed, and the difficulty of rescuing him, rushed sword in hand into the throng by which he was surrounded, and seizing his horse by the bridle, succeeded almost by a miracle, in conducting him to a place of safety. Neither did Ankatoura, after these repeated proofs of the resolute and intrepid character of his adversary, conceive it advisable to expose himself much longer to its operations; and he accordingly withdrew, with evident precipitation, towards the land of his impious associates; a considerable part of his army, however, falling a sacrifice in the hurry of retreat, to the vengeance of the troops dispatched in pursuit of them by Omar Sheikh.

In the mean time, the Toghmauk, or Keptchakian Tatars, who had entered Transoxiana by another quarter, proceeded to spread through the country, to their utmost, the horrors of massacre, pillage, and slavery; while the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Abbas, who had escaped from the discomfiture at Jougluk, exerted themselves, with a resolution rather more becoming than they had shewn on that disgraceful occasion, for the defence and security of the metropolis of Samarkand. A body of the invaders equally formidable, which had passed through Kharezmi under the direction of Sûltan Mahmûd, the son of Key Khosrou Khotlauny, proceeded to attack Bokhâra; but that favorite city being also defended with competent valour and resolution by Toghâi Bouga Berlas, and Ettelmesh Koutchein, they despaired of reducing it; and their operations were then directed to over-run and lay waste that part of the country, which had escaped the fury of their fellow labourers in the work of spoliation: after which setting

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fire to the palace of Zenjeirserâi, near Kesh, and leaving the cities of Karshy or Nakhshéb, and Khozaur, on one side, they carried their destructive ravages round, in that direction, to the station of Gûyten on the banks of the Oxus. Ameir Abbas did not long survive his exertions for the defence of Samarkand; dying while these occurrences were taking place, of the wound which he had received by an arrow in the battle of Jouglík.

The messenger employed to communicate to Teymûr the state of affairs in Mawer-un-neher, having reached Shirauz in the space of seventeen days, proceeded without delay to announce to that monarch the dangers which had assailed his native province in so many directions; and Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, accompanied by a small troop of thirty horse, was chosen to convey to the distressed inhabitants of Samarkand, with the utmost possible dispatch, the encouraging intelligence that the avenger of their wrongs would speedily be at hand to relieve them, in the person of their sovereign. The territory of Irâk was now partitioned out to such of the individuals of the race of Mûzuffur as had submitted to the power of the Tartar monarch; while Seyud Shereif-ud-dein Jârjauny, the respectable representative of the descendants of the prophet, with Ameir Alla-ud-dein Aynauk one of the ministers of the late Shah Shujia, most distinguished for his talents and liberality, and all others of the inhabitants of Shirauz, who any way surpassed in arts, manufactures, or sciences, received orders to remove without delay, in charge of an escort which was directed to accompany them, to Samarkand, and other places in Transoxiana, destined to receive improvement from this importation of ingenuity and skill.

These preliminary arrangements finally disposed of, Teymûr quitted Shirauz, according to De la Croix, at the close of the month Mohurrim of the seven hundred and ninetieth of the hidjerah,* and proceeded to the Bund, or embankment, of Ezzed-ud doulah; probably that which confines the stream of the Bundameir, north-eastward of the capital of Farss. At this station the agents of Pehlewaun Mûhuzzeb Khorassauny, governor of Aberkôh, attended the presence of Teymûr, with the most obsequious proposals of submission on the part

* February, 1388.

of his principal ; and a request that one of the imperial generals might be dispatched to administer the affairs of his government, while he might be absent in person doing homage to the conqueror. Townukkel Bawertchei being accordingly sent to Aberkôh, that place was without difficulty put in his possession by Mûhuzzeb, who now proceeded to make his personal submission before the throne of Teymûr. The imperial camp removed shortly afterwards to the precincts of Aberkôh, which furnished to Pehlewaun Mûhuzzeb an opportunity of attesting, by fresh proofs of zeal, the sincerity of his attachment to his new sovereign ; and his services on the occasion were considered so essentially useful and acceptable, that the confirmation in his government, which was immediately bestowed upon him, was perhaps not more than he was authorized to expect.

From Aberkôh Teymûr appears to have turned off towards Isfahaun, and to have proceeded by that route to Rey ; where he now rejoined his heavy baggage and equipments, and from whence he dispatched Meiran Shah and Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein into Khorassaun ; in order to assemble and secure the co-operation of the troops in that province. In the mean time, he conferred the government of Koumm, Kashân, and Kazvein, on Peir Mahommed of Sawah, and that of Rey upon Moussa the son of Hûsseyne Tchoukaury ; at the same period dismissing the princes of Rûstumdaur, and the Guilâns, to their respective countries. On his arrival at Feyrouzkôh, a part of the territory dependent on Rey was, however, consigned to Eskundur Sheikhy, who remained on the spot to secure obedience to his authority. He also bestowed the government of Damaghaun, in the same vicinity, upon Ameir Jemsheid Kârin, a native of Kohestaun ; and lastly to Peir Padshah, the grandson of Togha Teymûr Khaun, he gave in name at least, the government of Asterabad ; leaving his final injunctions with all these chiefs, respectively, to conduct themselves with a conscientious regard to the peace and welfare of the people entrusted to their care, and to the principles of impartial justice. Teymûr then prosecuted his march towards the Oxus, and finally reached the metropolis of Samarkand, without the intervention of any thing further material to relate.

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Some time previous to his arrival, the enemy had withdrawn from the country with considerable precipitation; although their retreat was not conducted with so much celerity, as to prevent their being overtaken by the troops immediately dispatched in pursuit of them, under the orders of Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and Omar Taban; by whom they were cut to pieces in great numbers, before they could yet convey themselves to a place of safety. In the mean time, Teymûr proceeded without delay to investigate into the charge of misconduct during the battle of Joughlik, which had excited in his mind equal grief and indignation; some of his most distinguished captains being seriously implicated in that charge. Among these, Sûliman Shah experienced his severest reprobation; while Be-rout Khaujah Koukeltaush, who had behaved with singular remissness, if not with direct cowardice, on that occasion, was ignominiously exposed through the streets of Samarkand, with his beard shorn, his head attired like a woman's, and his face preposterously disfigured with red and white paint. Koutchah Melek, on the other hand, who with thirteen followers only had ventured, under cover of the night, to attack three hundred of the troops of Ankatoura, and succeeded in liberating from their fangs, no small number of the inhabitants of Khojend and the adjoining districts, was rewarded by an augmentation of Seyûrghaul,* by a patent investing him with the distinguished order of Terkhan, and by marks of imperial favor in other respects equally bountiful and conspicuous. Omar Sheikh, on his part, experienced from his father the most affectionate reception, was loaded with praises for his meritorious exertions, and his exploits remunerated by the highest honors of the state.

Although the troops of Touktemesh had disappeared at the approach of Teymûr, like gnats before the fury of the storm, there still remained in the newly subjugated kingdom of Kharezm, and under some of the numerous stock of Jûjy, a considerable force of the enemy; who encouraged by the aid of the turbulent and disaffected natives, evinced a design to tempt their fate, and maintain their ground in the country. The attention of the Tcheghatayan monarch was therefore early directed to repel the daring encroachment before it

* An assignment of lands, on Jaguîr in perpetuity.

should have acquired strength from impunity. The seven hundred and ninetieth of the hidjerah was accordingly not far advanced when he again approached the Kharezinian frontier at the head of his armies. Having proceeded to the station of Egriaur he dispatched a body of troops in advance, under the orders of Kounje Oghlan and Teymûr Kûtlûg Oghlan, who had both recently forsaken the standard of Touktemesh, and sought the protection of his adversary. On crossing the Baghdâdek, a stream which is said to enter the Jeyhûn below, or to the northward of Beykund, an inferior chief of the name of Abed Khaujah was further detached by these commanders, at the head of the scouting parties, to explore the country, and collect information of the enemy; and a shepherd in the service of Eylegmesh Oghlan, one of the princes who commanded in Kharezim on the part of Touktemesh, falling into the hands of this officer, he was sent without delay, by the Teymûrian captains to the presence of their sovereign. Intelligence of considerable importance, with respect to the situation and designs of the enemy, was obtained on examination of the captive, and Teymûr immediately prosecuted his march to the Jedreis; a river which then formed, according to De la Croix, the boundary between the Tcheghatayan dominions and the territory of Kharezim. On crossing the river he was met by further intelligence, which announced that both Eylegmesh, who appears to have accepted of the title of king of Kharezim, and Sûliman Sûfy whose sister he had espoused, had conceived it prudent to abandon the province; and that they were already making the best of their way towards the frontiers of Keptchauk. Kharezim with all its dependencies was restored to its obedience without further difficulty; and Meiran Shah, with that singularly intrepid soldier Ouje Kâra Bahauder* and some other distinguished commanders, being dispatched in pursuit of the enemy, by the route of Komkent to the north-eastward, finally succeeded in cutting off a considerable part of the fugitives, and having satiated his followers with plunder and slaughter, returned in due time to rejoin his father.

After a residence of some days in the metropolis of Kharezim, Teymûr gave orders that the whole of the inhabitants of the town and neighborhood should be removed to Samarkand; after which it was again

*We have not yet been able to decide whether this is not the *Axallu* of Knolles.

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raised to the foundations and the site sown with barley; so that of this great and populous city there remained, in the language of the original, not so much as an individual to blow the fire, not a foot of masonry to shelter from the rays of the sun or from the chilling winds of evening. In short, having watched these events to their conclusion, Teymûr withdrew to his own capital, and Kharezmi continued in a state of melancholy desolation for the space of three years afterwards; until, indeed, the period at which the Tartar monarch returned from his great expedition into Keptchak, when Mouseikah the son of Jengui Koutchein,* was employed, by his directions, once more to restore cultivation to the neglected soil, again to re-enliven this howling wilderness with the cheerful abodes of man.

In the mean time, during the absence of Teymûr on this occasion, in repelling the insolence of foreign aggression in Kharezmi, he was assailed at home by the more pernicious attempts of ingratitude and domestic treason. This he was destined to experience from Mahommed Meirkah the son of Sheir-e-Behraum, on whom, with the government of Khotlan and its dependencies, he had bestowed the hand of his daughter Sûltan Bukht Begum; but who was not to be restrained by a sense of the most sacred obligations of duty, from availing himself of the opportunity, to revolt against his benefactor. He commenced his career of insurrection with the plunder of the palaces of Dâoud Melek Berlas, and Aukitemûr Bahauder, at Shaudeman, occasionally denominated Hessaurek, a place of some importance to the northwest of Termed; and with the seizure of the arsenal at the same place, the contents of which he immediately distributed among the disorderly multitude who had joined his standard. His success was, however, of short duration: for hastening on the earliest intimation of his rebellious designs, from Bokhâra to Samarkand, Omar Sheikh, with such of the troops of the province as he could assemble, advanced with his usual activity towards Shaudeman, and the rebel was forsaken by his adherents the moment it became known that the shahzâdah was approaching. He then endeavored to save himself from impending vengeance by flight; but being accidentally fallen in with by Othman, one of the Teymûrian

* *Koutchein*, according to De la Croix, is the appellation of one of the most renowned of the Moghûl tribes.

chiefs on his way to Samarkand, he was seized with his four remaining followers, and finally put to death, through the directions of Omar Sheikh as he was proceeding, in charge of his captor, to the presence of that prince, now in possession of Khotlan the seat of his government.

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The defection of the tribe of Boureldâi, as they were proceeding to join the army in Kharezm, about the same period, may be easily omitted in the narration for the sake of brevity. It will be sufficient to remark that, after having been driven into the province of Kabûl through the persevering gallantry of Ameir Jahaun Shah, they were finally compelled to throw themselves for protection into the territory beyond the Indus; although not before they had drawn in Abû Sâeid the Beysourian, the governor of Kabûl, one of the number elevated from the dust by the bounty of Teymûr, to associate himself in their revolt, and in its pernicious consequences. In the mean time it is not improbable that the protection which the fugitives experienced from the court of Dehly, on this occasion, may have had a remote tendency to produce the memorable expedition, in which at a subsequent period Teymûr was engaged in that quarter.

It remains to notice that while Teymûr was on his march towards Kharezm, on the above occasion, we are to record the death at Bokhâra, of Seyûrghetmesh the titular Khaun of Tcheghatâi, and the accession of his son Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, immediately proclaimed in his stead by the instructions of Teymûr; who might still find it convenient to suspend the trappings of loyalty about the person of some individual of the ancient imperial branch of his family. On his return to Samarkand, at the conclusion of the expedition, he devoted himself for some time to the celebration of the nuptials of his son Shah Rokh, and of his grandsons Mahommed Sûltan, and Peir Mahommed, the children of Jahangueir, with the illustrious princesses whom he had destined for their brides; the garden of Baugh-e-behisht having been decorated, with extraordinary magnificence, for the occasion. These solemnities dispatched, Shah Rokh returned into Khorassaun, and Omar Sheikh to his government of Andegaun; Teymûr remaining, for some time longer, to repose from his triumphs amidst the enjoyments of Samarkand. We shall finally observe that the accession of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, and the marriage solemnities of the Shazâdahs, are here

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expressly included among the events of the seven hundred and ninetyeth of the hidjerah.

Long since forgetful of the services which had placed him on the throne of Keptchauk, and determined to persist more inveterately in his career of ingratitude, Touktemesh Khaun, towards the commencement of the winter of seven hundred and ninety one, appeared on the frontiers of the Tcheghatâian territory; followed by an immense host drawn from the several nations of Bulghaur, Circassia, Alan, and Azauk, and from the other regions subject to the authority of the successors of Jûjy. His illustrious benefactor apprized, on the other hand, of the danger by which he was menaced, hastened with the troops which he could immediately collect together from Kesh and Samarkand, to form an encampment at the station of Saughredje, about six leagues from the latter city; having previously dispatched the Touatcheis to summons, to his assistance, the troops at present distributed in the remoter provinces of the empire. Intelligence being, however, received, that the advanced guard of the army of Touktemesh had crossed the Seyhûn near Khojend, under Eyleg, or Eylghetmesh Oghlan, the late tributary king of Kharezm, and had taken post in great force at Zernouk, Teymûr, notwithstanding the rigor of the season, at this crisis described to have been unusually severe, and contrary to the remonstrances of his generals, who strenuously urged the necessity of delay until he should be joined by the reinforcements hastening to his support, proceeded directly in quest of the enemy, his horses laboring, at the same time, breast deep through the snow.

In these circumstances, being happily joined by Omar Sheikh with his division from Andegaun, he adventured to detach a chosen body of horse under Kounje Oghlan, and Teymûr Kûtlûg Oghlan, this latter the son of Orous Khaun formerly monarch of Keptchauk, accompanied by Sheikh Ally Bahauder, to cut off the retreat of the enemy; and, on the day following at sunrise, with a rapidity which deprived them of the means of resistance by coming upon them before they could be arranged in order of battle, he in person attacked the troops of Eylghetmesh, and totally defeated them. Such as were not cut to pieces on the spot took to the Seyhûn, and endeavoring to escape by swimming across, miserably perished in that river; and the

remainder, although they eluded present destruction, being yet intercepted in their retreat by those detached for the purpose, and closely pursued at the same time by the main body of the army, for the greater part, found themselves devoted to a variety of deaths in the midst of surrounding dangers. On this occasion Eidy Berdy Bukhshy, an officer of the first distinction in the court of Touktemesh, having saved himself from the sword uplifted to destroy him by declaring his name and quality, was conducted to the presence of Teymûr; and having satisfactorily replied to the interrogatories put to him, on the state of affairs with the enemy, was kindly treated, and finally enrolled among the personal attendants of the conqueror. Teymûr now returned towards his capital; and in the course of the month of Sufur,* again encamped his troops at the station of Akaur, or Aukiaur, said to lie in the neighborhood of, or probably equidistant from, the cities of Samarkand and Kesh.

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As soon, however, as the rigors of winter had subsided before the influence of spring, Teymûr, whose armies had been by this time completed by the junction of the troops from Khorassaun under Meiran Shah, and of other reinforcements from different parts of the empire, dispatched Omar Sheikh, accompanied by the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein and Eykû Teymûr, with instructions to lay bridges across the Seyhûn at different points, in the neighborhood of Khojend; and the service having been performed with the necessary expedition, the monarch, in the former month of Rebbeia of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah,† moved from his camp at Akaur to the same river, which, with the Shahzâdahs and the whole of his army, he immediately passed to the opposite bank. From thence a division was detached in advance, under the already mentioned Teymûr Kûtlûgh Oghlan, with the Ameirs Sounjek and Othman Bahauders, to procure intelligence; and the scouts of this division having at some distance discovered the advanced parties of the enemy, returned unobserved, and reported the circumstance to their generals. The Teymûrians immediately placed their troops in ambuscade; and their adversaries ignorant of the snare which had been laid for them, it being now towards evening, proceeded to encamp on the spot, and

* February.

† March.

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betook themselves to their repose without the slightest suspicion of danger. In this unguarded situation they were, about midnight, attacked by the Teymûrians, and for the greater part cut to pieces. Some of them contrived, however, to effect their escape across the Aritch,* a considerable river which empties itself into the Seyhûn from the north-east, below Soghnauk, and hastened to apprise their sovereign of the approach of the Tcheghatâian armies. Touktemesh, having failed in an attempt to reduce Sabraun, and avenged himself for the disappointment by the plunder of Yassy, a small town about six leagues from that place, in a southern direction, was encamped at this period on some of the plains adjoining to the abovementioned subordinate streams; but receiving, from these fugitives, intelligence at the same time of the advance and irresistible prowess of the Teymûrians, the multitude of his troops and the immensity of his equipments were immediately forgotten in the contemplation of the danger, and he hastened without delay to regain the trackless regions of Keptchauk.

Teymûr on the other hand, when he became acquainted with the flight of his adversaries, entered with all diligence on the pursuit; having first directed Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein to proceed, in charge of the heavy baggage of the army, to Samarkand. In the mean time, four of his captains whom he had detached in advance with forty chosen warriors, each furnished with a spare horse, to procure intelligence of the enemy's motions, came up with the rear of the fugitives, at the station of Saurek buzen above Sabraun, towards the source of the Aritch, and immediately attacked and dispersed them with considerable slaughter; after which, returning through the intermediate solitudes, they accidentally fell in with the chief of a Tartar horde, of the name of Ketbah Terkhan, encamped in the desert with one hundred families of his tribe: all of whom they surprised and captured, and, with the whole of their property, safely conveyed to the imperial encampment, now advanced to the station of Auksouma on the frontier of the Tcheghatâian possessions towards Keptchauk, and nearly east of Yassy, or Yessy, recently mentioned. From Auksouma Teymûr continued his march, for about one hundred and twenty leagues, in a northwestern direction, to Aulkoushûn; on the eastern branch of the river Tîk as laid down by De la Croix.

* Apparently the Karasou, or black water of the modern maps.

About the period of his arrival at the latter station receiving intelligence of dangerous commotions in Khorassaun, but more particularly of the revolt of Hadjy Beg, the brother of Ally Beg Jouny Kerbaunv formerly disposed of, with that of Melouk the Serbedann of Subbuzwaur, and the garrisons of Kolaut and Tûss, of which latter the Kerbaunian was governor, it became expedient to provide without delay against the progress of this alarming defection; which is ascribed, at the same time, to certain unfavorable reports in circulation regarding the war with Touktemesh. But, as it would be superfluous to accompany the author in his detail of the operations employed to reduce the insurgents, it will be sufficient briefly to observe that, after defeating the men of Subbuzwaur with great slaughter, and with a very inferior force, on his march to prosecute the siege of Tûss, which had been already invested for some months by Ameir Aukbouga, Meiran Shah, who had been finally dispatched by his father to quell the insurrection, arrived before that city, some time in the latter Jummaudy* of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah.

Until convinced to the contrary by his actual appearance on the spot, the garrison of Tûss, or Touss, had it seems denied their belief to the report that this prince had entered Khorassaun, or had yet even crossed the Oxus; but when they could no longer retain any doubts on the subject, they abandoned themselves, without further effort, to the most violent despair. In these circumstances the operations of the siege being prosecuted, on the other hand, with increasing vigor and activity on the arrival of Meiran Shah, the first to abandon the cause of disloyalty was Yûssuf, the brother of Hadjy Beg, the reputed source of these hostile proceedings; who availed himself of the first opportunity to elude the dangers which were closing round him, by quitting the town and going directly over to the camp of the Shahzadah, to whom he betrayed the design of his brother also to make his escape the moment he found it practicable. In consequence of this information Meiran Shah, by guarding with redoubled vigilance every avenue to the town, endeavored as far as he could devise to cut off from the besieged all the ordinary means of retreat; while Hadjy Beg, on discovering the desertion of his brother, finding himself constrained to provide at the same time against

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internal mischief by securing the principal adherents of the fugitive, to the number of three hundred persons, and to defend himself against the progress of his besiegers from without, perceived that the period of his departure was to be no longer delayed, and he proceeded to deliberate with his followers on the best plan of carrying his design into immediate execution. One of these indicated to him a part of the wall of the town, which could be easily broken through from within, and the approaches to which appeared to have entirely escaped the vigilance of the besiegers; and his resolution having been finally taken, Hadjy Beg, on the pretext of conducting them in a sally against the enemy's works, one night led his troops out of the gates of the town; but, perceiving the lights in the tents of the besiegers, he observed to his followers, that as their adversaries appeared to be on the alert in this quarter, it became necessary before they proceeded in the enterprise to examine whether they were not more assailable in some other point; and for this purpose he directed them to remain on the spot, while he further explored, as he pretended, the positions of the enemy. Then hastening without delay to that part in the interior of the wall which had been pointed out to him, and easily opening a passage through, he finally succeeded in conveying himself clear off; thus, for the sordid consideration of mere personal safety, abandoning without remorse, not only the whole of his property but all that could in any shape make it valuable, his women and children, and the dearest relations of domestic and social life.

Becoming some time afterwards apprized of the flight of the obnoxious chief, Meiran Shah did not omit to dispatch in pursuit of him, although without success; but his troops, on the other hand, having made themselves masters of Tûss, that city, from being as it recently stood, in the language of the original, on a parallel in splendor with the gorgeous metropolis of Key Kawus, was now changed by the vengeance of its exasperated assailants, into the awful desolation which covers the devoted land of Lot: at the same time, every soldier in the army being enjoined to produce the head of a male inhabitant, and in case the complement could not otherwise be made up, to strike off the heads of the women, the whole together being previously shaved were destined to be then erected into pyramids, to commemorate in

the usual ghastly form, the punishment of rebellion. The women and children of Hadjy Beg were, however, exempted from slaughter, and consigned to the custody of such as would not fail to guard them with the requisite degree of security and vigilance. But, when about ten thousand persons had been thus immolated to his vengeance, the Shahzâdah relented, and the soldiery were directed to cease from slaughter. Bayezid the Tûssite, who had been cast into prison by the insurgents, was now liberated, loaded with favors, and, as a compensation for his sufferings, was appointed to preside among the ruins of his native city.

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Having thus signalled his vengeance, Meiran Shah returned by the same route as that by which he had advanced on this occasion, that of Raudegan. In the mean time, finding that Yûssuf the Kerbaunian had presumed, without his permission, to convey his family towards Mûsh-hed, and that he was preparing in person to follow in the same direction, the Shahzâdah's displeasure, which it possibly required but a slight provocation to awaken, was immediately pointed towards the suspected chief, who was summoned to account for his proceedings; and giving such an explanation as was judged equally frivolous and unsatisfactory, with respect to the nature of his views, he was without further deliberation condemned to suffer death. On his advance to the siege of Tûss, the garrison of Hellaumed, a fortress between that place and Neyshapûr, had stood resolutely on their defence; and had killed one of the Shahzâdah's principal officers, who had been sent to treat with them, at the very foot of their walls. To atone for this, the greater part of the treasure and effects of Hadjy Beg, which had been lodged in their charge, was now delivered over without difficulty, by the same garrison, to Hussun Mazanderauny, employed to demand it on the part of Meiran Shah. Soon afterwards, on his arrival at Raudegan, the Shahzâdah was visited by Khaujah Mûssâoud the Serbedaurian, from Neyshapûr; whose unshaken attachment during the recent commotions, appears to have ensured in a peculiar degree, the applause and acknowledgment of the Teymûrian prince. Having then dismissed to their respective governments the feudatory chiefs of Khorassaun, who had placed themselves under his orders for the service,

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Meiran Shah proceeded, on the fifteenth of Shabaun,* on his return towards Herât; the Baugh-e-zaughan, or raven gardens, in the neighborhood of which, he reached on the twenty eighth of the same month.

Towards the close of the succeeding month of Ramzaun, he received by a dispatch from Transoxiana, intelligence of his father's victories in Moghûlstaun; and a few days afterwards, in the beginning of Shavaul, Beyan Temûr Khaujah the son of Aukbougâ, directly from the camp of the Tartar monarch arrived at Herât with a present in specie of three tomauns,† for the prince, followed on the last day of the same month,‡ by a summons to attend the presence of his father; whom he finally joined at Samarkand, in the middle of Zilkaudah of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah.§ The insurgent Hadjy Beg, on the other hand, after wandering about the Persian territory for five or six months, was at last seized in the district of Hazaurjereib, not far from Semnaun, by Seyud Emmaud-ud-dein, the superintendant of the district; by whom he was dispatched in competent security to the presence of Teymûr. After some bitter reproaches, for his ungrateful return to the multiplied favors bestowed upon him, and a formal investigation into the circumstances of his guilt, he was condemned to die at the foot of the great standard of the benefactor, against whose authority he had had the presumption to rebel.

Recurring to the period at which Teymûr was left at the head of his armies, at Aulkoushûn, the narrative proceeds to describe that, after the departure of Meiran Shah to quell the insurrection in Khorassaun, it was in contemplation, without delay, to continue the pursuit of Touktemesh into the interior of his dominions; but yielding to the remonstrances of his generals, who urged the indispensable expediency of employing his resources, in the first instance, to check the dangerous projects of Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan, the son of Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun, and of the aspiring Ankatoura, Teymûr was ultimately prevailed upon to deviate from his original design; and to postpone, for the present, his plans of vengeance against Touktemesh and the fer-

* 8th of August.

† Possibly three times ten thousand dinaurs, or £13750 0 0. Ninety half crowns, the modern computation, would perhaps be too paltry a sum.

‡ 20th of October.

§ 2nd to 5th of November, 1389.

ocious Toghmauk. In conformity with this latter resolution he accordingly drew off his troops, some time in the spring of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah, towards the north east, in the direction of Bouribâshy; but when, after successive marches, he proceeded to ascend the ridges of Ouznan, probably the *Ournac* of De la Croix, and part of the Tartarian Kohkauf, he found himself constrained, by the worn out condition of their horses, to order back to Samarkand three out of ten of the whole of his cavalry, for the purpose of remounting the remaining seven tenths; an expedient by which he contrived, however, at the same time, to furnish the latter with a spare horse each, for the approaching arduous service. On his arrival at Aykensoury, the station of a Tartar horde at the foot of the same range of mountains, his troops and cattle laboured under the greatest distress from the scarcity of water; of which, for several days' march, they had only been able to secure a scanty supply for the preservation of existence, by digging wells in the soil. From this alarming difficulty, on reaching some extensive plains to the south east, he was, however, providentially relieved by discovering, under the luxuriant pasturage, although it was at this period in the very middle of summer, immense quantities of ice and snow; which effectually served to allay the raging thirst, and to revive the sinking spirits of the army.

Proceeding on his march, Teymûr in crossing the great plains of Eyghûryauny, the Aigheryali of De la Croix, engaged with his troops in the amusement of the chase; particularly in that of the Gourkherr, or wild ass, among the orientals the noblest species of game, of which great numbers were taken on this occasion. Having traversed these plains, still tending to the south east, the army encamped in the desert of Tcherigh, or Tcheper Eygher. Here Meirek Eiltchy and Peir Ally Tauz, who commanded the advanced guard of the imperial right wing, unexpectedly falling in with a body of one thousand horse of the troops of Ankatoura, said to be in quest of the Tartar tribe of Behreyne; and having immediately attacked and dispersed these troops, succeeded in taking one prisoner, whom they conveyed to the presence of Teymûr. From the relation of the captive, it appeared that Ankatoura, with his army, lay at that moment, at Ourung, or Ouronc; a town of Jettah situated, according to De la Croix, in 54 north, and in

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longitude 114, east of Ferro.* On this intelligence Teymûr sent forward a chosen detachment, under Sheikh Ally Bahauder and Eykûtemûr, to endeavor to surprise the enemy ; for which purpose they were strictly forbidden to make any fires during their march. That same evening he followed in person, with the main body of the army ; but after continuing his march for the whole of the night, he discovered at daybreak in the morning that his guides had mistaken the road, and led him considerably out of his way ; and it was not until the third day's march, when the army encamped at Ayogûz, or okuz, that he was able to resume his proper course. At that station he held a council of war, during which, after stating to the shahzâdahs, his ministers, and generals, that since, in all probability, his approach was by this time sufficiently known, in consequence of the untoward delay occasioned by the ignorance of the guides, he informed them that their object must now be directed to cut off the retreat of the enemy, by proceeding against him in two separate columns, from opposite points. In conformity with this arrangement, Omar Sheikh with part of the army, and Ameir Jullaul Hameid for his guide, took one direction ; while Teymûr, in another, proceeded to Karaghoutchûr, south of Ourunk, said to be a temple, or place held sacred by the Moghûls, where he continued for three days

In the mean time, Omar Sheikh, at the station of Kûbawk north east of Ourunk, in latitude, 55, and longitude 115 east of Ferro, by a rapid march succeeded in intercepting the retreat of Ankatoura ; whom, in a conflict of some obtinacy, he defeated with great loss, and finally expelled from that part of the country. A considerable booty, including a number of beautiful female captives, with horses, camels, and mules, an immense train, fell into the hands of the Shahzâdah, with which he shortly afterwards rejoined his father ; who had now advanced in the same direction, and was encamped at the station of Akhtarektû, or Akhtadektour, at no great distance from the field of battle.

To this period, no intelligence had been received with regard to the proceedings of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and Eykû Teymûr, formerly detached in the expectation of surprising Ankatoura ; and Omar Sheikh, at the head of his division, was again employed on a separate

* About 95 east of Greenwich, but this is extremely uncertain.

service, to ascertain the destiny of the two chiefs; who rejoined the imperial encampment, however, in perfect safety, from an opposite quarter, a few days after the departure of the Shahzâdah. The latter, on the other hand, proceeding to the north east, conducted his division to the plains of Alahgoul, adjoining to the river Irtysh, where there is said to be, as the name implies, a considerable lake of salt water. In these circumstances, as he was one day exploring the country, accompanied by fifty of the most distinguished of his officers, and at the distance of about a farsang from the main body of his division, Omar Sheikh found himself unexpectedly in presence of a detachment of the enemy to the number of seven hundred horse, under Kara Beyan Teymûr; whom, notwithstanding the disparity of his force, and with equal intrepidity of mind and confidence of success, he immediately determined to attack. In the conflict which ensued, Peir Hadjy the son of Teilantchei or Yetlantchei, of the tribe of Erlat, most illustrious among the Moghûls, one of the companions of the Shahzadah was killed by an arrow, after exhibiting some very conspicuous proofs of courage and activity; but this accident apart, the Shahzâdah and his band of warriors finally succeeded in defeating the enemy without loss, and soon afterwards again rejoined the main body of the army in the imperial encampment, loaded with the spoil which was the reward of their successful exertions.

It would now appear that Teymûr had, by this time, returned to the station of Karaghoutchûr, where he remained for some days to recruit the strength of his cattle; and to distribute among his captains and their followers, the booty hitherto accumulated during the expedition. In the mean time, Ameir Jahaun Shah with other distinguished captains, and a body of thirty thousand horse was directed to return towards the Irtysh in quest of the enemy; and that chief, having with the requisite celerity conducted his division to the place of its destination, there proceeded to extend on all sides the horrors of blood and desolation; and pursuing the enemy into the islands and intricacies formed by the channels of the river, omitted no circumstance of rapine and slaughter to complete the extirpation of the unhappy fugitives. After this he reconducted his followers loaded with an immense booty to the imperial encampment. The interval devoted to

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the restoration of his cattle was further employed by the tartar monarch to secure the numerous captives belonging to the different Moghûl tribes, who had fallen into the hands of his troops; and whom he availed himself of the present opportunity to collect, and dispatch for Samarkand, under the care of Teymûr Bouga, and Ameir Laul, the brother of Togha Bougâi Berlas.

These necessary arrangements finally disposed, of Teymûr again put his troops in motion; proceeding eastward to Aymelghoutchûr, on the frontiers of Moghûlstaun, said to be the capital of Jettah, in latitude 53, and longitude 115.* Here taking up his abode in the Serâi Ourdem or palace of Ourdem, that of the monarchs of Jettah, he again deliberated with his generals on the means to be further adopted, in order to complete the extermination of the hostile tribes who had led them to a distance so remote from their homes; and it was resolved henceforward to continue the pursuit of the enemy, to the utmost bounds of Tartary, in separate columns and by different routes. In conformity with this resolution, the officers of the imperial household were directed to furnish each of the Shahzadahs, and principal generals, with a written memorandum of the roads which they were to follow, and with guides procured in the country, to lead them to their destination; and the commanders of columns were lastly instructed, when the service of extermination on which they were about to be employed should be at an end, to repair to the plains of Yeldûz, in the south eastern quarter of Moghûlstaun, appointed for the general rendezvous of the army.

In prosecution of the plan thus determined upon, Omar Sheikh with the division of Andegaun, proceeded by the route delineated in his instructions, in a direction nearly south by east, plundering and destroying the country on either hand of him all the way to the city of Karakhaujah, south-east of Yeldûz, towards the borders of Tanjût;

* It is to be remembered that the longitude mentioned throughout is that from the meridian of Ferro, adopted by the french geographers, and 18 or 19 degrees more to the westward than that of Greenwich. But after all it will be found extremely difficult to reconcile the different situations of places, with what is represented in modern maps. There must perhaps be an allowance made of 8 or 10 degrees of latitude too far north, and probably as much too far to the eastward of Greenwich, or 28 or 30 to the eastward of Ferro.

and here described to be at the distance of three months journey by Karavaun, or seven hundred and twenty leagues, from Samarkand. Ameir Jahaun Shah and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with another division of thirty thousand men, took a direction more easterly, by Kâra-aret, and Shouroghlûk, the latter described, by De la Croix, to be a valley of Moghûlstaun celebrated for the fertility of its soil; putting to the sword without mercy such of the objects of their vengeance, the people of Jettah, as fell into their hands; and possessing themselves of an abundant booty, with which, at the close of their expedition, they arrived in safety at the place of rendezvous. Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, with a third division composed of twenty thousand horse, took a direction apparently intermediate to the former two columns, and prosecuted his career of slaughter and desolation, through Saghir or Saghizgan,* Soughûlgan,* Leigh, and Gougaur, or Ghevejar. And lastly, Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne and Mûbasher Bahauder, with a fourth division of equal force, taking a direction east-northerly by Ouritchkou, or Ouritchou, towards Beykout, in latitude 52, longitude 133, on their march came in contact with the tribes of Boulghajy and Yelker, whom in a desperate and protracted conflict, they finally overthrew and put to flight; after which they rejoined the imperial camp loaded with the spoils of the vanquished. Teymûr in person, with the main body of the army consisting of the flower of his troops, appears to have directed his course more immediately to the north; in order to ascend the mountains of Setchkandeban, between the heads of the Irtysh and Oby, intercepting and destroying in his march the fugitives of the Boulghajy and Yelker tribes, who had escaped from the battle with Ameir Khodadaud.

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At the period during which he was employed in repelling the invasion of the Tartars of Keptchaul, Teymûr had stationed the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, Sûliman Shah, and Shums-ud-dein Gheyauth Terkhan in western Tûrkestaun, between Keptchaul and the territory of Jettah, with instructions to provide for the tranquillity of the frontiers in that quarter; but when he finally relinquished the pursuit of Touktemesh, and resolved to proceed eastward into Moghûlstaun, he transmitted

* These are said by De la Croix, to be both places in Moghûlstaun, where the royal revenues are collected.

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orders to those Ameirs to co-operate immediately with him, in the extermination of the hordes of Jettah, in which he was about to engage. In pursuance of these instructions, leaving Tôey or Tûly Bougha Sheikh, to protect and encourage the inhabitants in their peaceful labors in Târkestaun, the Ameirs in question entered the country of Jettah across the higher branch, or head of the Seyhûn; and proceeding in a direction which intersected, almost at right angles, the course of the other imperial divisions, were suffered to continue their career of slaughter and desolation, apparently without obstacle, until they had penetrated beyond the station of Moulzûd, or Moulzedû, described by De la Croix to be in latitude 50 and longitude 132. Here their progress was, however, suspended by the presence of Khuzzer Khaujah, or Khoja, Oghlan, the sovereign of the Moghûls, at the head of a very superior force, to whom they found themselves constrained to give battle under circumstances of manifest disadvantage; conceiving it, for some reason or other, expedient to dismount from their horses, and to combat on foot, with their bridles fastened to their waists. In these circumstances, after having sustained an unequal conflict of two days and as many nights, it was, in the absence of a more friendly discretion, thought advisable to enter into convention with the enemy; which concluded, they appear in general to have withdrawn without further effort, towards the place of rendezvous appointed for the imperial troops, at Yeldûz. In the mean time, receiving intelligence of this proceeding from the relation of Shah Melek Terkhan, who joined him at Keitou near the head of the Irtysh, Teymûr hastened by forced marches immediately to the southward through Moghûlstaun; and he contrived to reach Yeldûz, some time before the Ameirs who had compromised the glory of his arms, although they arrived shortly afterwards without further accident.

Without, however, a moment's unnecessary delay, having chosen from among his troops the bravest and most experienced soldiers, and disencumbering himself of all his heavy equipments, Teymûr marched with his utmost celerity in pursuit of Khuzzer Khaujah; directing his course along the eastern boundary of Moghûlstaun, as then considered, for the distance of about two hundred and sixty or eighty leagues, to Koushûnkâi, a station laid down by Dela Croix about eighty leagues

north-north-west of Kârakorum, bordering on Kalmauk. At that station his advanced parties brought him intelligence that they had at last discovered the smoke of the enemy's fires, and he encamped for the night, proposing to attack them on the succeeding morning; but apprised of his arrival his adversaries gave way to their fears, and immediately fled in all directions and in great consternation. Part of the fugitives were thus thrown into the track of Omar Sheikh and his division; from whom, in the language of the original, *they saw what they saw*,—the termination of their misfortunes. Another body of them taking a different route, unexpectedly fell in with the division under Ameir Jahaun Shah and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who exercised upon them, with competent zeal and effect, their ferocious propensities for pillage and slaughter. Teymûr on his part pursued the enemy in a northern direction, through the mountains of Koutel Nayrin, and apparently across the river Sagalien, to the mountains of Karataush in the north-eastern extremity of Moghûlstaun; and towards the head of one of the branches of the Lena, as laid down by De la Croix.

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Thus harrassed on every side, and discarding all further hope of empire, Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan, finally betook himself to the uninhabited solitudes of the Tartarian deserts; while the Teymûrian troops continued to extend their ravages through every tribe and nation, as far to the southward as the mountains of Koulân Koutel, on the eastern frontier of the country of the Moghûls; after which, with an immense booty, in captives of both sexes, and in horses, sheep, and oxen, they returned to join their sovereign. With all these Teymûr now proceeded to Jeleis, or Jalish, in latitude 53, longitude 133, towards the head of one of the branches of the Yenisei, in northern Moghûlstaun. Here he caused the numerous captives acquired during this extensive sweep of desolation, to be impartially distributed among the different classes of his followers, without distinction. Then quitting Jalish, and directing his march through the mountains west of Kârakorum he re-entered his former track, and conducted his victorious standards to Koutchek Yeldûz; where he remained for some time to await the re-union of the detached divisions of the army.

From thence however, on further consideration, he transmitted instructions to Omar Sheikh to proceed homewards to his government

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along the southern frontiers of Moghûlstaun, and through the strong pass of Kohelghah, or Koluga, employing his usual diligence in completing the extermination of the refractory hordes that should fall in his way. Regulating his march by these instructions, the Shahzâdah was proceeding on his way towards Ferghaunah, and had penetrated through the pass above described, by some denominated the iron gate, when he found his progress arrested by a considerable force under Koublek, one of the most distinguished captains of the Jettah nation; whom after a severe conflict, however, he totally defeated and killed. He then prosecuted his march without further obstacle, in a line south of Khoten, by the metropolis of Kashghar, to the seat of his government at Andegaun, at this period the capital of Ferghaunah.

Having brought his affairs with the nations of Jettah and central Tartary, thus far, to a successful termination, Teymûr conducted his troops from Koutchek Yeldûz to Olûgh Yeldûz; from the lesser to the greater Yeldûz, about five and forty leagues in a south-western direction. This place, according to De la Croix, is at the distance of two months' journey by Karavan from Samarkand, or about four hundred and eighty leagues at eight leagues the day—in the route of the Muscovite merchants to China, and equally celebrated for its delightful scenery, the amenity of the climate, and its nutritious and luxuriant pastures.* Here he encamped for several days, which he devoted to general festivity, recreation, and every species of enjoyment; and during which he bountifully distributed to the princes of his blood, to the generals and principal officers, and to all the warriors of his army according to their several classes, honors, distinctions and rewards, not less gratifying to their hopes, than worthy of his own inexhaustible munificence. He then, on the fifteenth of Shabaun† of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah, set off on his return to Samarkand, which celebrated metropolis he reached on the seventh of the succeeding month of Ramzaun;‡ thus, in two and twenty days, performing a journey which, at the ordinary rate of travelling by Karavan, is described to employ the full period of two months, and having marched since the

* In Arrowsmith's valuable map of Asia, it is laid down in about 42-15 north lat. and in longitude 85 east of Greenwich.

† 8th of August, 1389.

‡ 29th of August,

middle, or latter end of April, if the scale of De la Croix's maps is not entirely visionary, the distance of at least two thousand leagues, of twenty to the degree.*

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At the approach of winter, Teymûr proceeded to Bokhâra; where he bestowed upon Ameir Jahaun Shah the last and most distinguished mark of his favor, in conferring upon him the hand of his daughter, Sûltan Bukht Begum the widow of Mahommed Meirkah, whose fate has been recently recorded. During the same winter, Mirza Abû Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, was also, by his directions, united to the daughter of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; the marriage feast being conducted with suitable splendor under the management of the Khaunzadah, the imperial consort. In the mean time, as if to bring to his recollection, that no elevation of sublunary grandeur is exempt from the common lot of humanity, the monarch was called upon in the midst of these scenes of mirth and festivity, to perform the last solemn duties to the remains of Kedauk Khautûn, the relict of his father, who died in the course of the winter, and was buried at Kesh; in the neighborhood of which city, at Aukyaur, Teymûr formed an encampment of his troops, at the commencement of the spring of the seven hundred and ninety second of the hidjrah.

* We must here, however, beg to remark that the distance of 6000 miles appears too extravagant to be compassed in the short period of about four months and fifteen days.

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DURING the spring, in which he continued on this occasion encamped at Aukyaaur, Teymûr availed himself of the opportunity to assemble a Kûreltâi, or general diet of the empire; to which the whole of the princes and other chiefs subject to his authority, were invited, as well to receive his commands on sundry important matters of government, as to partake of the gorgeous repast prepared for their entertainment, in the usual style of barbarous magnificence. Before he dissolved the diet he conceived it, at the same time, expedient to promulgate an ordinance for the general augmentation of his armies; and for that purpose the imperial Touatcheis, including on this occasion the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Jahaun Shah Tchaukû, and Shums-ud-dein Abbas, proceeded to exact, from these several feudatory chiefs, a written engagement to produce, at the place appointed, the contingent of troops determined by the mandate of the sovereign. For this measure, on the authority of the Zuffernâmah of the Yezdian, De la Croix alleges as a reason the design of Teymûr, by augmenting the contingents which they were thus called upon to furnish to the state, to diminish the wealth of the great commanders, accumulated during so many expeditions; and to abridge them of the means of indulging their mischievous propensity to disaffection and revolt.

About the same crisis, a second scene of splendid festivity occurred in the celebration of the nuptials of Omar Sheikh with his cousin-german Sounje Kûtlûg Agha, the daughter of Shirin Beg Agha one of the sisters of Teymûr; immediately after which he was directed to proceed to his government of Andegaun, Meiran Shah being ordered at the same time into his province of Khorassaun. Teymûr on his part returned towards Samarkand, in sight of which, at Eylghernauje or Eylgazigage, he again encamped for some time; the Ameirs of the frontiers and other principal commanders, being also permitted to avail themselves of the opportunity, to retire to their respective places of residence.

In the early part of the year, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and his brother Othman, with other commanders of Koushûns, and a body of twenty thousand horse, had been detached towards the borders of Jettah. On their arrival at Ausygoul, or Issigheul, a lake described to lie in longitude 100 from Ferro, and in latitude 43, they were joined by a reinforcement of five thousand men from the division of Omar Sheikh in Ferghaunah; with which they proceeded to Gougtopa, [the blue mountain] described by De la Croix, to be a hill in the territory of Jettah, situated in longitude 101-20 east of Ferro and in north latitude, 43-25. After remaining for some time at this station, to procure intelligence of the enemy, they prosecuted their march upwards, by Almaulegh, to Kârataul; the residence of Ankatoura, in longitude 106, latitude 45-40, cutting to pieces, or making captives of all who fell in their way. At Karataul they received information that Ouljâi Bougha Koutchein, who had been dispatched with four hundred horse, at a former period, to explore the desert for intelligence, had unexpectedly fallen in with Kummur-ud-dein, one of the competitors for the throne of Jettah, on a hunting party, and that an unequal and most desperate conflict had been the result. In consequence of this report, Hussun Jandaur, accompanied by the son of Ouljâi Bougha, was sent off with instructions to ascertain the fact, and to return without delay, with the particulars of what they should have been able to discover. After marching day and night with little intermission, the two chiefs came at last to the spot which had been signalized by the recent conflict, and which they found covered with the bodies of the slain. Continuing their search they picked up, at no great distance from the scene of slaughter, one of their wounded countrymen; who still exhibited sufficient remains of life after having subsisted for forty days, on the roots and herbage of the surrounding desert. This person they conveyed, with all necessary care and tenderness, to the presence of the commanding Ameirs, and from his relation they collected that the detachment, of which he appears to have been the only survivor, had given battle to Kummur-ud-dein, as had been already reported to them; that after considerable slaughter on either side, Kummur-ud-dein had finally triumphed; and that he had then retired towards the plains of Eltchniboutchni, or Itchnaboutchna,

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northeast of Karataul, and towards the source of the Abeile, or higher branch of the Seyhûn.

On such intelligence the Teymûrian Ameirs hastened in pursuit of the enemy; and disencumbering themselves by the way of their heavy baggage, for the greater expedition, they continued their march night and day until they reached the banks of the Irtish. They here understood that Kummur-ud-dein had already passed that river, and proceeded to Touless, Tovles, or Taoulas, the region which produces the sable and ermine; and which we should not hesitate to identify with the modern Russian province of Tobolsk, were it not expressly laid down by De la Croix, as a Tartar town between the Irtish and the eastern branch of the Oby, seven or eight degrees south-east of the city of that name. The Ameirs were therefore contented with sending across the Irtish, each, some of their followers to engrave, perhaps burn, on the lofty pines which grew on the opposite bank, their particular marks and devices, [daugh and Tumghau]; and as the period of the expedition had now extended to six months, and the strength and subsistence of both men and cattle had by this time become nearly exhausted, it was resolved to make the best of their way homewards, without further delay. This resolution they carried into immediate effect; and after traversing the almost interminable solitudes which lie between, they succeeded in due time, without further accident, in regaining the presence of their sovereign, at Samarkand.

The attention of Teymûr had, in the mean time, been employed in preparing for his grand expedition into Keptchauk Tartary; but, as it would perhaps be unnecessary to enter at large into the detail of that arduous undertaking, it will be sufficient for every purpose of utility if we are able to trace, in outline, the proceedings of the Tcheghatayan conqueror with competent precision, from the narrative of the author, illustrated by the better defined survey drawn from the history of the younger De la Croix; to whose laborious researches geography, in particular, must ever be considered as most extensively indebted.

It would then appear that having, with more than his ordinary care and circumspection, provided for the equipment of his armies,* Teymûr

* The proper officers were, in particular, instructed to supply themselves with twelve months' subsistence for the whole army. Every individual was to be furnished with one

in the autumn, or towards the conclusion of the seven hundred and ninety second of the hidjrah, marched from Samarkand; and crossing the Seyhûn by a temporary bridge at Khojend, proceeded downwards by the right bank of that river to Taushkent, where he took up his quarters for the winter. During that season he laboured for the space of forty days under a very painful and severe disorder; from which, however, to the infinite joy of his troops and followers of every description, he finally recovered. In the mean time, he was there joined by Meiran Shah with the troops from Khorassaun; and on the twelfth of Suffur of the year seven hundred and ninety three, the sun being then in the eighth degree of Aquarius*, he finally quitted Taushkent at the head of the army, and proceeded to Kârasumaun. On this occasion Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, and Shahzâdah Shah Rokh, were left, under the tuition of the Ameirs Laul and Melek, to superintend the affairs of the empire during his absence; all the princesses and ladies of his family, being sent back to Samarkand, Tchelpan Melek Aga alone excepted, whom like the star of his brighter destiny he permitted to accompany him. At the station of Karasumaun, where he was detained for some time by the winter snows and alternate torrents of rain, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Touktemesh; who presented him with a toghouz of nine horses, and a shongaur, or white falcon, on the part of their master, delivering at the same time a very submissive message, to which they received from Teymûr a reply to the following effect.

“It is notorious to the world in what circumstances of destitution and distress your master presented himself before the threshold of my court, on his flight from the vengeance of his enemies; and with what cheerful zeal I stepped forward to restore his shattered fortunes, not withholding ought in my power to furnish, whether in treasure or in armies. Neither is it necessary, on this occasion, to expatiate on the ardor with which, after having once determined on bow, a quiver with thirty arrows, and a leathern canteen, or water bag. For every ten soldiers were to be provided as under-mentioned: one tent; two mattocks; one spade, or shovel [kullunk]; one sickle; one handsaw; one hatchet; 100 needles; one awl; half a mann perhaps 14lbs of rope; one leathern knapsack, and one brass or copper pot. Every two soldiers were to be provided moreover with one sumpter or baggage horse.

* 18th January, 1391.

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hostilities with Orûs Khaun, in the very depth of winter I marched against that prince, to my infinite loss in horses and cattle, and property of every description most liberally sacrificed in the course of the undertaking; to say nothing of the hazards of my own person, which I did not hesitate to expose in the vindication of his claims, whose interests I had determined to promote. With that effect, in short, did I exert myself in the gratification of his aspiring views, that, the supreme arbiter of good and evil according with my endeavours, he became, in the very bosom of the posterity of Juzy Khaun, securely established on the throne of their illustrious ancestor. Thus, by my sole exertions, the whole of Keptchauk to its utmost verge being subjugated to his authority, what more could be required to establish between us, in the strictest sense, the relation of father and son? Yet notwithstanding, elated by the accumulation of immoderate wealth, and by the controul of an army beyond the estimate of numbers, has he suffered the vapour of an absurd presumption to invade his brain; and setting at nought the claims of gratitude for countless benefits unrequited, while I was distantly employed in extending my victories through Farss and Irâk, proceeded to unmask his disloyal and hostile designs, by dispatching his troops to lay waste and destroy the borders of my country.

“Nevertheless, willing to ascribe the unprovoked aggression to the practices of corrupt and wicked counsellors, I continued still to regard him with indulgence, and to contemplate the rash proceeding as a circumstance that had in reality never happened; in the expectation that, repenting of such an act of misguided audacity, he might on due reflection be led to apologize, and seek forgiveness for his folly. But so miserably was he intoxicated by the fumes of an insensate ambition, that losing at once all power of discrimination between good and evil, right and wrong, he dared in person to approach against me; previously dispatching an advanced guard of ferocious infidels to invade, and to renew, in the interior of my dominions, their atrocious barbarities. On the disclosure to me of this fresh instance of aggression and violence, I hastened in the majesty of vengeance, from the remote quarter in which I was engaged, to repel the injury; but before he could well have perceived the cloud of dust which overhung the march of my squadrons,

he fled in dismay, and thus completed the load of disgrace and guilt already accumulated upon his head."

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"Now, in good sooth, that I have, from different and distant quarters of the globe, assembled my armies, and that I am advancing *under authority of the Khaun*, to avenge on the country of mine adversary, the wrongs which he has inflicted on my own, he has suddenly discovered, on intelligence of my design, his inability to contend against the warriors of the true faith; and in that conviction he finds it convenient to recur to the milder means of humble and submissive intreaty, thinking by such absurd and idle practices to avert the torrent of vengeance about to be let loose upon him. But, as I have long since ceased to repose the slightest reliance on his words and actions, I am not by such contemptible artifices to be diverted from the prosecution of my object. On the contrary, in spite of every obstacle, and under the providence of that ineffable being, whose will surpasses all question and controul, I shall proceed to carry into effectual execution, and with perfect confidence of success, all that a just vengeance has instructed me to hold in contemplation. Nevertheless, should your master be sincere in his professions—should his views and sentiments be in strict and honest coincidence with mine—let him without delay depute to my presence Ally Beg; [his principal minister] in order by a conciliatory and dispassionate discussion, to bring our differences to an adjustment corresponding with the circumstances of the time."

In this communication what appears, perhaps, more particularly deserving of remark, is the subordination still ostensibly acknowledged, on the part of Teymûr, to the paramount authority of the Khaun, the feeble successor of Tcheghatâi; in conformity with the practice, so prevalent in oriental policy, of masking the designs of upstart and adventurous ambition, under the specious supremacy of an empty shadow. At the expiration of two or three days, however, having liberally entertained the ambassadors, and presented them with costly Khelauts, or pelisses, Teymûr, with the advice of the princes of his blood, directed them to be detained under a sort of restraint at large, and proceeded on his march towards Keptchauk. Passing the station of Karajouk, between Yenguikent and Sabraun, on the river Sara, or

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perhaps Karasou, his course lay, for a period of three weeks, through the arid and uninhabited waste; his cattle perishing successively, in alarming numbers, until his arrival at Saurek Ouzen, north of Sabraun, on the same river, where the army was seasonably and abundantly relieved. The river being at this period rendered impassable by the floods, he was detained for some days at Saurek Ouzen; but the waters having at length sufficiently subsided, a practicable ford was discovered, at which the army effected a passage across by swimming. In the mean time, two of the followers of Eydekou, one of the Ouzbek chiefs in the train of Teymûr, deserted under cover of the night; and, although immediately pursued, succeeded in going over to join the enemy.

The army, now proceeding in a western direction, continued its march without intermission to Koutchek Tauk, and from thence, an interval of two nights intervening, to Olûgh Tauk; the one the lesser and the other the greater Tauk, or range of hills. To the summit of this latter hillock, for such it must be esteemed since its elevation is limited to fifty cubits above the surrounding levels, Teymûr immediately ascended; and from thence surveyed the vast plains of Keptch-
auk Tartary, which lay extended before him to an illimitable distance, covered by immense forests, intersected by many considerable rivers, and watered in various parts by the most delightful springs and stream-lets. The Tcheghatâian monarch remained on the summit of this hill for one whole day, having directed his army to collect and raise upon it, a vast pile of stones in the shape of a minaur, or pyramid; on which, as a memorial to other times, some of the most skilful stone-cutters were employed to engrave the date of his arrival on the spot.*

Leaving Olûgh Tauk, Teymûr, partaking as he advanced in the amusements of the chase, continued his march almost due north to the banks of the river Beilanjouk, or Yelanjouk, which he crossed shortly afterwards; and from thence, in eight days and as many nights, conducted his troops to the station of Anakarghûi, or Anakariou, said by De la Croix to be situated in latitude 54, and in longitude 100, east of Ferro. A considerable period was now expired since the com-

* About the 11th of April, A. D. 1391.

mencement of the expedition; and as that part of the Tartarian solitude through which the passage of the army lay stood at the distance of many months' journey, the author alleges five or six, from the haunts of men, and from all vestige of cultivation in any shape, a most alarming scarcity now made its appearance in the Teymûrian camp; so that the price of a sheep had arisen to more than one hundred Kopeiky dinaurs,* and a great munn of corn, equal to sixteen munns statute measure, was not to be procured even for that sum. Hence the greater part of his troops were driven to subsist on birds eggs, on the different kinds of animals which accident brought to their relief, and on such herbage as could by any contrivance be converted to the support of life.

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In these circumstances, with the requisite regard to the ultimate preservation of his followers, Teymûr gave directions that those who possessed already but a limited store of subsistence should abridge their meals to one scanty repast in the day; and that every individual in the army should be restricted to a single bowl, or dish, of Bulmauk† in the four and twenty hours; the use of bread, pastry, or baked provisions in any shape, being prohibited under severe penalties. The great Ameirs and most distinguished generals, instructed at the same time by prudence and experience, contrived with a maunn of corn of the measure recently stated, and a small proportion of vegetables, to prepare sixty dishes of Bulmauk, the allowance of sixty men; and the proudest chiefs whose appetites were with difficulty, on other occasions, to be accommodated by the choicest luxuries, now cheerfully submitted to partake of the coarsest fare, a dish of the above-named Bulmauk, with the meanest soldier in the camp.

At the same time, in order to amuse himself and alleviate the general distress, Teymûr had recourse to the expedient of a grand hunting party; in which, by bringing the wings to meet, the army as usual encircled a vast space of the desert, and drove in, towards the centre, such a multitudinous variety of animals of the chase, as to furnish a supply so abundant, that forgetting at once the extreme scarcity under

* According to De la Croix the Dinaur of this species was a ducat of gold, equivalent to seven livres ten sols French currency; the Munn or Maunn was about four and twenty pounds weight.

† The Boulmaja of De la Croix; who describes it as meat fricaseed and minced with white sauce, like a fricasy of chickens.

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which they labored in other respects, the soldiers rejected with fastidious disdain the lean, and carried off such only of their prey as were in the highest condition. Among the deer kind, which fell into their hands on this occasion, one species is mentioned that in magnitude surpassed the buffalo; to which the Moghûls assigned the name of Kandeghâi, but known to the natives of Keptchauk, by that of Boken or Bukken. In short, the flesh of these several animals furnished to the army abundant subsistence for a considerable period. And to close his detail on this subject, the author proceeds to state, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that he found it recorded, in a narrative written expressly for the use of Meiran Shah, that in its passage through these immeasurable plains, the army was not a little delighted at night with hearing the rats and mice, on quitting their holes in the earth, singing in all the melodious strains of the nightingale.

The business of the chase at an end, Teymûr, before he continued his march, employed a further interval of two days in reviewing the different divisions of his army; and while he was yet deliberating whom he should prefer to lead the van, about to precede the main body at some distance, his grandson, Mahommed Sultan the son of Jahangueir, on his knees besought to be invested with that distinguished command; a proof of ardor, on the part of the prince, which was extremely acceptable to his grandsire, and his request was with great cheerfulness accordingly acceded to. On the seventh day of the latter Jummaudy,* the period fixed upon by Moulana Abdullah the chief of the astrologers, the young prince, accompanied by the several Ameirs appointed to assist him, proceeded forward at the head of the advance; having received, from his grandsire, the strictest charge to be most punctual in transmitting to the main body, a report of every circumstance that might occur in the course of his march. When he had accordingly continued to proceed onwards, for the space of two days, some yet unextinguished fires in five or six different places, discovered that they were at last in the track of the enemy; and the circumstance was communicated with the utmost dispatch to Teymûr. In reply to this communication, the prince was further enjoined to exert his utmost diligence to procure guides, in order to trace the direction in

* About the 10th of May.

which the parties who had left these fires might have withdrawn; and in general to omit no precaution to guard against the attempts, and to discover the designs of the enemy.

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The Shahzâdah upon this resumed his march, exploring every spot as he advanced with the most careful circumspection; and having crossed the Toupel, one of the streams which unites with the river Teik before it disembogues into the Caspian, his scouts reported to him that they had fallen upon the embers of not less than seventy different fires; but although they had traversed the neighboring desert in every direction, that they had not yet discovered the face of a single human being. This circumstance being also communicated to Teymûr with the requisite dispatch, he proceeded across the Toupel, with his whole force, and hastened to join the advanced division.

All endeavors to procure information of the enemy, or indeed, further than what has been related, to discover the slightest vestige of the abode of man, having hitherto failed, although the desert had been explored by the Teymûrian cavalry in every possible direction, the Tartar monarch, inspired by that auspicious destiny which appears to have been the inseparable companion of his undertakings, at last chose from among his followers a Tûrkman chief of the name of Sheikh Dâoud, brought up amidst the sands and solitude of the immeasurable waste, and experienced in every vicissitude of life, as well as in the hazards and difficulties which usually attend the prosecution of every great design, to renew the search for intelligence at the head of a small party of his bravest horse. On the evening of the third day of his departure, after riding each day with all the dispatch of which he was capable, this chief and his associates, to their no small satisfaction, discovered some Tartar cottages; and it was immediately resolved to conceal themselves for the night under cover of a neighboring eminence. At day dawn the next morning, a single horseman was seen to take his departure from these cottages, whom they suffered to pass the place of their concealment without alarm; but whom, when he had ridden to a sufficient distance from support, they pursued, and having succeeded in securing, they conducted without delay to the presence of Teymûr.

To the inquiries of the Tcheghatâian monarch, who immediately

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proceeded to interrogate him with regard to what he knew of the affairs of Touktemesh, the man replied, that a full month had now elapsed since he had separated from his tribe and family, and taken up his abode on the spot where he became a prisoner, and that he possessed no information whatever to communicate with respect to the Khaun, or his affairs; but, that on the very day of his seizure, ten horsemen clad in armour, had arrived and taken post in the forest adjoining, although he had not yet been able to discover to what nation they belonged. Upon this, having directed that the remaining inhabitants of the Tartar hamlet might be brought without delay to the imperial encampment, Teymûr, at the same time, dispatched Khomaury Yessawul, one of the exempts, distinguished for his undaunted spirit and activity, to seize the horsemen described to have taken post in the forest. In pursuance of his instructions the Yessawul, at the head of the party under his orders, entered the forest, fearless of all danger, and after some resistance, in which several were put to the sword, succeeded in making prisoners of such as survived of the ten cavaliers, whom he immediately conveyed to the imperial encampment; and the information obtained from these captives, regarding the situation of the enemy, appears to have been so conclusive that Teymûr prosecuted his march without further delay.

Having measured over still further an extensive tract of country, and passed several rivers and ranges of hills,* in his progress westward, Teymûr at last arrived on the banks of the main branch of the Teik; or possibly the river properly so called, where he is described to have encamped on the twenty fourth of the latter Jummaudy.† Here, on the representation of his guides that there were three ordinary fords, or passages, by which it was usual to cross the river, and to which they severally gave the names of Aygheryaul, Bourguetchit, and Tchepmaguetchit, Teymûr expressed his determination to explore a passage higher up; wisely calculating on the probability that the enemy were prepared to attack him, should he attempt to cross at the known and

* The manuscript exhibits *Kouhehâei*, hills, but Mr. De la Croix mentions *lakes* probably from *Goulahâei*; but as lakes in any extent or number would present obstacles almost insuperable to an army, for the most part composed of cavalry, we have, with some hesitation, adhered to our original.

† 27th May.

ordinary places of transit. In consequence of this resolution the army was, in the same hour again put in motion; and having gained a convenient spot, the whole, both horse and foot, immediately proceeded to ford or swim the river, and, in the space of two days, the passage was completed without the slightest opposition. From thence, in a march of six days, he came to the river Semour; a branch, and probably the western branch, of the Teik. The scouts, who had been employed in advance of the army, now brought intelligence that they had heard the cries of the enemy; and, almost at the same hour, the Ameirzâdah Mahommed Sûltan brought before his grandsire one of their soldiers whom he had recently taken prisoner; and who confessed, on his examination, that a great body of men had not long before been on that ground, but that they had suddenly decamped, on discovering indications of the approach of a hostile force.

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The vicinity of the enemy being thus pretty clearly ascertained, Teymûr immediately issued orders that no one should on any pretence presume to stray from his hazaurah and koushûn, and that no fires should be kindled during the night in any part of the army; which, from henceforward, continued to advance in regular and successive order, armed at all points and in constant preparation for battle. And with these precautions he led his troops to the Aeik, or Jaick, the next great river to the eastward of the Volga. On Saturday morning, the first of Rudjub,* having resolved to cross the Jaick without delay, Teymûr took his station, on horseback, at the head of the bridge which had been thrown over the river; and having caused the advanced division, and the centre of the army, to file over before him, immediately followed in person, while the right and left wings effected their passage at a short distance above and below.

Not long after the passage of the river had been completed, the advanced parties seized three of the enemy, and brought them before Teymûr; and from them it was now ascertained that, until apprized of the circumstance by the two deserters from the division of Eydekou, formerly noticed, Touktemesh Khaun was totally uninformed of the approach of the Tcheghatâian armies. That, however manifestly alarmed at the intelligence, he affected to treat it with unconcern, and to boast

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that he should, in a short time, be able to assemble a force of double the strength of his invaders; forgetting in his presumptuous calculations, according to our author, how little the strength of armies avails towards the attainment of victory, in competition with the superintending care, the eternal fiat of Omnipotence. That he had, nevertheless, proceeded to assemble the greater part of his troops, and that he was at this period encamped on the lake of Ferrek, or perhaps Kerrekgoul,* between the Volga and the Jaick, or Ural, where he awaited the junction of the remainder. The prisoner further stated that had the Tcheghatâians attempted the passage of the Teik at the customary fords, a plan had been laid by Touktemesh to attack them during the operation; which was eluded, as we have already seen, by the sagacity and admirable address, of the Tcheghatâian monarch.

Nothing further appearing requisite to put him in possession of all he desired to know, with regard to the situation of his adversary, Teymûr determined to remain on the spot, until he should be joined by the different divisions of the army, still on their march in his rear. In the mean time, the troops were directed to provide themselves with hurdles and palisades;† to cover the several positions with intrenchments; and in other respects to omit no precautions of circumspection and vigilance, to guard against the designs of the enemy. And in this state they passed the night. On the day following, however, at sunrise, Teymûr put the army in march, in the direction in which he was taught to look for the troops of Touktemesh; the same vigilance, and the same precautions against surprise and attack, being observed without relaxation at every successive encampment during his progress. Neither did he omit, on this occasion, to animate and support the zeal of the principal commanders, from the leader of a tomaun to that of a koushûn, by distributing fresh proofs of his bounty, in costly khelauts and in money; as well as by furnishing them with pieces of armour suitable to their respective classes and denominations. His march at this period lay, for a considerable distance, through deep sloughs, or swamps, rendered still more difficult by the passage of so

* There appears a lake of nearly this name, *Karacoul*, in latitude 48, longitude 54, in some of the maps.

† *Touraha* and *Tcheperha*. The interpretation which I have ventured to give to these words seems more consistent than the great and little bucklers stated by De la Croix.

many myriads through mud and clay; so that by the time they reached their encampment at night, the troops appeared, in general, greatly fatigued by their exertions.

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When matters had for a short time continued in this train, the advanced parties reported that three Koushûns, or squadrons, of the enemy had shewn themselves; and immediately afterwards that the main body was in sight, in prodigious force. Teymûr, accompanied by some of his guards and attendants, now now rode forward, directing that the army might follow in order of battle. In the mean time a prisoner was secured and brought to the presence of the Tcheghataian monarch; to whom, on examination, he alleged that it was the design of Touktemesh to lead his adversaries as far as possible into the country, having received intelligence of the great scarcity which prevailed among the invaders. Although this piece of information appears to have been strictly conformable to the truth, the unfortunate man was immediately put to death; and the Ameirs Sounjek Bahauder and Arghûn Shah were sent on, in order to procure more certain intelligence. They returned, however, after proceeding for many farsangs into the desert, without having discovered the slightest appearance of the enemy; and this circumstance was considered by the army at large, as an undoubted proof of the veracity of the prisoners' statement.

The necessity of tracing the enemy's movements and designs was however still urgent, and the next appointed, by Teymûr, for the performance of that service, was Mûbasher Bahauder; whom he strictly charged to beware of rejoining the army, before he had effectually attained the object on which he was employed. In conformity with his orders Mûbasher marched, accordingly, at the head of some chosen cavalry; and, in several stages, reaching the outskirts of a large forest, he observed a column of smoke at some distance within. This he approached until several voices were overheard; on which one of the party was dispatched to discover whence they proceeded, and soon after returned with information, that they were within a short distance of an inferior party of the enemy, whom, on this consideration, it was immediately determined to attack. Although taken by surprise the enemy were not overpowered without making a gallant defence; but

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they were ultimately defeated, and forty of them fell alive into the hands of their assailants. With these Mûbasher conceived himself authorized to return immediately to the presence of his sovereign; by whom he was loaded with caresses, and his associates adequately rewarded. The captives, on their examination, could however only state that having repaired to the place of general rendezvous appointed for the armies of Keptchauk, on the lake of Kerekgoul, according to their instructions from Touktemesh Khaun, their expectations had been strangely, and unaccountably frustrated, at not finding him on the spot; and that having, in consequence, wandered ever since without an object, through these pathless regions, their misfortunes had finally terminated in their capture by the Teymûrians, as recently described. With no assignable motive for such an act of barbarity, unless it was to obviate every chance of their escape to give intelligence to the enemy, these men, after communicating all they had to disclose, were also put to death without the smallest remorse.

The information derived from the son of the prince of Memauk* who was brought wounded to the presence of Teymûr, about the same crisis, was neither more satisfactory nor decisive; for he could only relate that having repaired, like the other prisoners, according to orders, to the place of general rendezvous, without discovering any vestige of the Khaun's presence, he possessed no knowledge whatever of his proceedings further than what he had thus stated. In these circumstances, the necessity of procuring intelligence continuing as imperious as ever, Teymûr next employed a chosen detachment, under Nedeila Terkhan, and Jullaul the son of Hameid, together with Mowly and Sâein Temûr, [the Sainte Maure of De la Croix] in advance, with orders, when they discovered the black cloud of dust which indicated the presence of the enemy, and as soon as they should have ascertained that he was in superior force, to retire with apparent precipitation before him, the instant they should have shewn themselves, and thus artfully endeavor to draw him on towards the main body; observing, at the same time, to be strictly punctual in communicating to the imperial head quarters, without delay, whatever might

* The manuscript says "the son of Hemauk," but according to De la Croix, Memauk was a territory westward of that of Serâi on the Volga.

otherwise occur during their march. In pursuance of their instructions these chiefs accordingly hastened in the direction leading towards the enemy; and after making their way across several streams, and through some heavy sloughs, swamps, and morasses, at last cast their eyes upon the scouts, or advanced cavalry, of the troops of Touktemesh; of whom fifteen horsemen immediately separated from their associates, and rode forwards to meet the Teymûrians. Sâein Temûr advanced on the part of the latter, and having held a short conference with the strangers, rejoined his companions; of whom the Mowly just mentioned was immediately sent off to convey to Teymûr, with all possible dispatch, the result of their observations.

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On receiving the intelligence which this chief was employed to communicate, Eykû Teymûr, with a considerable body of horse, was directed by the Tcheghatâian monarch to approach the enemy; in order the more exactly to ascertain their force, and to attain an accurate survey of the position and arrangements of their camp. This distinguished commander departing then from the presence of his sovereign, and crossing the same waters and morasses, soon afterwards joined the party formerly advanced; with whom he proceeded to the further execution of his orders. He had, however, not continued his march to any great distance, when he discovered, on an eminence directly in his front, a squadron of the troops of Touktemesh, who stood with apparent unconcern surveying the country around. A division of the force under Eykû Teymûr immediately moved forward to dislodge the enemy, who retired on their approach; but, as soon as the Teymûrians gained the summit which they had quitted, they beheld, on the plain on the opposite side, not less than thirty koushûns, drawn out in formidable array, and prepared to give them battle. Taking post on the spot, the Teymûrians dispatched a person, without loss of time, to describe to their general the splendid spectacle, of a body of twelve or fifteen thousand horse in order of battle, which lay before them. Without a moments delay, Eykû Teymûr rode forward to the top of the hill, and, having from thence obtained a full view of the superior force of the enemy, immediately perceived the necessity of retreating; for which purpose he instantly gave orders, directing his people to recross the streams and morasses in his rear, without precipitation and

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without hurry; and remaining himself, with a small body of his followers, on the summit of the hill which interposed betwixt them and the enemy, to cover their retreat.

As soon, however, as the enemy discovered that the principal part of his force had left him, and aware of the nature of the country over which they were to make their retreat, in many parts obstructed by rivers and morasses, they proceeded to commence their attack upon the Teymûrian general; who continued to maintain his ground, with immoveable firmness, until he could perceive that the main body of his division had securely passed the bogs and morasses immediately in his rear. He then drew off his small party; but being closely pursued, and both himself and his horse soon after wounded by the arrows which showered upon him from behind, he passed the first river with some difficulty; his horse dropping down dead, as soon as he had safely conveyed his master across. He was, however, supplied by his attendants with a fresh horse; but that also being mortally wounded almost as soon as he was well fixed in his stirrups, the gallant chief was driven to his last resource. He turned upon his pursuers, and having as long as was practicable continued to ply them with his bow, finally betook himself to his sword; and with this he bravely defended himself, until overpowered by numbers, he found, what he now alone sought for, the crown of martyrdom amidst the weapons of the enemy. Herry Mèlek the son of Yadgaur Berlas, Ramzaun Khaujah, and Mahommed Erlaut, three more of Teymûr's most distinguished captains nobly shared the fate of their leader on this occasion.

Although too late for the rescue of these his faithful and devoted followers, Teymûr, with a small body of his guards, now reached the banks of the stream which had been polluted by the recent conflict. He immediately directed the troops by whom he was accompanied to dismount from their horses; and to cross the river on foot, repelling the enemy before them with their arrows. The Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-udein and Jahaun Shah, who were in the train of their sovereign at this critical conjuncture, exerted themselves with conspicuous intrepidity. The same is recorded of Ameir Hadjy the son of Hameid; who, with no more than thirty men, precipitated himself on as many squadrons of the enemy, whom he compelled to give way. Nedeilah Terkhan

also, with Shah Melek the son of Toghâi Mirken, and *six fingered* Bayezzid, exhibited the most distinguished proofs of undaunted courage, and indefatigable perseverance; and, in fine, the enemy having been effectually repelled by the united exertions of these invincible warriors, Teymûr was at last enabled to withdraw from the spot, and to return to his camp without further loss; but, with no other trophy of his victory, than three unfortunate prisoners who had fallen alive into the hands of the troops who attended him.

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Teymûr proceeded, on his return to camp, to acknowledge, by the most distinguished marks of his favor, the merits of those brave men who, regardless of the overwhelming superiority of the enemy, had so eminently signalized themselves on this occasion. On the whole, of the principal officers peradventure, he appears to have conferred the order of Terkhan; expressly enjoining, among other circumstances, that the Yessawuls, Tchoubdaurs, or state messengers, should not in any case interfere to prevent their access to the imperial presence, whenever they required it; and confirming, to themselves and their issue, the ordinary privilege first established by Jengueiz, on an occasion something similar, that no criminal offence committed on their part, should be obnoxious to punishment, until nine times repeated. The surviving relatives of the gallant and devoted Eykû Teymûr, were at the same time caressed, and consoled, in every way that could most conspicuously evince the paternal solicitude of their sovereign to render them the peculiar objects of his bounty and benevolence; and the great seal, together with that of the *purwaunah**, or butterfly, and all the exclusive privileges, distinctions, and immunities, enjoyed by the departed chief, were bestowed upon his adopted son† Shah Melek, who was immediately advanced to the most distinguished honors of the empire.

In this place the author is compelled to acknowledge that according to some historians, the Tcheghatâian army was thrown into the utmost consternation by the death of Eykû Teymûr, and the

* Said to be, by De la Croix, a little seal in the shape of a butterfly, which the king of Persia made use of in his time.

† Pesser-e-kolghai. It may perhaps be either the adopted son, or nephew, the translator can not determine which.

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destruction of the greater part of his division, with which it was probably accompanied; and that the succeeding night was passed under the most anxious and alarming apprehensions. It being, however, almost six months since Teymûr had been continually moving in a northern direction, the troops found themselves under a parallel, in which, immediately after the sun was set, and before the twilight had yet ceased to render things visible, they clearly perceived the dawn of day, in the opposite horizon; the period of terror must, therefore, have been comparatively short. In the month of June, and in the latitude of 53, that of Serâi, or Saratof, on the Volga, in the neighborhood of which the army of Teymûr was now arrived, it is possible that the day should have appeared of a very surprising length, to the natives of a southern climate. At all events, the interval between sunset and sunrise, was of so short a duration, as to supersede the fifth course of prayer—that before sleep; which the law has directed to be discontinued, whenever the sun pursues his course among the northern constellations.*

Finding, from the manner in which it had hitherto perpetually shifted its ground at his approach, that the main body of the armies of Touktemesh was determined to avoid a general action, and that his own troops were at last almost worn out by their long and harrassing marches in quest of the enemy, Teymûr proceeded to hold a council of war with his imperial relatives, and the principal generals of the army; in order to deliberate on the measures to be adopted in such an emergency. And the result was, that a division of twenty thousand horse under Omar Sheikh, with the Ameirs Sounjek, Sûltan Sunjur, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and Othman the son of Abbas, should be detached for the immediate object of arresting the movements of the Keptchaukian monarch, and of compelling him to make a final stand. The Shahzâdah and his associates set forward accordingly; and the very day after his departure, intelligence was received in the imperial en-

* The translator is not immediately aware of this regulation. The 5th course of prayer which should take place two hours after sunset, or when it is completely dark, would scarcely occur where the sun is never two hours below the horizon; it would merge into that prescribed for the dawn of day. At the same time it will be obvious to the reader, that the interval here described between sunset and sunrise, is calculated for a latitude much further north than 53.

campment, that his advanced parties, and those of the enemy, were in actual contact. On this, with more than ordinary circumspection, Teymûr addressed himself to arrange his troops for the battle, which he conceived to be immediately at hand. But, at the very crisis at which the hostile armies were thus about to close, the sky became suddenly overcast, and the long looked for conflict was again, for a period of six days, unavoidably postponed by a heavy fall of snow, accompanied by a severity of weather not often experienced at such a season of the year.

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At the expiration of that period, however, the weather cleared up; and on Monday, the fifteenth of Rudjub, of the seven hundred and ninety third of the hidjerah,* at a station called Kunderjah or Kandercthek, Teymûr finally proceeded to dispose of his troops for battle, in seven Koushûns, or massy divisions, in the following order. The first division, destined to act as the vanguard of the centre, was placed under the command of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of the Tcheghatâian possessions; the movements of this division were, however, conducted by the skill of Ameir Sûliman Shah, as lieutenant general. The second division, which appears to have constituted the centre, or main body, subject to the immediate controul of Teymûr, was consigned to the direction of the Shahzadah Sûltan Mahommed, aided by some of the bravest and most skilful of the imperial commanders. The third division, which composed the right wing of the main body, was placed under the orders of Meiran Shah, with Mahommed Sûltan Shah, as lieutenant; and the fourth division, under Omar Sheikh, formed the left wing. The fifth division was consigned to the direction of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and took post, as subsequently appears, in advance of the right wing; and the sixth division, under the orders of Beirdy Beg the son of Saur Bouga, aided by Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, and other gallant leaders, occupied a similar position in front of the left wing. Lastly, twenty Koushûns, or great squadrons, selected from the bravest soldiers in the army, composed a seventh division, in the rear of the centre, of the main body, destined as a body of reserve, to act as emergency might require; and this, according to De la Croix, was

* 16th of June.

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immediately under the orders of Teymûr himself, who is, by the same author, described to have taken post directly in the rear of, although at some distance from, the centre division. Hence it would appear in effect, that the whole army was arranged into two lines of six massive divisions, with a seventh in reserve; but the strength of these divisions can be only matter of conjecture; they probably contained none of them less than twenty thousand horse.

In this disposition, the Teymûrians awaited the approach of Touktemesh; whose army soon appeared in view, disposed, according to De la Croix, into a centre, and two wings, and exhibiting the form of an enormous crescent. At such a crisis, nevertheless, in order to evince the utmost possible contempt of the enemy, Teymûr directed his troops to dismount and pitch their tents; and, with every appearance of unconcern, to light their fires, and proceed to prepare their customary meal. When this circumstance was reported to him, Touktemesh is said to have expressed some surprise at the confidence, the audacity, which could employ a conjuncture so full of danger in matters of such comparative indifference; and it was, therefore, with considerable anxiety for the result that he proceeded to issue his final instructions for the approaching conflict; his army being at the same time represented, to have surpassed in number by several Koushûns that of his renowned adversary. Teymûr, on the other hand, who on his part, never appears to have forgotten that victory depends alone on the favor and support of omnipotence, not on the strength of armies, at the moment the action was about to commence, dismounted from his charger, and, prostrate on the earth in devout and humble terms, implored the supreme being to crown his exertions with success. At the same time, the venerable Seyud Berrekah, with the Khaujâhs Zeya-ud-dein Yûssuf, and Sheikh Ismâeil, bare-headed and with uplifted hands, addressed their prayers to heaven for the abasement and subjugation of the power of Touktemesh, and for the further advancement of the glory of Teymûr. After which, turning to his imperial patron, the Seyud, in the words of the Korân as on a former occasion, assured him that wherever he directed his footsteps, success and victory would be his inseparable companions.

The armies now joined battle, the action commencing with an

attack, led on by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, at the head of the vanguard of the right of the Teymûrians, against the left wing of the enemy, which was at first thrown into considerable confusion; but the Teymûrians being greatly outflanked by their adversaries, and several squadrons approaching to cut into the rear of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein's division, Ameir Jahaun Shah, with part of the reserve under his orders, hastened to repel, and effectually foiled the attempt. Soon afterwards, the right wing of the main body, under Meiran Shah, also fell upon the left of Touktemesh, threw it into disorder, and drove it completely from its position. At the same time, Othman the son of Abbas, with a small party of horse immediately attached to his person, in assailing three Koushûns of the enemy infinitely superior in number, was thrown from his horse in the heat of the conflict; but plied his bow with such rapidity and skill that he was soon enabled to remount, and to disperse the light cavalry of the enemy, after they had begun to press most seriously upon him. Sheikh Ally Bahauder also, than whom on all occasions none more ardently courted the dangers of the field, was now equally forward in spreading confusion, and dismay, among the thickest of the adverse squadrons. Neither, at this period of the battle, was Omar Sheikh, at the head of the left wing, less successful on his part in bearing down the right of the enemy opposed to him; in which he was conspicuously aided by the previous exertions of Beirdy Beg, and Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, who had pre-eminently distinguished themselves with the sixth division, or advanced guard of the left.

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So far, the Teymûrians appear to have been triumphant in every part of the battle; when, apprehensive that he should be unable to resist the shock of the centre of his adversaries, led against him by Teymûr in person, Touktemesh, determined on a lateral movement to his right; in order to attack the division under Omar Sheikh, at this time successfully engaged in that quarter. But in the execution of his design, meeting from that prince with a resistance, equally firm and intrepid, he found it convenient to transfer the fury of his attack upon Sheikh Temûr, and the hazaurahs, or chiliads, of the tribe of Seldûz; whom, although he suffered at first considerable annoyance.

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from their arrows, he finally broke with great slaughter; and having succeeded in penetrating entirely through, between them and the left wing, he took up a position exactly in the rear of the centre of the main body. Here he deliberately drew up his troops, and stood prepared to repel the storm which was collecting around him; and in this position he was shortly afterwards attacked by the division of Omar Sheikh, advancing, however, against him, with a precaution which bespoke their sense of his power, under cover of their bucklers.*

In the mean time, having been led to a considerable distance, in pursuit of the troops whom he had driven before him from the centre, the danger which menaced his rear, from the bold and unexpected manœuvre put in practice by Touktemesh, was announced to Teymûr, by one of the Touatcheis, and the intelligence was presently confirmed by a message from Omar Sheikh. On this the victorious monarch immediately stopped short in his career, and returned without a moment's delay, to dissipate by his presence the growing mischief; for it seems that Touktemesh no sooner beheld the approach of the imperial umbrella, than his steadiness entirely forsook him; his arm became palsied in its exertions, and the punishment of ingratitude descended upon him in all its horrors. With feelings of regret and sorrow, a thousand fold accumulated *by the sense of guilt*, continues the author, he abandoned his hopes of empire, and its glittering appendages of wealth and power, and committed himself without alternative, to the complicated evils of a perilous and ignominious flight; and the whole race of Jûjy Khaun, partaking in his discomfiture to its fullest extent, were driven in disastrous plight, to consult their safety at a distance far remote from the abodes of their predecessors, and the scenes of domestic enjoyment.

Encamping on the field of battle, Teymûr was at leisure to receive the congratulations of the princes of his blood, and of his other generals of every class; whose exertions on this dreadful day, he did not fail to reward with royal munificence. After which selecting seven out of ten from among the soldiers of the whole of the army, he dispatched them in pursuit of the enemy. Accordingly

* The larger and smaller buckler, is the interpretation invariably given by De la Croix to the words Tour and Tchepper.

with hearts indurated against every sentiment of mercy and humanity, these ministers of vengeance proceeded, with the celerity of lightning, to carry into execution the orders of their sovereign; and hence, in the words of our author, with the sword of vengeance impelled by the hand of inevitable destiny in their rear, and the impassable volume of the Attel, or Volga, in their front, it will not be difficult to conceive how small a proportion of the blood-boltered remnant of the recent carnage could escape this two-fold danger. The spoil which fell into the hands of the victorious Teymûrians, on the field of battle, and during a pursuit of forty leagues according to De la Croix, in captives, in cattle, and in property of every description, exceeded all calculation; and abundantly remunerated the conquerors for all their fatigues and exertions.

It has formerly appeared, that Kounjah, or Kounje Oghlan, and Temer Kûtlûg Oghlan, of the imperial race of Jûjy Khaun, together with Eydekû, one of the most distinguished chieftains attached to that dynasty, had withdrawn, some years since, from the standard of Touktemesh, and enrolled themselves under that of Teymûr; from whom they experienced a very liberal and honorable reception, and a rapid advancement to the most exalted dignities in his power to bestow. But an opportunity thus offering, now that Touktemesh had so narrowly escaped from the scene of blood and discomfiture, they could not forbear to solicit the permission of their august benefactor to seek, and reassemble, their native tribes, at present dispersed abroad by the events of a calamitous period, and to unite them under the influence of his more powerful destiny.

To a proposal so apparently reasonable Teymûr acceded without difficulty; and the two Shahzâdahs,* as well as the other Ouzbek chief, were respectively put in possession of the imperial letters patent, by which the Tcheghatâian officers were strictly forbidden, in any shape, to interrupt or molest their proceedings, or those of their followers; and their respective tribes were generally exempted from the payment of the Khaun, or perhaps Ghaun, a particular impost, or branch of the revenue, the nature of which is not explained. With these patents they all three departed, highly rejoiced, in order to carry into

* They were the sons of the former sovereign of Keptchawk.

A. H. 798.
A. D. 1391.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

A. H. 793.
A. D. 1391.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

execution, those plans which they had severally in view; but which, however, in two of the three, terminated very differently from what had been so speciously professed. For, after joining and collecting together the individuals of their tribes in formidable strength, Temur Kûtlug Oghlan and Eydekû, instead of leading them as they had engaged to do, to join the Teymûrian armies, proceeded, the former, plunging into the boundless regions of Keptchauk, to prosecute his own hereditary claims on the throne of Jûjy, and the latter, giving scope to the possibly long cherished designs of independence, drew off his retainers in a different direction; each, at the same time, equally forgetful of the ties of gratitude which, if example had not so frequently proved how frail in the career of ambition, seem to have claimed a more generous return for the numerous bounties of Teymûr. Kounjah Oghlan alone, who had, indeed, been admitted to a more intimate share in the confidence of the Tcheghataïan monarch, honorably fulfilled the expectations of his benefactor, by returning with the few adherents whom he had fallen in with, in exploring his native solitudes, to the imperial camp; where he experienced that reception to which, by his scrupulous adherence to his engagements, he appears to have been justly entitled.

Teymûr proceeded, in the mean time, to follow the troops whom he had dispatched in pursuit of the enemy, and finally reaching the banks of the Volga, he there encamped; on the plains of Aourtoupa, celebrated as well for their verdure and fertility, as for having been the favorite abode of Jûjy Khaun, and of the princes his successors.* On this chosen spot he determined to await the return of his generals, who successively rejoined him with an immense booty; from which five thousand male and female captives, distinguished for their beauty, and symmetry, were in particular selected for the service of the imperial household. Delighted with the amenity of the surrounding rural scenery, with the richly enameled meadows, and chrystal streams, which brought to mind, and seemed to give reality to, the enchanting descriptions of paradise, and its fountain of everduring life and bliss, Tey-

* According to the sketch prefixed to De la Croix's work, these plains are situated about ten leagues above Serâi, and on the opposite or left bank of the Volga; hitherto we have generally understood that *toupa* signifies a hill, and not a plain.

mûr continued on the plains of Aourtoupa for a period of six and twenty days; participating with his victorious warriors in those enjoyments and recreations, which might appear, perhaps, equally necessary to obliterate the recollection of past fatigues, and to reconcile them to the contemplation of future dangers and exertions.

A. H. 793.

A. D. 1391.

Rouzut-us
suffa.

Having thus brought his enterprise to a consummation which, to his panegyrist might, perhaps, in glory, appear to surpass the brightest achievements of the most puissant monarchs of preceding times, and few of the adverse hordes of Keptchauk, whether on the adjoining plains, or in the islands of the Volga, having escaped the vengeance of his troops, Teymûr commenced his march back again,* for the metropolis of his dominions. On this occasion, the boundless plains over which he passed are said to have been covered, to an astonishing distance, by the army, and by the immensity of the train by which it was accompanied; consisting of a vast multitude of captives of both sexes, of sheep and cattle of every description, and of the Kherghah-e-kouthermah, or portable pavilions set upon wheels,† which the triumphant Teymûrians brought away with them in great numbers. Here again the author is compelled to notice that while the Tcheghatâian armies were encamped on their return, on the banks of the Teik, Kounjah Oghlan, averse also to the idea of quitting his native abodes in these free and extensive regions, and receiving information that his countrymen had raised the Shahzadah Temer Kûtlûg, to the throne of the Khauns of Keptchauk, was suddenly seized with the desire of visiting the camp of, and of tendering his services to the new sovereign; and thus suffering himself to be seduced from his engagements, he embraced the earliest opportunity of withdrawing from the presence of Teymûr, and of repairing to join his countrymen. Teymûr now recrossed the Teik, with the whole of his army; but having continued his march at the head of his troops for a few leagues, he determined to leave the main body with the baggage and heavy equipments, in charge of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and to make the

* Possibly about the 15th of July.

† The ruts of these wheels are described by Rubruquis an European traveller of the 13th century, to have been twenty feet asunder, and the axle trees of the size of an ordinary vessel's mast; they were drawn by two and twenty oxen, eleven a breast.

A. H. 793.
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suffa.

best of his way, without impediment, to the Seyhân. Accordingly, having braved the dangers of the intervening deserts, and passed by Sabraun, he arrived in safety at Otraur, in the month of Zilkaudah of the seven hundred and ninety third of the hidjerah.* From Otraur he prosecuted his journey, with little intermission, to Samarkand; where he arrived shortly afterwards, to the infinite joy, and amidst the united congratulations of his family, and of every class of the inhabitants.

The cares of empire did not, however, permit him to remain long in his capital, on this occasion; for after giving directions for a magnificent entertainment for the people, and partaking for some days in the consequent festivities, he found it expedient to determine on fixing his winter quarters in the territory of Taushkent, eastward of the Seyhun; to which he accordingly removed, before the conclusion of the year, Meiran Shah having previously taken his departure for Khorassaun. During the month of Mohurrim, of the seven hundred and ninety fourth of the hidjerah,† Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, who had been left to conduct the main body of the army from the neighborhood of the Teik, successfully reunited the whole in the camp of his sovereign; and, with the Shahzadahs, and other generals, by whom he was accompanied, received from Teymûr the most distinguished testimonies of approbation, for his exertions during this memorable expedition; which, calculating from the eighteenth of January, the day of their departure from Taushkent at its commencement, may, therefore, be stated to have occupied a period of about eleven months.

* October, 1391.

† December, 1391.

CHAP. IV.

HAVING passed the winter in repose, on the plains of Parsein, or Barsein, in the neighborhood of Taushkent, Teymûr, about the commencement of spring, in the seven hundred and ninety fourth of the hidjerah,* recrossed the Seyhûn near Khojend; and, hunting as he went along, proceeded to Aukaur, or Aukyaaur, formerly mentioned as nearly equidistant between Samarkand and Kesh, where he now again encamped. In order to confer upon his grandson Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, the most distinguished proof of his regard and confidence, he embraced this opportunity to invest him with the government of the provinces of Kabûl and Gheznein, and of the territories in that quarter to the banks of the Indus and the borders of Hindûstaun, comprising the early possessions of Mahmûd Sebekteggîn; and some of the most illustrious individuals of his grandfather's court and army were selected to form the retinue of the young prince, whenever it was determined that he should finally proceed to take charge of his government. Among these are mentioned Hûsseyne Souffy the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Kûtbud-dein, the cousin german of Ameir Sûliman Shah; with Hûsseyne Khaujah the son of Ameir Abbas, and Shums-ud-dein Ouje Kara Bahauder. Shortly after this, Teymûr repaired to Samarkand; from whence, after a few days' residence, he proceeded to take up his abode in the delicious gardens of Kaun-e-gûll, in the vicinity of that metropolis. Here, he caused the most splendid preparations to be made for the nuptials of Peir Mahommed, and his brother Mirza Rûstum, the sons of Jahangueir, with the two daughters of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and of Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, with the daughter of Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; all of which were presently celebrated with extraordinary magnificence, a separate encampment, or suite of tents, being allotted for the accommodation of each of the illustrious pairs respectively.

A. D. 1392.

A. H. 794.

A. D. 1392.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 794.
A. D. 1392.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

These splendid arrangements finally dispatched, the attention of Teymûr was directed to mature his plans for the more effectual subjugation of the western provinces of the Persian empire; which terminated in the expedition, by historians, called the expedition of five years. During the absence of the imperial armies in Keptchawk, on the recent occasion, many of the provincial rulers, and governors of towns had, as it is alleged, availed themselves of the opportunity to depart from their obedience, and to usurp an authority which set at defiance the regulations prescribed for their conduct, by the policy of Teymûr. In vindication of his power, it became, therefore, a measure of necessity, with the latter, to lead his armies once more through the country, in order to chastise these refractory chieftains, and to deter others, by the example, from the commission of similar acts of disloyalty and usurpation. With these objects in view, the Tcheghataïan monarch again quitted the territory of Samarkand, at the head of his troops, on the seventh of the month of Rudjub, of the year seven hundred and ninety four;* and on the first of the succeeding month of Shabaun,† he encamped at Bokhâra.

Here he experienced some alarming symptoms of approaching indisposition, which did not, however, prevent him from prosecuting his march without delay to Jûizez, or Jûidez,‡ a dependency on the same city of Bokhâra. But his disorder having, by this time, fastened upon him with a considerable degree of violence, it was thought expedient to dispatch to Samarkand, in order to require the attendance of the two consorts, Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Touman Agha, with his daughter, Sûltan Bukht Begum, and such of the princes of the blood as were at the moment absent from the imperial camp. Orders were at the same time transmitted to recal the Ameirzâdah Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahangueir, who had already crossed the Jeyhûn at the head of the vanquard of the army; but which he was now directed to leave encamped, at whatever station these orders might be delivered to him.

The disorder of his grandfather having taken, however, a favorable turn, about the fifteenth of Shabaun,§ Mahommed Sûltan was directed

* 27th of May, 1392.

† 20th of June.

‡ Jûizerr, would be Chrysoroas.

§ 4th of July.

to resume his station with the advanced division; and on the sixth of Ramzaun*, Teymûr was himself sufficiently recovered to proceed on the expedition. On his arrival at the station of Omayah, perhaps Amou, or Amûyah, on the Oxus, he dismissed the princesses of the imperial family on their return to Samarkand, and, shortly afterwards, his younger son Shahrokh for the same place. Teymûr then crossed the Jeyhûn, and prosecuting his march by Makaun and Abiwerd, after successive stages finally came up with the advanced division under Mahommed Sûltan at Khabûshaun, on the road to Asterabad; the prince Peir Mahommed, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, having already joined previous to his arrival.

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suffa.

Briefly noticing that having received, at Khabûshaun, a visit, and most sumptuous entertainment from his daughter-in-law, Khaunzâdah the widow of Jahangueir, who had made a journey from Herât for the purpose, the narrative proceeds to state that Teymûr continued his march to the banks of the river of Jârjaun, and there encamped. The venerable Seyud Berrekah, who had been formerly dispatched on a mission into Mazanderaun, here returned to the presence of Teymûr, accompanied by Seyud Gheyauth the son of Kummaul-ud-dein, with a splendid selection of the rarities of Tebristaun, and assurances of submission, and of his readiness to become tributary, on the part of his father. Teymûr received him with his usual liberality, and accepted of the proposals of which he was the bearer; and proceeding soon afterwards to Asterabad, he there experienced the most zealous and essential services from Peir Padshah the son of Lokman Padshah, and grandson of Togha Teymûr Khaun, whom, on the death of his father, he had invested with the government of that place and the adjoining territory.

Leaving Asterabad and having continued his progress westward for three marches, Teymûr found his course impeded by the thick, and almost impermeable forests with which the country was overgrown. Through these he therefore caused the troops to cut for themselves three great roads, or avenues, each a bowshot wide, for the passage of as many columns, into which he threw the centre and wings of his army; and in this disposition he pressed gradually forwards until

* 24th July.

A. H. 794.
A. D. 1392.
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suffia.

he penetrated to Yaurirah, most probably Saury. Here it was ascertained that Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein, notwithstanding his recent professions, had fled the country, and retired for protection to Seyud Rezzy-ud-dein, at Mahaunehser; which is described as a Kerreiah, or obscure town, on the Caspian shore, about four farsangs, or Persian leagues from Amûl. Adjoining to this town, or at a very short distance from it, they had bestowed considerable pains in fortifying a lofty hill, possibly projecting into the sea, by which it was defended on one side, and on the other by a tremendous chasm nearly a mile broad, which at high water, or in tempestuous weather admitted the tide. They had, moreover, added considerably to the strength of their position, by an enormous abbatis, composed of large trees laid side by side, with the branches outwards strongly interlaced, and exhibiting all the advantages of an exterior line of defence. To this place, at all events, at the period under consideration, the governors and principal inhabitants of Saury and the neighboring towns, had together with themselves conveyed their treasure and most valuable effects of every description; and it is accordingly said to have contained, in gold and silver alone, property to an amount beyond ordinary calculation.

These considerations appear to have rendered the place an object altogether worthy of the exertions of Teymûr; and he accordingly continued his march, the troops still cutting their way through the forests, and making their passage with indefatigable perseverance, over the sloughs and morasses, to the city of Amûl. From thence the Gheyauth-ud-dein recently mentioned was dispatched to Mahaunehser, in order to dissuade his father from his rash plans of resistance; and if possible to prevail upon him to commit his person to the discretion of the Tcheghataïan monarch. In the mean time, the imperial army did not cease to advance, in spite of a thousand obstacles from the nature of the country, forming for their numerous cavalry a passage over the stagnant waters, marshes, and sloughs, by overlaying them with hurdles, branches of trees, thorns, and dry underwood, or other light materials. With the utmost possible exertion their progress did not however, in many places, exceed half a Persian league in the course of the day. Nevertheless, the woods and forests at length seemed to disappear before the unwearied labours of the soldier; and the whole

country expanded into one boundless view, like the clear and unincumbered levels of the desert.

On the twenty sixth of Zilkaudah* the advanced parties came in contact with the scouts of the enemy; and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which Hûsseyne Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder was killed. Two days afterwards Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein, accompanied, as it would appear, by his brother Moulana Emmaud-ud-dein, came from Mahaunehser, and was admitted to an audience with Teymûr; whom with the usual professions of amity and zeal, he humbly solicited to be received to pardon. The monarch frankly announced to him that he was very ready to accede to his intreaties; but it was on the express condition that, together with the arrears of tribute of which the payment had been suspended, both he and all the chiefs in insurrection should immediately send to the Tcheghatâian camp, each one of his sons respectively, to remain in constant attendance about the person of the sovereign; in order that by their experience of those proofs of kindness and indulgence uniformly bestowed upon their children, the parents might be induced, with the greater confidence, to place themselves under his protection. This stipulation, made known to the garrison and inhabitants of Mahaunehser, produced, however, on their part, only fresh and more determined indications of hostility; and the most active and vigorous measures became therefore expedient for their speedy subjugation. For that purpose, Peir Padshah the prince of Asterabad, Arghûn Shah Bourdaleighy, Nadir Shah Karakouly, and other commanders, with the slingers of wild fire, and a division of boatmen brought from the Oxus, were dispatched by Teymûr to the shore of the Caspian; with instructions to seize all the vessels they could find, in which they were to assail the place by water, at the same time that the imperial armies were carrying on their attacks from the land side.

Having been successful in the seizure of a great number of vessels of different descriptions, these commanders, accordingly, embarked their troops without delay; and exhibited to the astonishment of their adversaries, the sea covered to a considerable distance by the glittering armour, and swords and lances of their besiegers, while their ears were

A. H. 794.
A. D. 1392.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

* 11th of October.

A. H. 794.

A. D. 1392.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

assailed by the appalling sounds of the Tartar horns and kettle drums.

The fortress of Mahaunehser was now invested, and attacked by the whole force of the Teymûrian armies by sea and land; and the exterior works of the place, after a tremendous conflict, being carried on the first day by assault, the garrison was driven for shelter to the interior. On the first of Zilhudje,* the attack was renewed, and prosecuted with unabating fierceness, and irresistible intrepidity, until the eighth day of the same month; when, struck with an appalling sense of their inferiority, the besieged in successive throngs issued from their works, to implore the mercy of Teymûr; Kummaul-ud-dein, and Seyud Rezzy-ud-dein, with their children and relatives, being among the first to present themselves before the throne of the conqueror. It having been, however, by some means or other intimated that these men, and the sect to which they belonged, were impious schismatics in doctrine; that they were in particular unpardonably remiss in the article of congregational devotion performed on Friday by the orthodox; and that their conduct and opinions, in other respects, corresponded but little with the genuine principles of Islâm, Teymûr addressed them on their approach in terms of severe and bitter reprehension, although, in consideration of their affinity with the illustrious family of the prophet, he finally relaxed from that severity, and treated them with equal kindness and liberality. He admonished them, at the same time, on their dismissal from his presence, to abandon their absurd and fallacious doctrines, to discard from their observance the odious practices of their ancestor Kowaum-ud-dein, and lastly he enjoined them to cherish and promote, in their youth, the study of the sacred precepts of the law, as contained in the pages of the Koran, and to respect and reverence the learned and the pious, as one of the strictest obligations of duty. After this wholesome lecture he caused them to be conveyed to the castle of Saury, with orders that their persons should be guarded with the closest vigilance.

Having thus made himself master of Mahaunehser, Teymûr remained there for several days, in order to regulate the distribution, among his generals and their followers, of the prodigious booty accumulated in the place. The fortifications were then levelled with the ground;

• 16th of October.

but, as it had reached the ears of the conqueror, from general report, that the natives of the country were, for the major part, Fedâeis, or zealots devoted to the detestable principles of Hussun Sabah—that they persecuted with inveterate malignity all on whom they could detect the slightest vestige of an attachment to the studies of religion—that even a page of manuscript found on the person of the most innocent stranger was, with these savage enthusiasts, sufficient to his condemnation—their extermination was resolved on, and a decree which devoted them to indiscriminate massacre was issued on the spot; every individual who bore the name of Seyud being, however, expressly exempted from its operation. The execution of this sanguinary mandate was committed, in consideration of the recent death of his son Hûsseyne Khaujah, to Sheikh Ally Bahauder, united with Ameir Eskunder Sheikhy, whose father Afrausiab Jellâeir had been formerly cut off by the disciples of Seyud Kowaum-ud-dein; and a horrible and disgusting slaughter was the immediate result. Shortly after this, Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein, with the whole of his family, was conveyed across the Caspian to Khaurezm; his sons, Seyud Mûrtezza and Seyud Abdullah, being ultimately transported through Samarkand, to Taushkent on the other side of the Seyhûn.

A. H. 794.
A. D. 1392.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

The conquest of Mazanderaun being now considered as complete, messengers were dispatched to every quarter of the imperial dominions, to announce the event; those who proceeded to Samarkand conveying, at the same time, to the several branches of the Teymûrian family, the choicest specimens of the booty at Mahaunehser, Amûl, and Saury, and a summons to repair to the presence. Accordingly, as soon as intelligence of the triumphant issue of the expedition was thus communicated at the metropolis, Shah Rokh, and his nephew Khaleil, the son of Meiran Shah, with the queen consort Serâi Melek Khaunum, the mirzas Rûstum and Sûltan Hûsseyne, the latter being the son of Ameir Moussa by one of the daughters of Teymûr, as also Beggy Sûltan the daughter of Meiran Shah, Touman Agha, and other illustrious females, prepared without delay, to comply with the invitation of their common parent and sovereign.

In the mean time, during the month of Mohurrim of the seven hundred and ninety fifth of the hidjerah,* Teymûr had given orders

* November 1392.

A. H. 795.
 A. D. 1392-93.
 Rouzut-us-
 suffa.

for the construction of a winter palace at Shasemnaun, in the territory of Jûrjaun, where he arrived on the twentieth of the same month;* having conferred the government of Saury on Jemsheid Kaurin a native of Farss, and that of Amûl on Eskunder Sheikhy the son of Afrausiab, recently mentioned. Here he fixed his abode either in or near the new palace, of which his architects and artificers were still employed in the construction; and hence the Towatcheis proceeded to different quarters, in order to hasten to his presence reinforcements of fresh troops from all parts of the empire. The members of the imperial family who had, in the mean time, been summoned to join him, quitted Samarkand on the fourth, or more probably on the twenty fourth of the preceding month of Zilhudge;† and proceeding with all convenient dispatch across the Jeyhûn, came to Makhan, and from thence to Hendûaun; where leaving their heavy baggage, they pursued their journey day and night without intermission, for thirteen days and nights successively, until they reached the station of Tchelwaun, in the neighborhood of Jûrjaun, to the north east. Thither Teymûr had already hastened to meet his relatives; with whom, exhibiting every proof of delight and satisfaction, he now proceeded to the new palace at Shasemnaun.

The active habits of Teymûr did not, however, permit him to remain long in indolent repose. On the twenty fourth of Suffur,‡ he again put his troops in motion westward; leaving in the proportion of three tenths of the whole [the manuscript affirms seven tenths] to protect his baggage and heavy equipments, in charge of the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, Jahaun Shah, Shums ud-dein Abbas, Hadjy Mahmûd Shah, and Ouje Kâra Bahauder, who had instructions to follow the main body, by easy stages. The princesses Tchelpan Mêlek, Sûltan Agha, and Nigaur Agha were selected, from among the ladies of his family, to accompany him on this occasion. Mahommed Sûltan and his brother Peir Mahommed, the sons of Jahangueir, had been already sent forward with an advanced division of the army; Shah Rokh now followed with another division; after which Teymûr in person, at the head of the main body, moved in the same direction, taking the road which led, by a summer retreat belonging to Ameir Wully prince of Mazanderaun, in the intervening hills, to Damaghaun, Semnaun, and

* 5th of December.

† 10th of November.

‡ 8th of January, 1393.

Rey, at all which places the troops were regularly furnished with the necessary supplies of subsistence.

A. H. 795.
A. D. 1393.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

The princes Peir Mahommed and Mahommed Sûltan advanced, in the mean time, to Kazvein, the frontier town of Irâk Ajem, towards Guilân; of which the governor Khaujah Shehsowaur, had by some accident or other fallen into their hands, and was now conveyed by their orders to the presence of Teymûr. They directed their march next for Sûltauniah, just at the crisis when, on the death of its legitimate governor, one of the officers of the deceased, of the name of Arteg Shah, had assumed the command; but who absconded on the approach of the shahzâdahs. They remained at Sûltauniah for seven days, at the conclusion of which they were again in motion, apparently directing their course for Arabian Irâk and Baghdâd, at this period still in the possession of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir; but, when they had already entered Kûrdestaun, a messenger from Teymûr overtook them with instructions to proceed by the way of Jeijmaul, or Jeitchmaul. They returned accordingly from that part of Kûrdestaun, taking the direction which leads towards the fortress of Sunker, or Sankar, described to have stood on the summit of a mountain, on the frontier between Kûrdestaun and Azerbâijoun; the troops being employed to plunder, and lay waste the country, on all sides as they prosecuted their march. A second message from Teymûr now arrived with orders to re-enter Kûrdestaun, in pursuance of the former plan of operations. On this they appear to have resumed the route to Jeijmaul, or Jeitchmaul; and having penetrated to the mountain of Beissetoun, they thence detached a part of their force, under Sounjek Bahauder, Temour Khaujah the son of Aukbouga, and Mûbasher, in order to over-run the country as far as it was practicable. In the mean time, they shaped their own course for Derbend-e-Taushy; a defile, or strong pass of that name, in the mountainous region not far from Ekhlaut, where they finally encamped.

At this station, animated by his hopes to be put in possession of the government of the country, and professing to be perfectly acquainted with every road that led through it, one of the native chiefs presented himself to the shahzâdahs, and undertook to be their guide through this part of Kûrdestaun. He was favorably received by

A. H. 795.
A. D. 1393.
Ro uzut-us-
suffa.

Mahommed Sûltan, who accepted of his offer; and having presented him with a girdle and baldric, a sum of money and a dress of honor, or Khelaut, determined to give him an immediate opportunity of proving his zeal, by employing him as Tcherkhtchei or master of the guides to Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who was proceeding in advance with a detachment of the imperial troops: and Sheikh Ally, accompanied by this Kûrd, marched shortly afterwards on the service for which he had been selected. He had not, however, been long absent, when he experienced some very seasonable and acceptable pieces of service from Ibrauhim Shah, the legitimate, or reigning prince of Kûrdestaun; who dispatched his son Sûltan Shah, at the same time, with a valuable present, consisting of Arabian horses and other costly and suitable accompaniments, to the camp of the Shahzâdahs. Having acceded to the overtures conveyed to him on the part of Ibrauhim Shah, Mahommed Sûltan dispatched a messenger to recal Sheikh Ally Bahauder; and the latter was accordingly on his return, and unsuspectingly seated at one of his repasts, when the Kûrd, whose hopes had been frustrated by the recent accommodation, availed himself of the opportunity to plunge his knife in the bosom of this brave and experienced commander, distinguished by so many illustrious actions, and killed him on the spot.

Having made a further selection from among his troops, at Rey, and leaving the remainder under the orders of Meiran Shah to await the arrival of the main body and heavy baggage, Teymûr proceeded, across the territory of Irâk Ajem in a south west direction, towards Roujerd, perhaps Ouroujerd, about fifty leagues south east of Hamadaun. Omar Sheikh, with his division, pursued a course more directly to the west, passing by Koushek Tchobaun,* and the town of Awah, or Avah, to the fortress of Keyou, on a mountain northwest of the latter place about eighteen leagues. Of this he immediately commenced the attack, and finally made himself master. Possessing himself of the person of Mahommed Koummy the governor of Keyou, the Shahzâdah hastened the following day to Meroun, or Mervan, about five and twenty leagues east-south-east of Hamadaun; the town being quietly surrendered at his approach, by Mûzuffur Bûrhauny, the

* Possibly Kiosh, N. W. of Rey.

agent of the captive governor of Keyou. Omar Sheikh upon this continued his march, turning his course southward, about ten leagues, to Kerrahroud, before which he encamped. Esfendiaur the governor of this place, submitting without resistance, was dispatched together with Mahommed Koummy, to the presence of Teymûr, by this time at Roujerd; according to one of the surveys annexed to De la Croix' work, about twenty leagues south of Kerrahroud. Omar Sheikh proceeded shortly afterwards to join his father at the same station.

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The government of Roujerd was now conferred upon Seyf-ud-dein Keldaush, and that of Nehawend* about fourteen leagues to the westward, upon Sheikh Meykâeil; after which Teymûr prosecuted his march towards Khorremabad, about thirty leagues south-south-east of Nehawend, which he reached on the second day. Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of Lûrr, had fled at the approach of the imperial armies, and Omar Sheikh was immediately dispatched in pursuit of him. A competent force was employed to invest the fortress of Khorremabad, which is laid down about eleven leagues south-east of Lûrr; another division of the Tcheghatâian troops proceeded to over-run and lay waste the country in every direction; while Teymûr in person bent his course for Tuster, or Susa, the metropolis of Khûzistaun, esteemed by the orientals the most ancient city upon earth. In the mean time, in order by every expedient which he could devise to punish the obnoxious natives of Lûrristaun, who had incurred his utmost displeasure by their unlicensed depredations, Teymûr contrived, by leaving detachments of his best troops in ambuscade behind him on his daily removal from one encampment to another, to cut off great numbers of these banditti; who, descending from their inaccessable retreats in the mountains on hearing the signal of march, were thus repeatedly and with infinite loss, foiled in their attempts to assail the rear and flanks of the imperial army. In eleven marches, however, from Khorremabad, Teymûr reached the bridge on the Aub-e-zaul, constructed by Shapâr.

* According to one of De la Croix maps this place is set down about forty leagues south east of Hamadaun, is said to be situated on a mountain, and to have been built by Noah; whence it is sometimes called Nohawend. It is celebrated for the dreadful battle between the troops of Omar, and those of Yezdejird, which finally decided the fate of the Persian Empire.

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Zûlektauf, said by De la Croix on the authority of the zuffur nâmah, to consist of twenty eight larger and as many smaller arches, possibly one above another, and described as the most curious and admirable monument of ancient architecture then in existence.

After having continued the pursuit of Melek Ezz-ud-dein as far as the fortress of Menkerah, on the road to Wausset on the Tigris, Omar Sheikh here rejoined his father; to whom he reported the total failure of his attempt to overtake the fugitive prince. Meiran Shah, who had been directed, in the mean time, to conduct the heavy equipments of the army along the opposite side of the mountains of Irâk Ajem, appeared at the head of his cavalry before Kashaun; about three days journey north of Isfahaun, and celebrated for its manufactory of porcelane, with which the houses in Persia are said to have been then covered. Melouk the Serbedaurian, who had fled from Khorassaun from the vengeance of the Shahzadah, as mentioned on a former occasion, was at this period governor of the town, on the part of Shah Munsûr monarch of Shirauz. On the present occasion, he was no sooner apprized of the appearance of Meiran Shah than he determined on submission, and on imploring forgiveness for his past offences. The Shahzadah yielded without much difficulty to his intreaties, and he soon afterwards quitted Kashaun, and enrolled himself in the train of that prince. Meiran Shah then returned to resume his station with the incumbrances, of the army, committed to his care. On the other hand, Omar Sheikh who had been again detached to the westward, appeared in the neighborhood of Haweizah, or Ahûauz, which was abandoned on his approach, by the person who commanded under the authority of Shah Munsûr.

To return to Teymûr, that monarch appears to have passed the celebrated bridge of Shapûr, and to have encamped on the opposite side of the Aubzaul, at the town of Dezhfûll, on the sixteenth day of his departure from Khorremabad. The dehdaur, or village prefect, whose name was Shums ud-dein, might possibly, as stated by the author, have considered it as an instance of particular good fortune to have been admitted to the presence of the conqueror, although at the expence of twenty ass loads of silver, which he lodged by way of peishkesh, in the hands of the imperial treasurers.

Without further delay, Teymûr proceeded to the ancient metropolis of Tûster; in the neighborhood of which he was presently joined by the princes Mahommed Sûltan, and Peir Mahommed, from Kûrdestaun. In the mean time, Ally Kotewaul, and Esfendiaur, the two chiefs who commanded at Tûster in behalf of Shah Munsûr, having abandoned the place and retreated to Shirauz, the government was conferred on a citizen of Subbuzwaur, of the name of Khaujah Mahmûd; which with other arrangements dispatched, Teymûr directed his views towards the Kellaseffeid, or white fortress, northwest of Shirauz, which he had determined to reduce before he should finally approach that capital. But as the author has in this place omitted to recapitulate the operations which ensued, to the defeat and death of Shah Munsûr, as already described in his fourth volume, we have conceived it of sufficient importance to supply the omission, from the English translation of De la Croix' work, the history of *Timur-Bec*.

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"After the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan, and Peir Mahommed were returned in triumph from Derbend-e-Taushy Khautûn, to the imperial camp without Tûster, Teymûr sent Sounjek Babauder to Haweiza to summons the Mirza Omar Sheikh to court; after which having made himself master of Tûster, he consigned the government of that place to Khaujah Mûssâoud Subbuzwaury, to maintain there the troops of Subbuzwaur which he commanded. At length on the twenty fifth of the latter Rebbeia,* of the seven hundred and ninety fifth of the hidjrah, which answers to the Moghûl year of the hen, Teymûr at the head of a division of the army marched with diligence towards Shirauz, and on the road dispatched a second express to Omar Sheikh, who had taken possession of Haweiza, to inform him that the emperor's orders were that he should follow him to Shirauz, with the baggage and main body of the army. On the twenty seventh of the same month† he crossed the river Dodaunkeh, and two days afterwards encamped on the bank of that of Shouroukan Kendah. On the first of the former Jummaudy,‡ he went to encamp at Ram Hormûz, where the Atabek Peir Mahommed, prince of upper Lûrrestaun, came to kiss the foot of his throne, and offer him presents; to which honor he was

De la Croix'
history.

* 8th of March 1393.

† 10th of March.

‡ 13th March.

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admitted through the mediation of the great Ameirs, and being well received by the emperor, he attached himself to the court. Teymûr took horse about noon of the same day, passed the river of Ram Hormûz, and encamped on the other side."

"On the second of the month he encamped on the river Fey, and on the third, after having marched all the preceding night, he went to encamp on the plains of Zohra. On the fourth he passed by Kerdestaun,* crossed the Aubarghûn, and went to encamp at Behbehan. On the fifth he passed the Aubsheirin, and encamped on the plains of Lashter. On the sixth he marched to Kedje Hawaus, and encamped at the spring of the river Kanbidak. On the seventh he encamped at the village of Joulaha; and on the eighth he went to Bacht (perhaps Basht), crossed the Aubchob (Aubshoub peradventure), and encamped at Malemir Chal, or Shaul. On the ninth he passed the Cavedan,† where he procured intelligence concerning the fortress of Kellaseffeid. From Cavedan he proceeded to Noubendejaun, about eighteen miles to the southward of the Kellaseffeid. On the tenth‡ he disposed his troops in order of battle, and marched to encamp at the foot of the Kellaseffeid, one of the strongest places in Asia. The governor on the part of Shah Munsûr, was named Saudet, which signifies good fortune, though he was in truth. *an unfortunate wicked fellow.*"

"The Persians confided in the strength of this place because it was situated on the top of a very rugged mountain where there was but one slippery road to ascend. On the top of this mountain there was a beautiful level plain, a league long and as much wide, containing rivers and fountains, fruit trees, and cultivated lands, with all sorts of birds and beasts. In the belief that they were here secure against the dangers of fire and flood, and much more so against mines, and assaults by battering rams, and other warlike machines, the princes of the country had covered it with numerous pleasure houses; and it was indeed considered of a nature so inaccessible and impregnable, as well because of its height, and the impracticability of conveying battering machines to the foot of the walls, as of the hardness of the rock on

||The frontier town of Khûzistaun, towards Fars.

† A river which is said to pass by Kazerûn, and to fall into the Persian Gulf.

‡ 22nd of March.

which it was situated, which was not to be wrought by either bar or pickaxe. The road which led to the top of the mountain was so made that in any strait three men might oppose a hundred thousand, and prevent their ascending. Not contented with its natural strength, the natives had fortified and walled all the turnings with great stones joined with mortar; and as the cultivated grounds were sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and the cattle and fowl had abundance to feed on, no one had dreamt of starving them out, seeing that nothing but death itself had any power over the garrison."

"Coming to the foot of this mountain, Teymûr attended by his most faithful captains, approached the principal gate of the fortress, and caused the great cry, *Souroun*, to be made by the troops who followed. The two wings now encamped on the top of another mountain which communicated with that on which the fortress stood. There also Teymûr caused his tent to be pitched, and orders to be given for a general assault. The cavalry and infantry, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ascent, marched up the mountain to the walls of the fort; Mirza Mahommed Sûltan attacking it on the right, and Mirza Peir Mahommed on the left, while Shah Rokh, who had separated from the left wing, ran to the foot of the wall with his men, whom he had caused to dismount for the occasion. All the army followed the example and commenced a most furious assault. After having laboured with indefatigable perseverance during the whole of the day, these men persisted in their endeavors to ascend to the highest parts of the mountain, and in giving a general attack to the body of the place; but night coming on every man stood on the ground to which he had attained."

"Next morning the princes, Ameirs, and soldiers, renewed the assault, to the sound of their great drums kettle drums and horns, the enemy discharging from their works vast showers of stones and arrows. Our brave captains devoted their lives to the service of Teymûr; every one pickaxe in hand, like the *Ferhaud* of antiquity*, proceeded to break the rock. Aukbougâ, an officer among the retainers of Sheikh Mahommed Eykûtemûr, by chance mounted to a spot, unseen, and

* A celebrated sculptor in the reign of Khossrou King of Persia, the lover of Sheirin, or Irene.

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praising God and the prophet, cried out aloud, Teymûr is victorious and his enemies are confounded. On this steep rock with the intrepidity of a gallant soldier he covered himself with his buckler, and fell upon the besieged, who were so completely surprised at being attacked from a place to which they conceived that no one would venture to ascend, that they immediately left off fighting. The troops of Mahommed Sûltan ascending by the road which led directly to the gate of the fortress, there displayed their ensigns, and fixed their horsetails, uttering the cry of Victory ! Others mounted the rock, made conspicuous by the gallantry of Aukbouga, and some found their way up by different paths; so that the place was finally taken possession of, and the garrison precipitated headlong from the summit of the mountain."

"Saudet, the unfortunate governor was seized on alive by Mahomed Azaud, and brought to the presence of Teymûr, who directed that he should expiate with his blood the slaughter of those who had fallen in this assault. The sword is the instrument of vengeance upon those who forget themselves; and when God hath selected any one to exercise the functions of command, it is our duty to submit without resistance. [Good honest soul !] Sûltan Zeyne-ul-aubedein, whom Shah Munsûr had deprived of sight, and kept a prisoner in this place, was now presented to Teymûr, who received him kindly, gave him a khelaut, and consoled him with the promise of revenge on his cruel relative, whom he pledged himself to punish for his ferocity and injustice. In the mean time he ordered that all the women who had been seized by the soldiers, should be released, and leaving Melek Mahommed Aoubehy to command in the place, he returned to his camp.

"On the eleventh of the month Teymûr encamped again at Noubendejaun. He bestowed upon Aukbouga, whose gallantry had so conspicuously led to the capture of the Kellaseffeid, so much silver money, such costly stuffs, so many tents, women slaves, horses, camels, mules, and other marks of his bounty, that this officer, who the day before was master but of one horse was so dazzled with his good fortune that he could not decide whether what he saw was a dream, or reality. Next day Teymûr passed the defile of Bouan, and

encamped at Teirmerdan. From thence he proceeded on the thirteenth, and encamped at Jarajaun, and on the fourteenth* of the month he arrived at Jouyem, about six leagues to the westward of Shirauz. During his march he had endeavored to gain all possible information with respect to Shah Munsûr, and every report concurred to persuade him that that monarch had fled his capital."

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"As Teymûr did not labour under any great uneasiness as to the real circumstances of his adversary, he the same day divided his army into two separate bodies, the one led by himself in person, and the other by Mahommed Sûltan; the vanguard of his own division he consigned to Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, and the rear to Khaujah Aukbougâ. The division under Mahommed Sûltan took the direction to the right hand, the vanguard being under the command of Sheikh Temûr Bahauder. Shah Rokh had no distinct command, for he always attended on the person of his father; Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, was dispatched in advance at the head of the scouts, and Teymûr himself at the head of his division, took the road which led immediately towards Shirauz. Ameir Othman had not proceeded far before he discovered a body of the advanced troops, or scouts of Shah Munsûr, who were at the extremity of the gardens without the town, marching forward into the country. He hid himself in a hollow ground until they passed him; then sallying out of his ambuscade, accompanied by *Sainte Maure*, [Sâeintemûr,] Mowelly, Kara Mahommed, Behraum Yessoury, and other gallant soldiers, resolutely attacked the enemy. The brave Behraum first overtook them sword in hand, and cutting the reins of one of the horses bridles, the rider fell, but not being able to make his escape, Behraum threw him over his own horse bound, and brought him before Teymûr, who questioned him with respect to Shah Munsûr, and the number of his troops, and then continued his march."

"When he had proceeded about a league, he perceived in the fields without the town, a body of horse, to the number of three or four thousand, armed with coats of mail, helmets, and breastplates of leather, lined with iron, their horses covered with a kind of cuirasses made of thick, or perhaps quilted silk, and their ensigns gaily dis-

* 26th of March.

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played. At the head of these men, equally inured to war and fatigue, and skilful with their bows, Shah Munsûr himself, advanced like a furious lion; and, with a total disregard to the dictates of his reason, which should have preserved in his mind a suitable idea of the person with whom he was about to contend, whose arm had hitherto cast down all opposition, ventured, at a place called Patila,* and on a friday, at the hour of prayer, to attack the main body of the army, composed of thirty thousand Turks or Tartars, the most dextrous soldiers of their time. Of these he overthrew the firmest squadrons, broke through the very centre, and gained behind the army some posts of the utmost consequence. He then returned furious as a dragon to renew the conflict in the centre, in search, probably, of the person of Teymûr, apparently determined to lose his life. Teymûr, with some of his favorite courtiers, stopped short, or paused to contemplate the extreme hardihood, or rather blind temerity, of this prince, who thus dared to attack him in person. Seeing him, however, urging his career directly against him, the Tartar monarch called for his lance, to oppose the danger; but the weapon was not to be found, because Pûlaud Tehoura, who was the bearer of it, had fled, and carried it away with him. Not more than fourteen or fifteen of his guards and followers now remained near the person of Teymûr, who did not, however, stir from his post, until Shah Munsûr came up to him. The rash and enraged prince struck the emperor twice on the helmet with his scimeter, but without injury, as the strokes glanced along his armour. Teymûr still kept his ground, firm as a rock without changing his posture. Audel Akhtatchei, however, held a buckler over his head, and Komaury, the Yessawul, advanced before him, while he continued to exert himself with singular intrepidity, and he was finally wounded in the hand by a sword."

"In these perilous circumstances, the centre of the enemy's troops was seasonably attacked, and with equal resolution and vigour, by the Ameirs Mahmûd Shah, Towukkel Bawertchei, Aman Shah, and Mahommed Azaud; and while Shah Munsûr, who had been finally repulsed in his attempt against the person of Teymûr, again fell upon

* A little south of Shirauz, towards which Teymûr appears to have moved circuitously from Jouyem, the place of his last encampment.

the infantry of the main body, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan so briskly attacked the right wing of the Shirauzian, that it was compelled to give way in disorder. Mirza Peir Mahommed was equally successful against the left wing, killing considerable numbers, and obliging the remainder to quit the field. Shah Rokh also, who combated with lionlike valour by the side of his father, rallied a whole division of soldiers, who had fled their posts; while Jullaul Hameid, and Behraum Souffy, the sons of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, with Khaujah Rastin, exerted themselves with conspicuous courage under the eye of their sovereign, and by a well directed discharge of their arrows forced the enemy to give way. They were supported in their exertions by Abdel Khaujah Peirau, and by Sheikh Mahommed Eykûtemûr. The regiment [hazaurah perhaps] of Ameir Allahdaud, called the faithful, that of Sheikh Nour-ud-dein son of Saurbougâ, named Eymûlk, and that of Bûi, which was the imperial regiment called Koutchein, all stationed with the main body, having been completely put to the rout by Munsûr, now rallied, and unfurling their colours, formed themselves into a compact and solid squadron. The three corps of Sheikh Ally, Lalam Koutchein, and Behraumdaud, were not to be moved from their posts, where they fought to the last with invincible courage."

"At length Shah Rokh although at this period but seventeen years of age, exerted himself with such consummate prudence and valour, that having enclosed Shah Munsûr on all sides beyond the possibility of escape, he finally struck off his head, and laid it at his father's feet with this exclamation; "may the heads of all your enemies be thus laid at your feet, like that of the haughty Munsûr." The Persian soldiers, who had hitherto fought with distinguished bravery, were deplorably discouraged by the fall of their sovereign. The leopards were turned into deer, for they all fled, who were not killed by the conquerors. Pleased with his important victory, Teymûr embraced the princes his children, and the principal Nûyans, and with them, fell on his knees to give God thanks, for their success. The other Ameirs soon afterwards came before him, and having offered their congratulations also fell on their knees; but while they were presenting him with the golden goblet, according to the custom of the Moghuls, on similar occasions of triumph, they perceived coming behind them.

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on a sudden, a body of the enemy well equipped, and ranged in order of battle, and advancing to attack them. Teymûr, with Shah Rokh and his other generals immediately proceeded to repel this unforeseen attack; and making the great national war cry, the Souroun, received the enemy with such fierceness and vigour that they were in a moment thrown into confusion and put to the rout. The fugitives took the direction of the Kellaut-e-sûrkh, or the red fortress, but being closely pursued by some of the Teymûrian Ameirs, they were many of them cut to pieces in their flight."

"Having passed the night at the village of Deinou Khaun, Teymûr, on the following day, like Menûtcheher, when he made his triumphant entry into Istakhaur, the ancient metropolis of the Persian empire, began his march, in the pride of victory and in all the pomp of war, to enter the renowned city of Shirauz, the present capital of the monarchy. He directed the imperial standard to be displayed on the gate of Selem,* where he fixed his abode, while the army remained in the out-parts, or suburbs of the town. Eight of the gates were shut up, while that of Selem was alone kept open. Many of the principal lords of the court were then directed to enter the city, in order to take down the names of the magistrates and heads of the different wards, or quarters, according to which they proceeded to collect the treasures, riches, furniture, costly stuffs, horses and mules, belonging to Shah Munsûr, his courtiers, and relatives; all which they conveyed out of the town and laid before Teymûr, by whom they were distributed with his usual liberality among his Ameirs. A contribution was imposed on the inhabitants as a ransom for their lives, and the contribution was regularly paid."

"Mirza Mahommed Sûltan was now dispatched to Isfahaun, with instructions to place a garrison in that city, and to receive also from the inhabitants a contribution for the safety of their lives. Omar Sheikh on his part, having remained with the baggage, according to orders, did not neglect to pillage all the rebel parties who fell in his way, as well the remains of Shah Munsûr's army, as the robbers of Lôrrestaun, the Kûrds, and Shoulis, the natives of the mountains of Malemir Shoul, and Kazerûn, so called. Having passed by Noubun-

* So called from one of the sons of Feridoun.

dejaun, and arrived at Kazerûn, Omar Sheikh received instructions to remain there, until he should have placed garrisons in all the different districts, and established regulations in conformity to the laws of the Moghûls, all which he accordingly executed in a manner which entitled him to universal applause. Shortly after this he received orders to repair to court, and he had accordingly the happiness to salute his father in the capital of Shirauz."

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"The princes of the race of Mûzuffur having no longer a place to retire to, where they could be secure against the power of Teymûr, resolved in good earnest to submit. Shah Yaheya quitted Yezd with his sons, and Sûltan Ahmed of Kermaun, to present themselves at court. They offered to the conqueror the most splendid display of precious stones, horses, mules, pavilions, tents, and every article that could be considered either rare or curious. Sûltan Mehedy the son of Shah Shujia, and Sûltan Ghuzzenferr the son of Shah Munsûr, were already both in Shirauz. A month was spent here by Teymûr, the prince his sons, and grandsons, the great Ameirs and Nûyans, in feasts and diversions; in which the musicians delighted them by their performances on the harp and organ, and the red wine of Shirauz was circulated in cups of gold by the most beautiful maids in the city. Sûltan Abû Ishauck the son of Shah Shujia, also repaired to court from Seirjaun, and made the suitable presents to the Tcheghatâian, who was now employed in regulating the affairs of the Persian monarchy, and of the oppressed people; that under the protection of his laws they might enjoy that peace, of which continual wars and a tyrannical government had so long deprived them. As it behoved a prince of moderation and equable spirit to do, he relieved the inhabitants from their extraordinary taxes. He conferred the government of the kingdom of Fars, which is the heart of the empire, the most abounding in cities, towns and villages, of any country in Asia, on his own son Omar Sheikh; who gave to his father in acknowledgement on the occasion, a most splendid entertainment, offering him presents on his knees, and assuring him with a solemn oath, of his inviolable fidelity, and punctuality in the execution of all his commands."

Having consummated his conquest of Fars by the almost entire

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extinction of the race of Mûzuffur, Teymûr, on the twenty seventh of the latter Jummaudy,* quitted Shirauz on his march towards Isfahaun; which city he appears to have entered on the sixth day of the succeeding month of Rudjub.† After remaining for some days at this celebrated place, to refresh and recreate himself, he directed his march for the small town of Ankûaun, about forty leagues north-north-west of Isfahaun, and fifteen southwest of Kashaun; the inhabitants of which were at that period, and continued to the days of the author, the most obstinate and determined zealots of the detested Issmâeilian heresy. These unfortunate men had sought security by secreting themselves in the caverns, and subterraneous recesses of the neighboring territory; and Teymûr had therefore recourse to the device of drowning them in their dens, by dispatching his soldiers to cut the banks of some of the mountain streams, and to conduct their waters so as to overflow the lower grounds. Having passed one night at Ankûaun, he marched the next day, and encamped on the plains of Berahaun, or Perahaun, westward of Kashaun. Here he devoted some days to the favorite amusement of the chase; which terminated in the destruction of a prodigious number of wild asses, and antelopes, by the troops in general. While thus employed, the princesses Serâi Melek Khaunum and Tomaun Aga, and Khaunzâdah the consort of Meiran Shah, with other ladies of the imperial family repaired to join him; having availed themselves of the opportunity to quit that division of the army which protected the heavy equipments, and to offer their congratulations with showers of jewels on the head of their sovereign. Shortly afterwards Teymûr proceeded on his march to the northward, and on the eighth of Shabaun,‡ he conducted his troops to the vicinity of Hamadaun; the atmosphere of which is here said, in the metaphorical strain of the original, to have acquired a grateful fragrance from the dust set in motion by the trampling of his numerous squadrons.

Not long afterwards, Meiran Shah, and the commanders who had been left, under his orders, in charge of the heavy baggage and equipments, also hastened from Sûltauniah, to offer on this occasion their congratulations to Teymûr. Mahommed Sûltan likewise, after re-

* 8th of May.

† 16th of May.

‡ 17th June.

maining at Isfahaun just long enough to collect the stipulated tribute, rejoined the imperial encampment at Hamadaun; where a most sumptuous entertainment was now provided, for their august husband, by the imperial consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum and Tomaun Aga. Desirous, in the mean time, of bestowing upon Meiran Shah, some distinguished mark of his paternal regard, Teymûr embraced this opportunity to invest that prince with the government of Azerbâijaun and Shirvaun, extending eastward to Derbend and Baukû, (perhaps Derbend of Baukû), and westward to the frontiers of Rûm, then in possession of the house of Othman. A fresh course of festivities ensued; in which, by a variety of the most rare and costly presents drawn from Tebreiz, and the countries dependent upon it, the Shah-zâdah sought to attest his gratitude for the munificence, which had thus bestowed upon him the splendid patrimony transmitted to his descendants, by the formidable Hûlaukû.

On the thirteenth of the month of Shabaun,* Teymûr again put his troops in motion from Hamadaun; having already detached Meiran Shah, with the vanguard of the army, towards Kârabaugh, on the Araxes. The country continuing favorable to the amusement of the chase, he did not omit the opportunity of indulging in that salubrious recreation, during the march to Gorbedek, westward of Hamadaun; but, receiving advices from Meiran Shah, which stated that the Tûrkman chief, Kâra Mahommed, had taken post among the mountains of Kûrdestaun, with the determination of opposing his invaders, after having secured his family and numerous flocks in the loftiest and most inaccessible parts, Teymûr conceived it expedient to alter the direction of his march to the northward, by the castle of Seghasoun; and, in the space of a day and one night, reaching the station of Kûlaughy, measures were instantly adopted, by a skilful distribution of the imperial troops, to shut up against the enemy every outlet of retreat. There was, in particular, at this period in the possession of the Tûrkman, a fortress of great strength called Habshy, or Habbeshy; where, and among the different passes with which the country abounded, they opposed a stubborn resistance to the progress of the Teymûrians. But, pressing forwards with their usual audacity, the latter

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suffa.

* 22nd of June.

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finally succeeded in gaining the highest part of the mountain; from whence they conveyed to their camp below, a very considerable booty in horses, sheep, and camels, the most valuable property of the Tùrkman. In the ascent of the mountain they experienced, however, some loss in the death of Beraut Khaujah Koukeltaush, who fell after the most conspicuous exertions of personal bravery. Sheikh Hadjy, another distinguished soldier, the son of Komaury the Yessawul, was also mortally wounded on this occasion. Yet observing that the resolution of their assailants was not in any shape diminished by the fall of their leaders, the Tùrkman at last submitted to abandon their property; and crossing the mountains of Ayraun, or Aourman, endeavoured in that direction to effect their escape. Their flight was, however, intercepted, being closely pursued by Sheikh Temûr Bahauder; by whom they were overtaken and cut to pieces, in considerable numbers. And such as contrived to escape the slaughter of their companions, could accomplish that object in no other way than by dispersing to different quarters, in the most deplorable state of want and wretchedness.

Another fortress of great reputed strength, that still continued unsubdued in this part of Kùrdestaun, is stated to have been held by the Gubbers, the remnant of the ancient stock of the Magians contemptuously so designated by the Mahommedans, and now destined to witness, in their turn, the indefatigable perseverance and intrepidity of the Teymûrians. This place was also reduced after a short siege, the garrison exterminated, and not a vestige of the works left standing to indicate that it had ever been in existence. Teymûr then returned to the plains of Kûlaughy; from whence decamping shortly afterwards, he rejoined, on the banks of the Auksâi, or white river, that part of the army which had been left in charge of the heavy equipments. Meiran Shah had been employed, in the mean time, in the reduction of Saurek koughun, while Ouje Kâra Bahauder, undertook that of Karoutou, both castles in Kùrdestaun, south of the lake of Van; which, with the success that invariably attended the arms of Teymûr they finally subjugated, and, after exterminating the inhabitants, with a prodigious accumulation of booty returned to the imperial encampment.

While these operations were carrying on in different quarters round

him a magnificent entertainment had been prepared for her imperial father-in-law, by Khaunzâdah, the daughter of Shukker Beg Khaunum, and the consort of Meiran Shah. Of this her husband was, however, not permitted to be a partaker; being, with his nephew Mahommed Sûltan, again detached to prosecute in different directions the plan of hostilities established for the subjugation of the Kûrds. Mahommed Sûltan was employed for his part, to repress and punish the enormities committed, for a long time with impunity, by the bands of robbers who infested the roads in the neighborhood of the Derbend of Kûrdestaun; a strong pass in the mountains of that country, leading towards the lake of Ermi, or Ermia. In the mean time, having graced by his presence the festivities prepared by his daughter-in-law, Teymûr removed from the plains of Kûlaughy, to Bûlaur, perhaps Aukbûlaur; where he passed the sacred month of Ramzaun,* in the exercises of devotion prescribed for that season of abstinence. On the third day of the succeeding month of Shavaul,† Sheikh Abdurrahman the Esfrâeinian, a celebrated doctor of that age distinguished for his prudence and piety, presented himself to Teymûr, as the ambassador of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir from Baghdâd; and being received with all those demonstrations of benevolence and respect, which the Tcheghatâian monarch usually displayed in his intercourse with the discreet and learned, *particularly of his own sect*, proceeded, in the discharge of his mission, to communicate from the Sûltan, that he was sincerely disposed to give, in words and actions, the most substantial proofs of homage and submission: but that finding himself, at this moment, irresistibly withheld, by his apprehensions, from appearing in person before Teymûr, he nevertheless trusted the period was not very distant, when he should avail himself of an opportunity to attest his allegiance at the feet of his imperial adversary, and to enrol himself among the most devoted of his vassals.

It is here asserted to have been the design of Teymûr, if Sûltan Ahmed had only consented to introduce the imperial name and titles into the Khotbah and coinage of his country, to have confirmed him, in every other respect, in the sovereignty of Irâk Arab; and to have withdrawn his troops without giving him any further cause of

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A. D. 1393.
Rouz-ul-us-
suffa.

* From the 9th of July, to the 8th of August, 1393.

† 10th of August.

A. H. 795.
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suffa.

apprehension. But, as nothing of that kind was intimated in the communications of his ambassador, all the professions of zeal and cordiality, in the absence of this essential article, on the part of the Sûltan, failed to pass current with the haughty Tcheghatâian. He, therefore, disdainfully withheld his acceptance of the presents, of which the Sheikh was the bearer; at the same time dismissing him with all the ordinary circumstances of liberality, a dress of honor, a horse, and a sum of money, together with other attestations of personal respect for the character of the envoy.

Having in this manner dispatched the agent of Sûltan Ahmed on his return to Baghdâd, Teymûr finally resolved on proceeding without delay against that capital. Preparatory to this design the Ameir zâdah Peir Mahommed was directed to take charge of the heavy equipments; and to return with the royal consorts, Serâi Melek Khaunum, Tomaun Agha, and the other princesses, to Sûltauniah, where he was to remain. Then giving orders that every soldier in the army should provide himself with two pieces or slips of Sauje, or sabin wood, to be used in the passage of rivers,* Teymûr, on the thirteenth of Shavaul,† put his troops again in motion, and encamped at Yaumbûlaur, a station said to lie not far from Arbela. From thence marching day and night, and having crossed many a hill and valley in his course, to the south-east, he, on the third day's march, quitted the main body of the army and hastened in advance, accompanied by no more than one hundred horse. With these, after marching the whole of that night, and making his way over and through some of the most difficult ridges and straits, he, at day break of the ensuing morning, came to Koura kurghan; where he completely surprised the camp of Kâra Mahommed the Tûrkman, who abandoned his family and effects to be plundered by the Teymûrians, while he saved his own person by a precipitate flight. Without, however, slackening his course, Teymûr continued his march with the utmost celerity to the mausoleum of Sheikh Ibrauhim Yaheya, better known by the name of Kubbeh-Ibrauhimlik, the *shrine* of Ibrauhim; described to be about twenty seven leagues N E, of the metropolis of Baghdâd. Here, after tendering his vows at the shrine of the Sheikh, Teymûr demanded of those who resided

* De la Croix however says two bottles of water.

† 20th of August.

on the spot, whether they had not sent off to Baghdâd a dispatch pigeon with intelligence of his approach; and finding by their reply that, according to instructions, this had been done the instant they discovered the column of dust occasioned by the march of his cavalry, he directed them immediately to prepare another note, in the same hand writing with that already dispatched, stating that the dust which they had supposed to arise from the approach of the Teymûrian armies, proved, in the issue, to have been occasioned by some of the Tûrkman tribes, who were retiring in that direction, in order to avoid the apprehended incursions of their enemies. Then attaching the note to the wing of another pigeon, it was, like its precursor, set loose on its flight for Baghdâd.

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In the mean time, alarmed at the intelligence conveyed by the former dispatch, Sûltan Ahmed had already begun to transport his more cumbrous baggage, and effects, to the right, or opposite bank of the Tigris; when the arrival of the second pigeon gave to his apprehensions a temporary, but most deceitful calm. For, having previously sent on Ameir Othman with a division of light cavalry, to scour the country, Teymûrin person, at the head of the main body, hastened in the same direction, and after a march of twenty three statute farsangs, of six thousand paces each, without halting, on tuesday the twenty ninth of the same month of Shavaul in the morning,* presented himself in dreadful array before Baghdâd. The Sûltan had, however, by this time completed the conveyance of his equipage and principal effects, to the western side of the Tigris, whither he had followed in person; after which he caused the bridge to be destroyed behind him, and all the boats to be scuttled and sunk in the river. He now awaited on horseback, with his eyes fixed on the distant horizon, the arrival of his dreadful invader; when his ears being suddenly assailed by the mingled din of the Tartar horns, kettle drums, and trumpets, he soon afterwards beheld the Teymûrian squadrons like the rolling surges of the ocean, impelling each other with fearful impetuosity towards the channel of the Tigris; into which both above and below the city they instantly plunged, and made good their passage to the opposite side. Here the yacht of Sûltan Ahmed, which bore

* 5th of September.

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the name of the sun, and which by some neglect or other had been left uninjured, was seized by Mahommed Azaud, and being immediately sent over to the Persian side, served very opportunely for the conveyance of Teymûr, who hastened without delay to join his troops; while Meiran Shah with his division swam the river some distance lower down, at the Kerreiat-ul-aukaub, or village of eagles.

On this subject we are informed, on the authority of Nizam-ud-dein Shumbghazauny, an eye witness, who composed a performance particularly designed to record the actions of Teymûr, that he was at this period an inhabitant of Baghdâd, and the first among the citizens admitted to the presence of the Tcheghatâian monarch; from whom he experienced the most gracious and encouraging reception. This writer describes that when he came out of Baghdâd, on his way to humble himself before the throne of Teymûr, the Tigris was so completely enveloped by the cloud of Teymûrian troops which swarmed from one side to the other, that he could not distinguish the dry land from water; and that he could not forbear exclaiming, with terror and astonishment, what description of men these were to whom land and water made no distinction! While the equally terrified inhabitants bit their fingers ends in silent wonder at the astonishing spectacle, convinced that this irresistible conqueror was but too evidently impelled under the influence of divine aid. On the authority of another contemporary writer, Haufiz Nûr-ud-dein Abdullah, better known by the designation of Haufiz Abrû, it is further stated that he heard Teymûr himself acknowledge his error, in not having plunged into the Tigris at the very moment of his arrival; since to this circumstance alone he ascribed the escape of Sûltan Ahmed, who must otherwise inevitably have fallen into his hands.

Having, at all events, withdrawn from the danger the Sûltan directed his flight towards Hellah on the Euphrates; and Teymûr, with the whole of the princes of his family, and his principal generals, hastened with the eagerness of blood hounds in pursuit of him. However, when they reached the station of Kerbatou, about ten leagues to the westward of Baghdâd, Saunje, or Asaunje Oghlan, and the other great commanders, on their bended knees besought the monarch to return to that city, to repose himself from his recent extraordinary fatigues; declaring that they would themselves be responsible for the pursuit

and capture of the fugitive Sûltan. Teymûr on this occasion thought fit to give way to the intreaties of his nobles, and accordingly measured back his steps to Baghdâd, where he took up his abode in the palace of the Sûltan; all the treasure and valuable property, which the fugitive prince had been prevented from carrying away with him, now falling into the hands of the officers of the imperial retinue.

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On the other hand, the Ameirs who had undertaken to continue the pursuit of Sûltan Ahmed, prosecuted their march the whole of that day and the ensuing night, and, on the following morning, found themselves on the banks of the Euphrates. Here they learnt that the object of whom they were in search, had already crossed the river, and, after destroying the bridge, and sinking all the boats, had taken the road to Kerbêla, on his way to Damascus. Othman Bahauder immediately proposed to swim the Euphrates, as they had recently adventured to do with such success in the passage of the Tigris; but his colleagues, less ardent in their zeal, conceived it more advisable to follow the course of the river, in expectation of discovering some spot where it might be fordable without danger. This latter design they proceeded without delay to carry into execution; but before they had made any considerable progress, they fortunately obtained possession of four boats used in the navigation of the river, on which they immediately embarked; and taking their horses by the bridle along side, safely crossed to the opposite bank, the rest of the army effecting their passage, without loss or difficulty, in the same manner.

They now, with redoubled eagerness, resumed the pursuit of the enemy, their zeal being in no small degree stimulated by the valuable booty which, in vast quantity, and under every description, lay scattered on the road, abandoned by the fugitives, in the terror and precipitation of their flight. By this time, however, the horses of the majority, exhausted by long continued fatigue and exertion, totally failed them, and the number of the pursuers was at last reduced to forty-five of the most distinguished, and probably best mounted individuals; including the recently mentioned Asaunje Oghlan, possibly one of the shahzâdahs of the race of Jûjy, with the Ameirs Jullaul the son of Hameid, Othman the son of Abbas, and Seyud Khaujah the son of

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Sheikh Ally Bahauder. On the plain of Kerbêla, that scene of ever memorable massacre and atrocity, this band of distinguished warriors came up with Sûltan Ahmed, accompanied by a body of two thousand of his best cavalry; of whom a squadron of two hundred immediately drew out to attack their pursuers. Dismounting from their horses, the Teymûrians awaited the charge of their assailants on foot; and finally compelled them to retire, by their unerring skill in the use of their bows. They then remounted their horses, and continued the pursuit. Again the enemy rallied to repel them, and again the Teymûrians received their attack, in the same manner, and with similar success. But returning a third time to the charge, with a suddenness and impetuosity which prevented the Teymûrians from dismounting, they were now compelled to combat with their adversaries hand to hand, with their swords and daggers; and again the soil of Kerbêla was moistened with the blood of the slain. Of the Teymûrians, Othman the son of Abbas, received a wound in the arm from one of the enemy's swords, and was disabled from further exertion, after exhibiting the most signal proofs of courage in this arduous conflict; but as Sûltan Ahmed, by the efforts of his faithful followers, had been placed, by this time, at a sufficient distance from the danger of being overtaken, the enemy at last withdrew from the contest; and the Teymûrian Ameirs, conceiving that it would be useless to continue the pursuit any longer, resolved to return, with the booty which they had accumulated in considerable abundance, through the sands of Kerbêla.

Such, however, on that day had been the fatigue brought on by unceasing exertion, and such, at the same time, was the intolerable heat of the atmosphere and the alarming scarcity of water, that the Ameirs and their followers were, the whole of them, on the point of perishing under the agonies of the most raging thirst; which seemed to have dried not only the moisture in their mouths, but the very marrow in their bones. In this extremity Asaunge Oghlan, and Jul-laul the son of Hameid were dispatched with some others in search of water; and when, after a painful and anxious survey, as much had been found as might serve for a draught each, to the two Ameirs, Asaunje eagerly swallowed his, without however allaying his thirst in the slightest degree. He therefore addressed himself to his com-

panion, and telling him that, in consequence of the thirst by which he was consumed, he found life fast ebbing away, intreated, as the last proof of surpassing benevolence and magnanimity, that he would resign to him his portion of the precious element. His gallant associate replied, that he recollected to have heard the invincible Teymûr relate the circumstance of two travellers, an Arab and a Persian, who in passing through the desert were reduced to an extremity exactly similar to that under which they themselves were now languishing. The Arab, possibly inured to such privations among the arid sands of his country, had contrived to keep in reserve a small quantity of his supply of water, while the Persian, less provident, had swallowed his to the last drop. With burning lips and his eyes streaming with tears, continues the narrative, the Persian addressed his fellow traveller, and having brought to his recollection the unrivalled fame of his countrymen, for generosity and endurance under hardship, proceeded to intimate what an illustrious proof of those heroic qualities he would then furnish if, to save his companion from perishing in that frightful solitude, he would but make a sacrifice of what, peradventure, it might cost him no great effort to resign. The Arab told him in answer, that, on the contrary, he was perfectly aware that the moment he relinquished his hardly cherished store, he should experience all the agonies of a fish torn from its natural element; nevertheless, that his wish to uphold the renown of his country, and that this the concluding act of his life might remain forever engraved on the record of history, was paramount to every other consideration. Thus saying he resigned his precious draught to the Persian, and expired; while the latter, escaping from the jaws of destruction, lived to spread the renown of his benevolent fellow traveller, whose memory was thus consigned to the perpetual benediction of every language, age, and nation.

Having repeated, to his associate, this story of the exalted self denial of an Arab, Ameir Jullaul expressed his resolution to emulate the example; it being, as he alleged, the summit of his ambition by an obligation, thus sacred and solemn, to establish in the Tchegatâians, an everlasting claim to the gratitude of the race of Jâjy; on the express stipulation, however, that his companion would pledge himself should be ever return to the presence of his sovereign, to make a

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faithful report of the circumstance; in order that he might not be defrauded of the just praise to which he aspired, in the record of future historians. Asaunje readily engaged for the performance of all that he could require; and, having drank off the refreshing draught, finally escaped to relate the story of his sufferings. Neither was the gallant Ameir Jullaul suffered to perish from the exertion of so noble a spirit of benevolence. He survived to enjoy the reward of it in the united praise of his contemporaries; and in the most distinguished favors that could be bestowed upon him, by the bounty of his sovereign.

The whole of the Ameirs now hastened together, to perform their devotions at the shrine of Imaun Abû Abdullah the son of Hûseyne, situated on the well known plains of Kerbêla; after which they returned to Baghdâd, having, it is necessary to observe, captured in the course of their pursuit, Alla-ud-dowlah the son of Sûltan Ahmed, together with some of the wives, and others of the children and family, of that unfortunate prince. Ameir Jullaul, on his return to Baghdâd, experienced in particular the warmest approbation of Teymûr; who retraced in the noble qualities displayed by the son, on this occasion, what he already owed to the long tried friendship, prudence, and sagacity of the father; and he accordingly advanced him, on the spot, to the most distinguished honors of his court. And here it cannot fail to occur to the most ordinary perception, that if the passion for glory exemplified in the conduct of this gallant soldier prevailed, even to a moderate extent, among the officers of the Teymûrian armies, and their sovereign could thus worthily appreciate its value, it must cease to be surprising that they proved irresistible and invincible.

Having devoted a short period to the pleasures and amusements of the voluptuous capital of Irak Arab, Teymûr again dispatched the princes of his family to carry on, in different quarters, his plans of conquest and spoliation. In the mean time, either to take from his troops the means of excessive indulgence, or to exhibit a conspicuous contrast between his own temperance and the debauched habits of Sûltan Ahmed, he caused the contents of the wine vaults of that prince, in the palace of Baghdâd, consisting of the choicest produce of the vineyards of Mossûl, and a variety of other liquors, to be

emptied at once into the Tigris; in such copious abundance that the very fish in the river floated breast-upwards from the intoxicating effect, and were so taken in repeated instances by the soldiery. On the other hand, in order to evince his regard for the memory of pious men, he embraced the opportunity of rebuilding the mezaur, or mausoleum, of Imaum Ahmed Eben Hambal, which had been driven to ruin by the impetuosity and inundations of the Tigris.

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Mahommed Sûltan, who had been recently employed in Kûrdestaun, about this period rejoined his grandfather; after having cleared that province of the licentious banditti by whom it had been long infested. Among other acts of exemplary vengeance, by which he distinguished himself on this occasion, a body of seven hundred of the most desperate of these robbers who, as in many other instances, had fortified themselves on the summit of one of their loftiest mountains, were thrown headlong, by his orders, from the rocks among which they had taken post. The same Shahzadah was again, shortly afterwards, detached to take possession of Waussit, and to establish the authority of Teymûr in the territory annexed to that place; and instructions were, at the same time, transmitted to Meiran Shah to proceed down the Tigris to Bassorah.

Amidst these transactions, it was not forgotten to remove the son of Sûltan Ahmed, together with the women and family of that prince, taken in the pursuit to Kerbela, and a number of the most skilful mechanics and other citizens of Baghdâd, to Samarkand. Among others transported into Mawur-un-neher, on this occasion, is mentioned in particular Khaujah Abdul Kauder, esteemed the most skilful musician of that age. In return for the security which they otherwise enjoyed in person and property, from the violence of a rapacious soldiery, the inhabitants of Baghdâd were, at the same time, required to contribute to the payment of a ransom of some magnitude; which they deposited, with prudent punctuality, in the hands of the imperial treasurers.

In order to explore his way to future conquest, Teymûr availed himself also of this interval of repose at Baghdâd, to despatch an embassy to Mêlek Barkouk, the Mamlouk Sûltan of Egypt and Syria; at the head of which he employed Sheikh Sawah, a person of distin-

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guished talents and ability, furnished with several presents of suitable magnificence. This personage was instructed to expatiate with the Egyptian prince, in substance, on the dreadful injuries which his dominions had formerly sustained in consequence of the hostilities, in which his predecessors had suffered themselves to be engaged with the monarchs of the race of Jengueiz, until suspended by the accommodation which at length brought repose to their harassed and afflicted subjects. He was next to draw the attention of the Egyptian to the disorderly, and turbulent scenes, which succeeded to the death of Abû Sâeid; and finally to intimate, now that the whole of the territory from the metropolis of Samarkand to the western extremities of Irâk Arab, had been brought into subjection by the agents of Teymûr's authority, how material to the welfare and prosperity of the people consigned to his care, to maintain unbroken the obligations of good neighborhood, and by throwing open the facilities of correspondence, to give strength to the bonds of friendship; thus enabling the numerous individuals engaged in the pursuits of trade and commercial enterprise, so essential to the general prosperity of mankind, to prosecute, from place to place, their plans of adventure, without molestation and without alarm.

The metropolis of Baghdâd, together with all its dependencies, being by this time completely reduced under the authority of Teymûr, certain merchants, and others who passed through the country on their different avocations, complained to the Tcheghataïan monarch, that they were exposed to the most cruel outrages from the garrison of Tekreit, then reputed a fortress of impregnable strength on the Tigris, about ninety or a hundred miles above Baghdâd; which rendered the intercourse with Syria and Egypt, through the unbridled enormities of these plunderers, a matter of extreme difficulty and danger. It was, therefore, submitted to the consideration of Teymûr whether, under every circumstance, the reduction of this place was not an object worthy of his arms. The scope of their suggestions corresponding, however, with his ultimate designs, it was not attended with much difficulty to obtain his concurrence; and a force was immediately dispatched, under Bûrhaun Oghlan, Neik, or Yeik Souffy, and Jullaul the son of Hameid, to invest the place; and on the

twenty fourth of the month of Zilhudje,* Shah Rokh having already preceded with the advanced guard, Teymûr left Baghdâd at the head of the main body, in order to conduct in person the siege of Tekreit.

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• Having crossed the Tigris into Mesopotamia the day after he quitted Baghdâd, on his march towards Tekreit, it is thought worth the attention of the author to notice, that while Teymûr was encamped on this occasion on the outskirts of a guzestaun, or forest of canes, perhaps bamboos, one of his people reported to him, that he had just seen a lion; on which, accompanied by some of his guards and attendants, the monarch immediately approached to dare this formidable quadruped from his haunts. He had not proceeded far on his way when not less than five, of these majestic lords of the forest, foaming with rage and hunger, suddenly issued from the jungul, but were at the same instant laid in the dust by a well directed discharge of arrows from the imperial attendants. Shortly after this, namely on the fourth of Mohurrim of the seven hundred and ninety sixth of the hidjerah,† having obliquely traversed the Peninsula to the Euphrates and back again, Teymûr encamped in sight of Tekreit.

Terrified at the approach of the imperial standard Ameir Hussun, the prince of Tekreit, who had hitherto carried on his system of rapine and outrage with impunity, and who had to this moment disdained to stoop to the authority of the most powerful sovereigns, now condescended to dispatch a brother to the camp of Teymûr, with humble assurances of submission. The agent was civilly dismissed with the ordinary present of a horse and dress of honor, and with a message to Ameir Hussun inviting him to repair without apprehension to the presence of Teymûr, where he might expect the most liberal treatment from the bounty and magnanimity of that monarch; without however producing any effect, the infatuated chief being too far subdued by his fears to hazard an interview with his too powerful adversary. He determined therefore to place his only reliance on the strength of his works; and he accordingly stood prepared to resist with all his energies, the mighty means of subjugation, and destruction, about to be employed against him. The besiegers, on the other hand, proceeded without further delay to plant their military machines, and

* 29th of October.

† 9th of November 1398.

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brought them to bear, with destructive effect, upon the fortifications and the buildings within, the latter of which were soon laid in ruins by the stones impelled from the larger battering engines of the enemy.

On the third day of the siege, another attempt to disarm the resentment of Teymûr was made on the part of Ameir Hussun, who now sent out even his own mother furnished with the most costly presents in arabian horses, and in an assortment of all that was valuable and rare, to represent in behalf of her son that he was perfectly aware of his inability to contend, with the smallest prospect of success, against the might of the Teymûrian armies; but, at the same time, that the majesty of the imperial umbrella had produced so awful an impression on his mind, that he found himself utterly unequal to the hazard of committing his person beyond the circumference of his walls. Nevertheless, if the invincible and far-famed Teymûr would agree to his first sending to his presence his brother and son, that he would pledge himself, when his apprehensions should in some degree have subsided, to offer his personal homage at the foot of the throne. Having received the princess, with kindness and humanity, Teymûr told her that he freely granted to her intercession a pardon for her son's multiplied offences; but that she was to return immediately, and admonish him to appear without a moments further delay in his presence, for if he evinced the slightest disposition to prevaricate any longer, that the blood of all included within the fortifications of Tekreit would be upon his head. Much disquieted at this last declaration of Teymûr, the mother of Ameir Hussun accordingly rejoined her son, to whom she communicated the result of the conference. In the mean time, the besiegers had conducted their galleries of approach to the very foot of the exterior wall; and in the course of the ensuing night, Seyud Khaujah, or Khojah, the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with his division, having completely undermined one of the towers, it came to the ground; at which the garrison were so panic-struck that they instantly abandoned that part of their defences, and fled in the utmost dismay into the interior fortifications, while their besiegers obtained possession of the former without further opposition. This event did not contribute to diminish the apprehensions of Ameir Hussun. Nevertheless,

he continued, in a state of despair, to oppose his utmost exertions to the progress of his assailants.

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Directions were now issued, from the imperial head quarters, that the Ameirs of Tomauns, and Koushûns, should severally conduct a gallery of approach against a particular part of the works distinctly allotted to him and the fortress was accordingly attacked, throughout the whole circumference, in forty different points at the same moment; each of the commanders, who directed the several attacks, being named in the original, although it would be here unnecessary to preserve the record. In a very short time, however, these several Ameirs had succeeded in excavating a mine each, beneath the foundations of the tower respectively allotted to him; and Ameir Hussun, aware that he was thus reduced to a situation of the utmost peril, again wavered in his resolution, and dispatched a person once more to the presence of Teymûr, to acknowledge his offences, and to demand a capitulation. The answer, which he received, announced that there was no alternative but unconditional surrender; that he must either quit the protection of his works, or abide the consequences of a general assault.

As a last resource, he employed an agent to implore the mediation of Shah Rokh, supported by the personal application of his brother, formerly alluded to; who protested in his behalf, that he considered himself in every respect, as one of the lowest among the vassals of Teymûr, although dismayed from appearing in his presence by an impression of terror, which he had not yet been able to subdue. The Shahzâdah undertook to introduce the brother of Hussun, once more, to the presence of the Tcheghataian monarch, and to urge the subject of his mission. Again Teymûr repeated that unless Hussun, in person, came out of Tekreit, and exhibited unequivocal proof of compunction for his misdeeds, all application in his behalf would be in vain: but, that if he could be persuaded to avail himself of the intimation thus repeatedly conveyed to him, he might expect, without fear of disappointment, to find in the clemency of Teymûr a disposition to look upon his offences with indulgence, and to cover them with the robe of pardon and oblivion. For himself, the agent was apprized, that if this last admonition was unavailing, he must on.

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his departure from the imperial presence, remain in Tekreit to share the fate of his brother.

Every attempt to procure favorable terms from their inexorable besieger, proving thus abortive, and reflecting that since they had, for so long a period, maintained themselves in possession of their impregnable asylum, without bending to the authority of any human being—since they had hitherto followed the dictates of their own minds, without much regard to the interests or resentments of other men—that if they now consented to abandon the protection of their works, there could be but little doubt, the moment they were in the hands of their enemies, that the accumulated numbers, of those whom in the long exercise of their power they had unjustly stripped of their property, would hasten in crouds to urge their claims against them, the brothers then finally resolved, as their only alternative, to defend themselves, as long as they retained an atom of the living principle to animate their exertions. In this resolution the banditti of which, according to our author, the garrison was for the greater part composed, cordially concurring, they openly resumed their original plans of hostility ; not very unjustly concluding that, if they pusillanimously relinquished their means of resistance, they would be exposed to suffer, without a struggle, the most ignominious and dreadful punishments.

Enraged by what he chose to consider, such pertinacious obstinacy, Teymûr caused the attack to recommence with redoubled fury ; and this being accompanied by the horrible din of the horns and kettle-drums, and the tremendous Souren, or war-cry of the Tartars, the rampart, which had, in the whole, been by this time under-propped with wood by the miners, suddenly gave way to a considerable distance, before the galleries had been set fire to ; but the garrison, exhibiting equal constancy and self devotion in repelling the efforts of their adversaries, succeeded for the present in repairing the breach. The Teymûrian troops in formidable strength were, however, now in readiness to give the final attack ; and orders having been circulated to charge the several mines with fire-wood and naphtha, the whole were set fire to during the night, and the greater part of the walls laid prostrate with the earth. The tower which Yeik Souffy, in particular, was employed to undermine, and in approaching the

foundations of which he appears to have perforated the solid rock, was so completely subverted, that twenty of the garrison entrusted with its defence, were overwhelmed in the ruins. Still a part of the fortifications remained standing, and the soldiers were employed afresh to carry on the work of mining; and the excavations below being as usual filled with combustibles, these were, at the proper period, set on fire, and the whole of the works were thus finally levelled to the ground.

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Astonished, in no small degree, by this final catastrophe of the bulwarks by which they were surrounded, Ameir Hussun and his troops withdrew, without further opposition, to the summit of the rock included within the fortifications of Tekreit, and to which it appears to have served as the citadel. On the other hand, the imperial generals on their knees intreated the permission of their sovereign to follow up the attack without a moment's delay; but were admonished to suspend their ardor until such time as a passage should be fairly opened to the last retreat of the enemy. In the mean time, perceiving, in their most appalling forms, the dangers to which they were now openly exposed, the inhabitants of Tekreit with tears and lamentations called aloud for mercy, but without effect; although their supplications were humanely seconded by the intercession of the imperial generals. When therefore the circumstance of their sovereign's yet unappeased resentment became known to the soldiery, they proceeded, without awaiting the result of further operations, to scale the rock; and having finally gained the highest part, they there made prisoners of the unfortunate Ameir Hussun, and the remainder of his garrison, whom they immediately conducted, bound neck and heels, to the presence of Teymûr. At this moment orders were issued that the defenceless inhabitants should be set apart, and protected from injury; but all who bore arms were distributed to the several Tomauns and Koushûns of the army, to be put to the sword. The mandates of inexorable vengeance were carried into execution, with fearful dispatch. The whole of the devoted garrison was massacred without mercy, and several pyramids constructed with the heads of the slain. The dwellings of the obnoxious inhabitants were entirely demolished; but a part of the walls was left standing,

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as a present example to the turbulent and refractory, and as a memorial to future ages, of the singular and extraordinary strength of this celebrated fortress. We further learn from the translation of De la Croix's work, that the castle of Tekreit was erected during the power of the race of Sassan, on the summit of a rock near the Tigris, so inaccessible, that it had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts at reduction by open force.

By the first of the month of Suffur,* Teymûr was enabled to take his departure from the ruins of Tekreit, on his return towards Arreby, or Harbi, westward, in the direction of Annah, on the Euphrates; exercising his troops during the march in the amusements of the chase. Previous to this juncture, as formerly intimated, the Ameir-zâdah Mahommed Sûltan, had been dispatched along the Tigris towards Waussit, while other commanders proceeded across that river to the opposite side. Meiran Shah, with his division, had also descended the Euphrates, from Hellah towards Bassorah, while Sheikh Temûr, and Ouje Kara Bahauders, and the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, and Jahaun Shah Jaukû, were employed in different directions to extend the Teymûrian authority. In due time, these princes with the several Ameirs, having successfully executed all that they had been detached to accomplish, rejoined the imperial head quarters in perfect safety.

Irâk Arâb, with its dependencies, being now considered as entirely subjugated, Teymûr dispatched Khaujah Mûssâoud the Subbuzwaurian, to superintend the government of Baghdâd; with instructions, however tardily conceived, to bestow the most watchful attention in promoting the welfare and prosperity of every class of the inhabitants. After this, he put the main body of the army again in motion, with the design, as subsequently appeared, of attacking the city of Diaurbekir. In the mean time, while Meiran Shah, with an advanced division, ascended along the Tigris upwards, in order to take possession of the adjoining territory, a bridge was constructed across the same river, and the imperial army actually removed to the left, or eastern side; a report being designedly circulated, to deceive the enemy and throw them off their guard, that the Tcheghataïan monarch was on

* 6th of December.

his return homewards. The moment, however, the crisis was arrived at which he conceived circumstances were ripe for the prosecution of his plan, Teymûr, having with particular care selected two out every ten soldiers, or one fifth of the army, suddenly drew off to the left bank, and also took the direction along the Tigris upwards; leaving the main body to follow more at leisure, with the heavy baggage and equipments, in charge of Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Othman Bahauder, Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Ouje Kara Bahauder. Appearing before the castle of Kerkouk, the place was immediately surrendered by the garrison without resistance, and bestowed by Teymûr, in Seyûrghaul or perpetual fee, upon Yaur Ally, prince of Mossûl. About the same period many of the neighboring chiefs, including the governor of Altûn Kouprek, or the golden bridge, repaired to the presence of Teymûr, from whom they experienced a gracious reception.

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Quitting Kerkouk, Teymûr encamped next at Erbeil, or Arbela, Sheikh Ally, the chief of which place treating him with a most sumptuous entertainment, and otherwise exhibiting the requisite proofs of zeal and allegiance. From thence he proceeded to the banks of the Aub-e-tchûnaur, or river of poplars; and shortly afterwards, having crossed the waters, (of the Tigris) he made his appearance before Mossûl, where he devoutly visited the tombs of Jonas, and Jerjeis or St. George, who bears the character of a prophet among the Moslems. To be employed in the repair or re-embellishment of those hallowed structures, he disbursed the sum of ten thousand dirrems* each, and he made, at the same time, a liberal distribution in alms to the poor in the vicinity. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by Meiran Shah; who had successfully carried his orders into execution, against the wandering hordes that occupied in many parts the uncultivated plains in the neighborhood of the Tigris. Yaur Ally, prince of Mossûle, exerted himself, in the mean time, with becoming zeal, in providing for the entertainment of his august visitant, who did not omit to avail himself of the good offices, and friendly disposition of the chief, to be his guide on the way to Rouha, or Edessa; for which place, not long afterwards, he again put his troops in motion.

* About £229. 2s. 4d.

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While thus employed, a messenger was dispatched to Teymûr from Sûltan Aeissy, or Eissa, prince of Mardein, with assurances of homage and submission; which induced the conqueror to decline from his proposed route, and alter the direction of his march to the right, towards the territory of that prince. But when he had approached within a certain distance of Mardein, he transmitted to the Sûltan, by one of his officers, a request that he would immediately follow the imperial standard, with a body of troops well equipped; as he had just formed the design of invading Syria, and ultimately of proceeding into Egypt. After this, he resumed the direct route for Raussul-Eyne, the head of the fountains, where he encamped.

From thence the imperial troops were dispatched, in various directions, to plunder the tribes of the Kârakûynlû, or black wether Tûrkmans, and other wandering communities hitherto unsubdued. Teymûr again resumed his march, as soon as these detachments had rejoined him with a prodigious booty, principally in sheep and cattle, of which they had robbed the Tûrkmans. He now came to Rouha, which had been abandoned at his approach; the governor whose name was Guzzul (the red) having fled under the influence of his fears, and accompanied by a great part of the inhabitants, to a lofty mountain, or range of mountains, in the neighborhood. This furnished sufficient ground of displeasure with Teymûr, and he caused them to be immediately pursued to their retreat, with fire and sword. In the mean time, attended by the Shazâdahs of his family, and by all his principal generals, Teymûr entered Rouha. This city, the same as that which is called by the western nations Edessa, and possibly, from what follows, the Ur of the Chaldees mentioned in the book of Genesis, is here said to have been originally built by Nemroud, or Nimrod; and when visited by Teymûr at the period under consideration, to have been constructed in the whole, or for the greater part, of hewn stone. In the vicinity is supposed, among the orientals, to have occurred the miracle of Abraham's preservation when cast by the tyrant into the burning pile, and when through the intervention of omnipotence a fountain sprung up in the very midst of the fire, which continues running to this day; the edges of the same fountain retaining the marks of the smoke to the period at which the

author of the Rouzut-us-suffa was employed in writing his history. Teymûr, however, with the princes his children, and all the Ameirs of his court, both bathed in the spring, and drank of the water; continuing at Rouha for the space of nearly twenty days, which he devoted to every species of enjoyment and recreation, and during which he caressed and rewarded with the most liberal bounty, all those who had signalized their gallantry and zeal during the recent expeditions.

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While Teymûr continued at Rouha, the governor of Hussun Keyfa on the Tigris, about thirty miles north of Mardein, availed himself of the opportunity to repair to the presence; and experienced, with several other chiefs of the surrounding territory, the most distinguished marks of favor. The Sûltan of Mardein continued, nevertheless, to temporize in his engagements, and to disappoint the expectations which had been formed of his sincerity and punctuality. Reflecting therefore on the impolicy of undertaking more distant objects, while such an adversary remained unsubdued within what he might consider the circuit of his own dominions, Teymûr finally determined on attacking him without further delay; and accordingly put his troops in motion towards Mardein, on the twenty sixth of the former Rebbeia, of the seven hundred and seventy sixth of the hidjerah.* While proceeding in that direction he received the submission of Sûltan Ally prince of Erzein, or Erzeina, to the eastward of the Tigris, in Kûrdestaun, as also of the governor of Bautmen, or Yautmen, in the same territory. He was further joined, while on the march towards Mardein, by his wives, the princesses Tchelpan Aga, and Dilshaud Aga, who had been left with the heavy equipments of the army, on the other side the Tigris. Having encamped at the station of Humlik, or Tchumlik, at the distance of seven farsangs† from Mardein, Teymûr acquired another vassal in Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of Jezzeirah, who hastened to convince himself by personal experience, of the extent of the imperial bounty.

In the mean time, receiving positive intelligence of the approach of the Teymûrian army, Sûltan Eissa conceived it at last expedient to yield to his destiny; and accordingly, followed by a train of his

* 29th January 1394.

† Something less than 24 miles.

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finest camels, bearing a profusion of all that was rare and costly, he directed his steps towards the imperial encampment. Here through the intervention of some of the principal ministers, he was admitted to the presence of Teymûr, and on his bended knees to make an offering of the splendid display of valuables which he had prepared to mollify the angry spirit of the conqueror. At first the haughty Tcheghatâian demanded, in a tone of severity, the reasons that had retarded his appearance; but being in the end appeased by his humble protestations for mercy, the milder sentiment of compassion was permitted to supersede the sense of injury, and the monarch freely bestowed his forgiveness upon the suppliant chief; finally dismissing him to his impregnable castle, with the usual compliment of a dress of honor and embroidered girdle. Teymûr then removed his encampment to the precincts of Mardein; where, about the beginning of February, of the year one thousand three hundred and ninety four, the narrative may for the present be permitted to leave him.

CHAP. V.

THE intellectual endowments, and the personal valour and intrepidity of Omar Sheikh, are spoken of with distinguished respect by oriental writers, and we have recently noticed his appointment to the government of Fars; to which appears to have been subsequently added that of Irâk Ajem, by the well merited confidence of his august sire. When he had, however, been employed for nearly the space of a twelve-month in the exercise of his authority; when he had succeeded in re-assembling the tribes and families dispersed during the late turbulent and sanguinary periods of misrule, and had brought the best part of the country into a wholesome state of taxation and subjection, his attention was yet further required to reduce several of the dependents of Shah Munsûr, who had taken refuge in some of the castles and inaccessible posts scattered through the provinces of Fars and Kermaun, where they continued in hostility against the Teymûrian government. Having, nevertheless, in a great measure secured the tranquillity of the provinces entrusted to his charge, and with consummate prudence and address prevailed, either by force of arms or means of conciliation, in bringing the adherents of the race of Mûzuffur to submit to his authority, the Shahzâdah ventured to dispatch some of his officers to Ouzkund, in the extremity of Ferghaunah, in order to bring away to join him the whole of his family, the Ameirzâdah Bazferaun, or Banferaun, alone excepted; who was possibly left to continue the government in the name of his father. But while he was yet engaged in the siege of the fortress of Seirjaun in Kermaun, which still held out against him, and at the period at which his father was proceeding towards Diaurbekir, with the design of entering on the conquest of Syria and Egypt, a messenger arrived to announce to him, that he was to march immediately by the route of Kouh Keylûyah with the force of his province, to join the imperial army.

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These orders the Shahzâdah put himself in motion to execute without a moments delay ; and leaving Eidekou Berlas, with Shah-shâhan, the tributary prince of Seiestaun, and Peir Ally Seldûz, to prosecute the siege of Seirjaun, he repaired himself to Shirauz, in order to complete his equipments for the expedition. Having dispatched that preliminary object, he consigned the government of Fars to the care of Ameir Sounjek, who was employed, in conformity with the directions of Teymûr, in rebuilding the fortress of Kohendezz, formerly demolished by Shah Shujia ; and leaving his son Eskunder to reside at Shirauz, under the tutelage of Ameir Sounjek, he finally departed for Diaurbekir accompanied by another son, Peir Mahommed, proceeding through the Shoulestaun, or rocky territory, north-west of Shirauz.

After passing through the greater part of Kûrdestaun without accident, the Shahzâdah arrived before an obscure fortress called Khermautû, of which the situation is not precisely defined. It contained, however, with a very insignificant garrison, a considerable magazine of grain ; from which the Shahzâdah dispatched some of his attendants to demand a supply for his troops, which was insolently denied him. Being apprized by his people of the failure of the application, the prince immediately mounted his horse, and ascended a neighboring eminence within speaking distance of the place, when one of the garrison let fly an arrow, at random, among the cavalry by whom he was accompanied. On this not a little enraged, the Shahzâdah, covering himself with his buckler, hastily advanced towards the works ; when another arrow from an unknown hand, more fatally directed, transfixed him through the principal artery, and produced his instant death. This fatal incident is related by other authors with some trifling variation ; all, however, agreeing that the prince expired on the spot, and that his followers on witnessing the premature fall of their master, immediately attacked the fort, and having carried it by storm, cut to pieces every living being that they found within it, even to the infant at its mother's breast.

The remains of Omar Sheikh were not long afterwards conveyed by Peir Mahommed, and his afflicted associates, to Shirauz ; where they were for some time deposited within a vault, or shrine, con-

structed for the purpose. The body was, however, at a subsequent period removed, in conformity with the instructions of Teymûr, to the city of Kesh; and there laid in the mausoleum erected by that monarch, for his family, on the south side of the graves of Sheikh Shums-ud dein Kelaür, and Ameir Toraghâi; his brother Jahangueir already reposing under an adjoining Dome. The death of this prince appears to have taken place some time in the month of January, of the Christian era 1394, when he had attained to the forty first year of his age. "Alas," observes the historian on this subject, "where is the plant that flourishes by the side of even the happiest stream, that will not ultimately be laid prostrate by the storm, or where, in the firmament of greatness did that sun ever display its radiance, which was not finally destined to experience an eclipse."

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While Teymûr was with some degree of anxiety looking for the arrival of his son, of whose prudent counsels and experience he was willing to avail himself, before he should finally enter on his Syro-Egyptian expedition, Towukkel Bahauder unexpectedly appeared in camp, and communicated to the imperial generals, to their great surprise and embarrassment, the particulars of the late afflicting event; being equally at a loss in what manner to disclose, or whether to conceal the mournful fact from their sovereign. Conceiving it, however, the safest alternative they proceeded in a body to make it known to him. Teymûr received their intelligence with becoming fortitude, and without betraying any of those marks of perturbation which they seem to have apprehended. In the words of the Korân, he devoutly expressed himself, "We belong to God, and to him we must return"; and bestowing the vacant government upon Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of the departed Shahzâdah, shortly afterwards dispatched Ouje Kara Bahauder, with the patent of investiture to the young prince, who had not yet left Khermautû with the remains of his father; but which he now proceeded to convey to Shirauz without further delay.

The narrative here resumes its course to observe, that when Sûltan Eissa finally submitted to place his person at the mercy of Teymûr, and consented to become tributary to his authority, the imperial troops, some for the purpose of collecting the stipulated contribution,

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and others on their private avocations, proceeded without suspicion to enter the fortress of Mardein, where, to their great surprise, they found themselves immediately assailed by the clamours and insults of the disorderly multitude; and the circumstance being instantly reported to Teymûr, the Sûltan was ordered to his presence, and on his knees to account for this unlooked for insolence. From his own acknowledgment it was now understood that when he quitted the place for the last time, he expressly charged his brothers and confidential ministers under no circumstance whatever to surrender either town or citadel, not even though they were to receive the most positive commands from himself; for he declared that his resolution was unalterably taken to devote himself for their sake, and for his country. The confession coming from his own lips, the process to his condemnation was not very tedious; his person was immediately secured and committed to safe custody. But as the winter was far advanced, and the vicinity produced no forage for his numerous cavalry, and for the prodigious multitude of cattle which necessarily accompanied the army, it was found expedient on the part of Teymûr to decamp for the present from that neighborhood, and to postpone, to a future and more convenient opportunity, the siege and reduction of Mardein.

It was about the eighth of the latter Rebbeia* that Teymûr quitted his position before Mardein on this occasion, directing his march for the Kouhestaun—the mountainous region, probably, so called to the eastward of the Tigris. When he had, however, proceeded for two or three stages on his march, the weather suddenly broke up, and the rain fell in such torrents that, according to the inflated language of the orientals, the deluge which covered the earth in the time of Noah was but a period of drought in the comparison. The country through which the course of the Teymûrian armies lay, being at the same time composed of an extremely soft and loamy soil, they were for several days completely bemired in the frequent sloughs, and their mules and camels perished in entire strings; and the rain continuing to fall occasionally with increasing violence, most of the tents were at length abandoned, the exertions of the troops, both

* 10th of February.

horse and foot, being now directed to make their way through with as little incumbrance as possible. The Shahzâdahs and principal commanders, among other expedients devised to carry them through their difficulties, caused the sloughs, in several places, to be overlaid with pieces of felt and coarse blankets, and were thus enabled to effect their passage with tolerable facility. The heavy rains, on this occasion, are stated to have set in on the eleventh of the latter Rebbeia, and the troops not to have surmounted the obstacles of which they were the cause until the tenth of the succeeding month of Jummaudy-ul-awul; that is, reckoning from the thirteenth of february to the twelfth of march, for a period of one entire month.

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Some time previous to the present conjuncture, Teymûr had dispatched for Sûltauniah, a very valuable convoy, comprizing some of the most rare and precious articles, the trophies of his recent successes, intended for the imperial family. This had been intercepted on the road by a certain Sheikh, who had been introduced to the presence of Teymûr, and had at the same time largely tasted of his bounty, in the train of Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of Jezzaireh. To the territory of that prince the plunderer immediately retired with his booty; and, in direct violation of recent engagements, received a promise of the most effectual protection. Repeated messages were conveyed on the part of Teymûr to the prince of Jezzaireh, as he hoped for pardon for his own accumulated offences to demand that he would deliver up the robber; threatening to destroy his whole country—to make it, with all its boasted strongholds, to disappear under the hoofs of his cavalry, if he neglected to comply with this demand. Confiding in the reputed strength of his capital, defended on all sides by the waters of the Tigris, Melek Ezz-ud-dein, however, continued deaf to every application; and Teymûr, therefore, resolved on carrying his threats into immediate execution. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of the former Jummaudy,* leaving his heavy equipments behind him, he hastened by forced marches to the Tigris; and having crossed that river by means of rafts in the course of one day, he prosecuted his march, without halting, the whole of the night following, and next morning at dawn of day, he came upon

* 15th of March 1394.

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the troops of Ezz-ud-dein entirely unprepared for the dreadful visit.

In the confusion of the attack, and carnage which ensued, Melek Ezz-ud-dein fell into the hands of one of the Teymûrian soldiers; by whom, after having endured some degree of violence for the discovery of his effects, he was finally liberated, and he thus providentially escaped the vortex of revenge which raged round him. His unhappy country, *with all that it inhabited*, was, however, consigned to universal rapine and depredation, and the greater part of his castles being reduced by the different divisions of the army, such an immense booty in treasure and cattle was the result, that every soldier found himself, for some time at least, raised to a state of independence and opulence. His predominant passion for vengeance thus signally gratified, Teymûr withdrew from the province of Jezzeirah, and again recrossed the Tigris to the left bank; and having given orders that the spoil accumulated during this last expedition, might be transported down the river to Mossûle, the whole was embarked on forty vessels provided for the purpose, and in the space of ten or eleven days securely lodged in the imperial encampment.

The winter being now at an end, Teymûr prepared to carry into execution the designs, which he had been recently constrained to postpone, against Mardein; and having mounted a considerable part, if not the whole of his infantry on horseback, he proceeded on the first day of the latter Jummaudy,* towards that place, in sight of which, having of course again crossed the Tigris to the westward, he encamped on the twelfth of the same month. Meiran Shah, at the head of the advanced guard, had preceded at an earlier period. The day subsequent to that of his arrival, Teymûr caused the town to be attacked, at different points, by the whole force of his army, right, left, and centre, and succeeded in carrying it by escalade; the garrison and inhabitants retiring with great loss, and considerable difficulty, into the interior fort or citadel. This latter called the Kella Shahaba, or white, or ash coloured fort, is described to be situated on the summit of a lofty mountain, deriving an inexhaustible supply of water from a fountain which rises within, and flows down the rock in a stream sufficient to turn a water mill, and in effect to

† 2nd of April.

have been equally celebrated by poets and historians for its impregnable strength. The Teymûrians, notwithstanding, carried their attack to the foot of the walls on the very first day, although they withdrew, at night fall, to the lower town. On the ensuing day, the attack was resumed, and the garrison, completely appalled by the singular perseverance and intrepidity of their assailants, found themselves, however reluctantly, constrained to call for quarter. This from a fortunate concurrence of circumstances they obtained with unexpected facility, Teymûr, the moment their prayers were made known to him, drawing off his troops to their encampment; the vengeance of the conqueror, otherwise awakened to an extraordinary degree, being so completely disarmed, at the very crisis at which the besieged were imploring for mercy, by intelligence just received from Sultauniah of the birth, at that place, of the celebrated Oulûgh, or Ulûgh Beg, the son of Shah Rokh, on the nineteenth of the former Jummaudy,† that they were not only received to pardon, but the ransom stipulated for the preservation of their lives and property was entirely remitted to them, and the sole punishment inflicted on the occasion was a transfer of the government from Sûltan Eissa to his brother Sûltan Sâlah.

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Meiran Shah was now detached to reduce the territory along the Tigris upwards; shortly after which Teymûr again recrossed that river to the left bank, where among some of the beautiful adjoining meadows in that quarter he encamped, intending, after a short interval of repose, to direct his march towards Allahtauk, or Allahtaug.

Before, however, he had yet put his troops in motion from the agreeable scenes of their present encampment, advices reached him from Meiran Shah and Mahommed Sûltan, announcing the hostile and refractory spirit discovered on the part of the people of Karatehah Hamid, Amida, or Diaurbekir, the capital of the province of that name, presuming as it is alleged on the extraordinary strength of their walls. On receipt of this intelligence, Ameir Jahaun Shah was immediately dispatched with a reinforcement to join the Shahzâdahs, and, shortly afterwards, Teymûr in person at the head of the main body proceeded in the same direction; and having forded the

* 21st March 1394.

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Tigris, where at this season it was found a very narrow stream, he hastened without further delay to form the siege of Hamid. At the period under consideration, according to our author, this city was defended by a rampart which for loftiness and massive solidity might claim a comparison with the most renowned bulwarks of antiquity, the celebrated one [at Derbend] ascribed to Alexander of Macedon not excepted. It was constructed of hewn stone strongly cemented with mortar, and of such a width above as to admit of two horsemen riding abreast. It was moreover crowned at top by what might be denominated a double parapet, from five to six feet high, also of hewn stone, looking one way towards the country, and the other inward to the town, and roofed in for the accommodation of the garrison. Exclusive of this, it was further strengthened without by a second wall, or *fausse bray*, embracing the whole of the interior rampart, with towers at appropriate distances, these latter protected against the heat and the inclemencies of the weather, by stone projections, or perhaps, sheds tiled over—and lastly there were, within the town, two springs of the purest water, with several spacious and magnificent gardens and inclosures, for the recreation of the inhabitants; and it is asserted that from its foundation to the time at which it was now invested by Teymûr, a period of four thousand three hundred years,* it had never submitted to force, excepting in one single instance; and that was in the infancy of Islâm, when captured by the celebrated Khaled the son of Ul Walid, who found means, after a protracted siege, to introduce a detachment through the sewer, or channel in the walls left open to drain off the water in the town.

On the day after his arrival, Teymûr appeared on horseback at the head of his troops, encouraging them to commence, with their usual spirit, the operations of the siege; and they proceeded accordingly to advance under cover of hurdles and baskets of earth, and in spite of the stones and missiles showered upon them from above, towards the foot of the works. In the mean time, the Ameirs Othman Bahauder, Seyud Khaujah, and Arghûn Shah, had received instructions each to carry a mine under three particular towers, in order to open a fair passage into the town. Of these commanders Arghûn Shah being

* It must then have withstood the tremendous catastrophe of the flood!

the first who wrought his way through to the top of the rampart, the troops from all sides immediately rushed to the assault; and thus a fortress which, in a single instance only, during a period of more than four thousand years had, as we have just observed, been compelled to submit to external force, was openly carried after a short siege of not more than two or three days. The garrison, however, found means to effect its escape through some secret subterraneous passages; while the unfortunate inhabitants remained to be pillaged of their all to the very minutest article of their property. A body of pioneers was then ordered with mattocks and pickaxes to demolish the towers of the place; but, when they came to carry their orders into execution, the extraordinary strength and solidity of the masonry was found to be such, that the entire demolition would require a sacrifice of time and labour, so much greater than could be spared from more important objects, that they were content with simply dismantling, or throwing down the battlements at the top of the works.* From Hamid Teymûr then finally directed his march for Allahtauk.

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As relating to a personage more than once mentioned in these pages, it is here thought worthy of notice that, about the crisis under consideration it was discovered to Teymûr, by one of the Ouzbeks in his service, that Neik, or Yeik Souffy, on whom he had bestowed the highest favours, and whom he had more than once pardoned for repeated acts of disloyalty of a similar tendency, had again some treasonable design in meditation, and that he was about to desert the standard of his benefactor. He was probably a relative of the Souffies formerly driven from the throne of Khaurezm, by the Teymûrian victories; and if so the sense of obligation was, peradventure, not yet sufficiently strong to obliterate the remembrance of such an injury. He had, however we are told, been recently promoted to the command of a Tomaun, or division of ten thousand; neither was there among all the generals of the right wing of the army, the princes of the blood of Jengueiz alone excepted, any who possessed a more exalted rank or higher confidence. His offence might therefore, whatever the nature of it, be considered the less remissible, and he was together

* This it is to be remembered was previous to the invention of Gunpowder or rather to its introduction into the operations of war.

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with his son committed to close confinement; while the unfortunate associates of his design were condemned to suffer by the hands of the executioner.

On his way from Diaurbekir towards Meiafaurekein, and in the district of Meherwaun, Teymûr received the submission of many chiefs of the surrounding territory, and thus added very considerably to the contents of an already overflowing treasury. After passing the station of Meiafaurekein,* he conceived it expedient to make a division of his force, directing the left wing of the army to proceed under the orders of Mahommed Sûltan, by the way of Jiajour, or Tchepatchour, probably the Jebakhshour of the maps on the higher Euphrates; while he conducted the centre, or main body, accompanied by his son Shah Rokh, towards the plains of Moush. The neighborhood of that place he reached by the eleventh of the month of Rudjub;† but not without suffering a very heavy loss in camels, mules, and horses, in consequence of the extreme rigour of the weather although in the very height of spring, of the depth of the snow, and of the almost impassable state of the roads across the mountainous ridges, which intersected the course of his march. The Shahzâdahs Meiran Shah, and Mahommed Sûltan, with their respective divisions, the right and left of the army, rejoined him shortly afterwards. In his encampment on the plains of Moush on this occasion, Teymûr was visited by Hadjy Shurf, or Shurruf, the prince of Betleis, or Betlis, not far from the lake of Van, distinguished above all the chiefs of Kûrdestaun, for his benevolent disposition and polished manners. Among the presents produced on his introduction is described to have been a bay, or chesnut horse of extraordinary beauty and value, which surpassed on trial the fleetest coursers in the imperial stud. This independent chief experienced from Teymûr a very kind and gracious reception, and, among other proofs of esteem, received a confirmation in the sovereignty of his country, with a very considerable accession of territory; and, what was considered as a singular favor, he was presented on his dismissal with a vest, or robe, embroidered with gold, together with a scarf, or baldric, and a golden hilted scimitar. At the same time,

* About five and thirty or forty miles E. N. E. of Diaurbekir, by the maps.

† 11th of May.

the unfortunate Yeik Souffy was delivered into his hands, to be confined as a state prisoner in the citadel of Betleis.

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While he continued encamped on the plains of Moush, several of the shahzâdahs and principal commanders were employed to prosecute the war against the Tûrkman tribes; and in particular to urge on the pursuit of Kâra Yûssuf who had taken to flight on the approach of the imperial standard. Among others, Mahommed Derweish Berlas was dispatched to invest the fortress of Alanjek, in some surveys laid down north of the lake of Van between Ekhlaut and Allahtauk; Meiran Shah being directed to proceed to his assistance as soon as he should have accomplished the object of expelling the hostile tribes from the surrounding territory. The attention of Teymûr was finally directed to supply the casualties of the recent campaign; and for this purpose the imperial Towatcheis were sent off in all directions, in order to hasten the necessary reinforcements from every part of his dominions; after which indispensable preliminary he continued his march for Allahtauk. Passing by Ekhlaut, which he bestowed in Seyûrghaul, or perpetual fee, on the prince of Aeideijouz in the same neighborhood, [between Ekhlaut and Arjish], Teymûr availing himself of the opportunity presented by the intervening extensive plains, gratified in its utmost latitude his own, and the national predilection for the amusements of the chase; after which, as he proceeded on his march, he was met by Sûltan Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, with the princesses and the younger brothers of the imperial family, from whom he had been now separated for a period of eleven months.

Having detached Teymûr Khaujah the son of Aukbouga, with a division to reinforce the troops before Alanjek, Teymûr, soon after this, presented himself under the walls of Aeidein, [probably the Diadin of the maps,] the garrison and inhabitants of which appear to have capitulated without resistance; having been admitted to terms on sending out the whole, or the greater part of their property, in order to purchase the forbearance of their formidable invader. From Aeidein Teymûr seems to have made a retrograde march to the station of Ouje Keleissa, or the three churches, [Tresecclesiæ], where, after one intervening night, he now encamped: and here his zealous vassal

A. H. 796. Taherten, prince of Arzenjaun, hastened to an interview with the
 A. D. 1934. Tcheghatâian conqueror; and experienced the reception which was
 Rouznt-us- due to his services and attachment.
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Although the chiefs of the country had, by this time, for the greater part submitted to the authority of Teymûr, the fortress of Aoneik, or Avneik, alledged in a preceding page to be the same with Van, on the lake of that name, still continued to resist, under Mezzar, or Messer, the son of Kâra Mahommed the Tûrkman; and the reduction of this place became the object towards which the conqueror next directed his attention. But, without entering at large with the author into a detail of the operations which followed, to the attainment of that object, it will be sufficient to observe that when the lower town had been carried, and after a siege of forty days which the garrison sustained in the citadel on the mountain, Messer, having failed in repeated attempts to procure terms from his besiegers, on the second of the month of Shavaul* submitted to descend from his works; and bearing at the same time his sword and winding sheet proceeded to throw himself on the mercy of Teymûr, by whom, at the intercession of Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahangueir, he was admitted to pardon. Nevertheless, he was for greater security immediately conveyed to Samarkand.

The fortress of Aouneik, having been first discharged of the greater part of its warlike stores and implements of offence, was then consigned to the care of Ameir Ettelmesh; and Teymûr, after allowing to his troops an interval of five days to repose from their labours, took his departure thence about the eighth of Shavaul;† being the same day met on his march by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, from whom he received a faithful report of the state of affairs in Transoxiana. The spot, on which he now encamped, presented so many attractions, that it was determined to remain there for some days; and on the eighteenth of the month, which was set apart for a very magnificent entertainment given to his court and army, Teymûr publicly attested his approbation of the services of Ameir Taherten, by bestowing upon him, afresh, a patent for the country of Arzenjaun, and the ad-

* 30th of July.

† 5th of August.

joining districts, accompanied with a superb tiara, and girdle enriched with precious stones.

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Ameir Zeirek Tchaukû had it appears, in the mean time, been employed to besiege Ameir Bayezzid in the fortress of Aeidein, [peradventure some place different from that mentioned on a former occasion], and had exerted himself with such vigor and spirit, that his adversary was soon convinced of the inevitable destruction to which he should expose himself and followers, unless he adopted some early expedient to avert the danger. He, therefore, dispatched a messenger to propose to his besieger, to withdraw his troops to a short distance from the town, and to pledge himself in that case to come to a personal conference with him. Ameir Zeirek very readily complied with this proposal, and accordingly removed his camp to the distance required; while Bayezzid, availing himself of his credulity, quitted the place one morning early, without giving him the slightest intimation of his design, and repaired to the imperial head quarters, where experienced a favorable reception from Teymûr. He succeeded, moreover, in obtaining from that monarch an Altumghâ, or golden patent under the sign manual, reinstating him in the government of Aeidein; and he was finally dismissed with a Khelaut, and girdle of gold, and other marks of imperial favor. Ameir Zeirek, in the mean time, in consequence of the accommodation thus artfully brought about by the address of his opponent, was recalled to join the main body of the army.

While these transactions were in progress in one quarter, a powerful division was dispatched, by the route of Aukseka, into Georgia, under the direction of Bûrhaun Oghlan, accompanied by the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Jahaun Shah, and Othmaun; Teymûr in person, having it in contemplation to move in the same direction through the forests of Allahtauk. These orders were carried into execution, with the ordinary circumstances of plunder and slaughter; the troops putting to the sword all of an adverse profession of faith who unhappily came in their way. Shortly afterwards, Teymûr appeared at Kars; on the plains in sight of which, described to exhibit the most delightful and beautiful scenery, he encamped for some time. In addition to the circumstances of a tendency auspicious to his

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fortune, which marked the period under consideration, we record the birth, on tuesday the 26th of Shavaul,† of another son to Shah Rokh, who received the name of Ibrauhim Sâltan ; and the event was celebrated with every demonstration of joy for the space of one and twenty days ; at the termination of which, Teymûr removed from the shady groves, and enamelled meadows in the neighborhood of Karss, and again pitched his tents on the plain of Meinekgoul, described, by De la Croix, as a village at the foot of Mount Joudi, or Ararat. Here he was rejoined by the Ameirs who had been recently employed in Georgia, and who now presented themselves to their sovereign, loaded with the booty which they had acquired in the several towns and castles captured during the expedition. This gave occasion to a fresh course of festivities ; after which Teymûr proceeded to encamp on the broad summit of an eminence, or table land, some where in the same neighborhood of mount Ararat.

On the twenty first of the month of Zilkaudâh,* Mirza Shah Rokh received his father's instructions to proceed to Samarkand, in order to assume the government of that capital, and of the rich and fertile province dependent upon it. The princesses Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Tomaun Aga, with the other ladies of the imperial family, were directed, at the same time, to accompany the Shahzâdah to Sultauniah, there to reside until the course of events might otherwise require. On the removal of these favorite branches of his family, Teymûr resolved to gratify the ambition, long rankling in his bosom, to engage in person in the war already begun against the unbelieving Christians of Georgia, generally known by the appellation of the Kârakalkanlik, or black buckler tribe.‡ This design he carried into execution without further delay ; but as the persecuted inhabitants took refuge among the hills and other inaccessible posts of a mountainous region, they for some time eluded the effects of his fury. They were, however, pursued by the Teymûrians, with plunder, and slaughter, and desolation in their train, into their most inaccessible retreats ; while Teymûr himself, hunting as he advanced, penetrated without difficulty to Teflis, the seat of government, and the largest of the cities of Georgia. From thence he is said to have returned by the way of Shekky, the

* 23rd of August.

† 16th of December.

‡ De la Croix,

Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and Jahaun Shah, with other great commanders being employed to over-run the country on either hand, with instructions, however, to treat with humanity and indulgence such of the natives as evinced a disposition to submit without resistance, while they were to exterminate without mercy all who presumed to oppose the authority of their master.

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In conformity with their instructions these distinguished chieftains proceeded to carry plunder and havoc through the country, both hill and vale, and having made captives of the unfortunate inhabitants of every tribe and family, conducted them in crowds to the imperial encampment. Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, the son of Saurbougâ was dispatched, at the same time, with a strong division into the neighboring Kouhestaun, or mountainous region, where he extended without resistance the ravages of fire and sword; the native sovereign, Siddi Ally Shukker, probably Shekky, having abandoned the country in dismay at the approach of these fierce invaders. The Teymûrian general then rejoined his sovereign with the spoil accumulated during this incursion.

While engaged in these operations, intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, that a body of the troops of Touktemesh under Ally Oghlan, Eleyaus Oghlan, and other shahzâdahs of the race of Jûjy, had passed the straits of Derbend, and already over-run great part of the territory of Ibrauhim Shirvaun Shah the liege vassal of the Tcheghatâian monarch. The latter, on this information, put his armies in motion without a moment's delay in that direction; but the instant they became apprized of the approach of the imperial standard, the Tartars resolved on a timely retreat, and accordingly withdrew from the danger. Teymûr then displayed his gilded pavilions among the rich pastures of Mahmûdabad, where he now determined to fix his winter quarters; and messengers were accordingly dispatched to Sûltauniah, to recal the princesses with the younger branches of the imperial family; who crossed the Kûrr some time afterwards, and hastened to the presence of their august benefactor, in the territory east-ward of that river. Meiran Shah having, in the mean time, quitted the vicinity of Alanjek, was also directing his march for the head quarters of his father; and on his arrival at Baubi, in the territory of the Kârakal-

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kanlik, was there blessed with the birth of another son, to whom, on intelligence of the event, his grandfather assigned the name of Ayjel, or more probably Anjeil. About the same crisis Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, received the commands of Teymûr to repair to court, leaving the Ameirs Sounjek, Hûsseyne Joghdawul, and Ally Beg the son of Eissa, with a competent force to maintain his authority at Shirauz.

The narrative now recurs, for a moment, in order to bring up the affairs of Sûltan Ahmed the Eylekhaunian, to the period at which that prince was flying before the fury of the Teymûrians through the desert westward of the Euphrates, on his way into Syria. Having, as formerly mentioned, succeeded in escaping the pursuit of his enemies, who at one time pressed hard upon him, his inclination led him to proceed first to Aleppo; where, in consequence of instructions from Sûltan Barkouk, at this conjuncture the sovereign of Egypt and Syria, the principal inhabitants received him with the most generous hospitality, at the same time liberally supplying him with all he wanted. While he remained at Aleppo, to repose from the fatigues of a disastrous retreat, and amidst the blandishments of Arabian beauty to dissipate the recollection of past misfortunes, a message was conveyed from Melek Barkouk, tendering the whole force of his government and its resources to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. Having received the bearer of this magnanimous proposal with the distinguished regard to which it was entitled, Sûltan Ahmed proceeded to Damascus; and there also experienced from the inhabitants the most friendly and hospitable reception, being lodged with a distinction every way worthy of his exalted rank, in the palace of the government. From thence, after devoting some days to the festivities prepared by the citizens for his entertainment, he continued his journey into Egypt; where on his arrival, at some distance from Kaherah, he was met by Melek Barkouk, and by him conducted with the honors due to his rank and misfortunes, to a village on the banks of the Nile, called Nezza, where preparations had been made for his reception. The Egyptian monarch presented him, at the same time, with one hundred and thirty beautiful Arabian coursers, and thirty three suits of dress embroidered with gold; neither did the bounty

of the Maumlûk prince terminate here, since not a day was suffered to pass in which his royal guest was not furnished from the same source, with some costly and delicate article for his wardrobe, and with the choicest viands for his table.

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When the festivities incident to his arrival drew at length to a conclusion, the two monarchs proceeded to deliberate on matters of more serious importance, those which related to the restoration of the exiled prince to his throne and dominions; and it was finally resolved that he should be conducted to Aleppo, at the head of a powerful army, which was immediately equipped at the expence of the Egyptian, the gates of whose treasury were unreservedly and liberally thrown open on the occasion. Sûltan Ahmed was accordingly dismissed, shortly afterwards, accompanied by the troops destined to co-operate in his restoration. Receiving, however on his arrival at Aleppo, intelligence that Teymûr at the close of his expedition against the Georgians, was preparing to march into Keph-tchawk, the Sûltan, having framed some apology for declining their services, suddenly dismissed his Egyptian auxiliaries, and hastened towards Baghdâd at the head of his own followers; and Khaujah Mahmûd the Subbuzwaurian, having abandoned the capital on his approach, the Eylekhaunian, some time in the course of the seven hundred and ninety seventh of the hidjerah, succeeded, without further difficulty, in repossessing himself once more of the throne of Arabian Irâk.

At the approach of the vernal equinox of the same year, Teymûr, who had meditated for some months past on the design of inflicting fresh and signal vengeance on his detested adversary Touktemesh, prepared, without further delay, to carry that design into execution. With his usual solicitude to provide for the security of persons so dear to him, having again sent off the princesses of his family towards Sôltauniah, with instructions that the royal consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Tomaun Aga, and the younger branches of the imperial stock should proceed straight to Samarkand, he accordingly, on the seventh of the former Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and ninety seventh of the hidjerah,* *with the whole of spring and*

* 27th February 1395.

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summer before him, put his troops in motion for the wide extended countries on the Volga. In the mean time, Shums-ud-dein a native of Almaulegh, distinguished for his consummate talents and address as well as for extraordinary powers of elocution, had, at an earlier period, been dispatched from Mahmûdabad, with letters to the Khaun of Keptchauk, proposing to him with equal indifference the alternative of peace or war.

Having obtained access to the court of Touktemesh, the agent of Teymûr presented to that monarch the letters of his sovereign, which are described to have made considerable impression; and, together with the diplomatic skill and address of the negociator, to have produced in the mind of the successor of Jûjy, a sentiment decidedly favorable to an accommodation of his differences with the Tcheghatâian. This was, however, speedily over-ruled by the uninformed and hostile spirit of the leading chiefs of his tribe and nation; by whom he was finally prevailed upon to dismiss the envoy with an equally insolent and acrimonious reply; which was punctually delivered by Shums-ud-dein to Teymûr, now encamped on the river Semour or Samour, which disembogues into the Caspian about six or seven and twenty miles to the southward of Derbend.

Teymûr, whose angry passions were not a little agitated by the tenor of this communication, proceeded to review his troops; which appear to have formed on this occasion one vast line, on the left of the river just mentioned, from the spot where it washes the foot of Alburz, or Caucasus, to that in which it enters the Caspian, a distance of five farsangs;* the Kumbul, or advanced guard, of the left wing of the army resting at the foot of Alburz, and that of the right on the sea shore. But whatever its numbers or extent, and it is affirmed that either in numerical strength or equipment for war, the pen of history does not furnish an example of such a force assembled in one point since the time of Afrausiab, Teymûr contrived in person to inspect the whole, right left and centre, from flank to flank, between sunrise in the morning and the hour of dusk in the evening. On this also, as on former occasions as he passed their divisions, he received the homage of the different Ameirs, who on their

* About 17 miles and 80 yards.

knees made him an offering of the choicest horses in their possession. The whole army was then put in motion, and, shortly afterwards passing the straits of Derbend, fell upon the horde of Ketaugh, in alliance with Touktemesh; which was surrounded in such a manner that not one in a thousand escaped the sword of the Teymûrians.

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In the mean time, an envoy from Touktemesh appeared on the outskirts of the Teymûrian encampment; but, although sufficiently familiarized to scenes of this description among the throngs which surrounded the standard of his own sovereign, he was so completely terror stricken with the contemplation of that prodigious assemblage of armed men that swarmed in every quarter, that he instantly returned upon his steps without proceeding further, and hastened on the wings of speed to communicate to his master that his puissant antagonist, at the head of a tremendous army, was at hand, and would very shortly be upon him. On receipt of this intelligence Touktemesh himself is alleged to have participated in the alarm of his ambassador; but, at all events, he conceived it expedient without a moments delay, to detach one of his generals of the name of Karantchey, immediately in advance, with a body of his best troops. On the other hand, Teymûr, who had by this time conducted his armies to the station of Turki, Tarky, or Tarkû, no sooner learnt of the encampment of this division on the Aubjûy, or Khûi, or Koisou, a river ten or twelve miles in his front, than he resolved on an attempt to surprise it; and for this purpose marching at the head of a chosen body of cavalry under cover of the night, and crossing the river at dawn of day, he fell sword in hand upon the enemy, whom he thus either completely destroyed, or dispersed in every direction. After which he proceeded without further obstacle to the river Sounje, or Sounja, the southern branch of the Terek, where he next encamped.

Touktemesh with the main body of his army had, in the mean time, taken post on the left bank of the principal branch of the Terek; the passage of which he seemed, by his preparations, determined to dispute. But when he became apprized of the defeat of his advanced division, and of the subsequent movements of Teymûr, his firmness forsook him; and he withdrew in considerable dismay to the Koury, or Koura, a river the course of which appears suddenly

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lost in its way to the Caspian, about seven and twenty or thirty miles north of the Terek ; while Teymûr, with his victorious troops, having discovered a part where it was fordable, crossed over without opposition, to the northern bank of the latter river, which, in the expectation of obtaining that subsistence for the army which had become extremely short and precarious, he coasted to the left upwards, in the direction of the country of Khoulaut. In these circumstances intelligence was unexpectedly conveyed to him, by his scouts, that Touktemesh with the whole of his army had taken the same direction, and was following close upon his rear. Prompt and decisive in all his measures, Teymûr immediately countermarched, and, having arranged his troops for battle, proceeded to meet the enemy.

Approached within a convenient distance these formidable rivals then, once more, encamped in the presence of each other; Teymûr on his part immediately giving directions to fortify his position with a double ditch and breastwork of fascines and hurdles, and possibly further strengthened with palisades. At the same time, orders were circulated that no person should stir from his post during the night; that the strictest silence should be observed throughout the encampment; and every other precaution enforced to guard against the possibility of surprise. In the course of the same night, however, notwithstanding the obligations which should have bound him to his benefactor, and availing himself of the proximity of his former associates, Aybaunje, or Aybauje Oghlan, one of the Jûjian Shahzadahs, suddenly forsook the standard of Teymûr, and fled to the camp of the enemy.

When day* succeeded to this night of awful suspense, the hostile armies, like the billows of the ocean rolling in sullen agitation before the impending storm, might be seen preparing for the tremendous conflict in which they were about to close. Teymûr, on his part, disposed of his troops in seven massive Kouls, divisions, or columns, the largest of which he consigned to the management of his grandson Mahommed Sûltan; taking post in person, in the rear of the whole of

* According to De la Croix it was the 23rd. of the latter Jummaudy, corresponding with the 13th of April.

seven and twenty Koushûns, stationed as a body of reserve to act as circumstances might require. His right wing, most probably, rested on the left bank of the Terek, the left of the enemy touching the same river directly opposite to the Teymûrians.

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In the mean time, while the troops on each side, with tumultuous clamour and mutual defiance, and amidst clouds of dust which obscured the light of day, were entering on the work of destruction, a messenger from his left wing, announced to Teymûr that a body of the enemy, from the right of Touktemesh, led on by Kounjah Oghlan, and Beguiaurek Oghlan, two of the Shahzadahs of the race of Jûjy, together with Dâoud Souffy the Khaurezmian, son-in-law of Touktemesh, and other distinguished Nûyans, had either already attacked, or were approaching in superior force to assail him, on that flank. On which, without a moments hesitation, and with the foresight matured by so many victories, the Tcheghataïan monarch hastened, at the head of the Koushûns of the reserve, to oppose the designs of the enemy, and to wrest from him the advantage of which he might for a moment have possessed himself, in that part of the field. Unable to sustain the charge of the imperial squadrons, now led against them under the eye of their sovereign, the troops of Touktemesh were compelled to give way in considerable disorder; but some of the victorious squadrons pursuing with too great eagerness, the enemy recovering the support of their main battle, suddenly wheeled about upon their pursuers, and repulsed them with some loss to the very person of Teymûr, the Koushûns who had remained for his protection dispersing in the utmost consternation at this unexpected recoil of their adversaries.

In this situation Teymûr continued for a considerable time exposed to the most imminent personal danger; the enemy pressing towards him on all sides with little opposition, and with all the confidence of recent success. He was, however, finally rescued by his usual good fortune, and by the singular gallantry of some of his captains; and first by the heroic self-devotion of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, the son of Saurbougâ, who, dismounting from his horse, hastened at the hazard of his own to protect the life of his sovereign, and being immediately joined by fifty other warriors equally brave and loyal, all to-

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gether, by their united and unerring skill in the application of their bows, succeeded in keeping in check the advance of their assailants; while Mahommed Azaud, his brother Ally Shah, and Towukkel Bawertchey, each seizing a waggon, or cart, belonging to the enemy, drew them up, and fastened them together as a tcheper, or breastwork, to defend the person of the veteran monarch. Soon afterwards Allahdaud, with his faithful Koushûn, the *cohors fidelis* perhaps, arrived to his support, and, also dismounting, threw himself on his knees by the side of the gallant Nûr-ud-dein, with whom he brought his arrows to bear with deadly effect on the assailants. He was followed by Hûsseyne Melek Koutchein, with the mace bearers, and by Ameir Zeirek Tchaukû, with his Koushûn, who arranged themselves successively on foot to second the efforts of their brave associates in arms; until the intrepid phalanx was completed by the arrival of Oustoua, another chief, with his Koushûn, and by a considerable part of the centre division. Thus by degrees the battle became more equal; and although the troops of Touktemesh continued to pour down in formidable numbers, to the support of their countrymen, and renewed their onsets against the Teymûrians, with persevering fury and audacity, their adversaries on foot took such unerring aim, and plied their bows with such unceasing activity, that every attempt to bear them from their post proved unavailing. The conflict, however, still continued to rage with unabated fury and animosity, and mutual slaughter, when Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops of his division, came up, and finally enabled the Teymûrians to advance with united impetus against the right wing of the main body of the enemy; which was shortly afterwards thrown into confusion and driven from the field of battle.

In the mean time, the veteran Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein had been engaged in a conflict equally arduous and critical on the right of the Teymûrians; having been at once assailed, and surrounded by the advanced guard of the opposite army of the enemy, under Eissa Beg, and Bukhshy Beg Khaujah. Thus circumstanced the brave chief, like his compeers on the left, was compelled with his tomaun to combat on foot; and like them also, though hard pressed by the accumulating force of the enemy, he succeeded in keeping his as-

sailants in check, until finally relieved by Ameir Jahaun Shah, who with a division of the imperial troops burst with irresistible fury through the surrounding hostile throng, and with him united threw himself upon the enemy, whom in their turn they now drove before them, with such severe execution, that they no more attempted to renew the conflict. With equal gallantry Temûr Khaujah, the son of Aukbouga, succeeded in bearing from their stations the divisions of the enemy opposed to him; and Ameir zâdah Rûstum, the son of the departed Omar Sheikh, in particular, headed such destructive charges against the adverse ranks, as to have revived, at an age when not yet emerged from childhood, the lustre of his father's renown.

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But it would contribute little to the reader's information to dwell further on the circumstances of this eventful battle; in which, as we have already seen, the person of Teymûr appears to have been exposed to more imminent danger, than at any period since his accession to sovereign power. It may be sufficient to add that finding affairs assume an aspect the very reverse of his hopes, and that providence but too manifestly declared in favor of his adversary, Touktemesh, accompanied by the whole of the Shahzâdahs of the race of Juzy attached to his cause, at last reluctantly submitted to quit the field to the victorious Teymûrians; who pursued to a considerable distance with all the eagerness and animosity of the most bloodthirsty vengeance. The Shazâdahs of the family of Teymûr hastened on the other hand, together with his principal generals to the presence of their august and triumphant leader, whom on their knees they proceeded to congratulate on the achievement of this important victory; while he embraced them in his turn, with paternal affection, and bestowed upon them the most gratifying applause for their exertions during the tremendous conflict. The imperial standard was shortly afterwards advanced to the banks of the Kourâi; that river north of the Terek, on which the armies of Touktemesh had been assembled previous to the battle, and on which the victors now encamped. With that solicitude to distinguish and reward the meritorious, which cannot fail to produce the noblest emulation on the day of trial, Teymûr there hastened, for his devoted and intrepid zeal in the

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recent conflict, to load the brave and loyal Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with honors and distinctions far beyond his associates; in particular after presenting him with one of the most valuable horses in the imperial stables, a dress embroidered with gold, and a belt enriched with costly jewels, to complete the catalogue of his bounties, bestowed upon him the magnificent and princely donation of one hundred thousand *Kopek* dinaurs, which, if of the denomination usually referred to in these pages, would amount to little less than forty-six thousand pounds sterling, or perhaps to ten times the value at the present day.*

Leaving the booty acquired by his victory, together with all the heavy baggage and impediments of the army in charge of Meiran Shah, who was lame, in consequence of a fall from his horse some time previous to the battle; and placing the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, and hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, under the orders of that prince, Teymûr, with the remainder of his troops, hastened to continue the pursuit of Touktemesh to the banks of the Attel, the great river Volga so called by the Orientals. Arrived on the western bank of that river, he no longer hesitated to disclose his designs in favor of Kûiryitchauk Oghlan, the son of Orous Khaun the former monarch of Keptchauk, who had for some time been an obsequious attendant on his person, and whom he now dispatched to the opposite side of the river accompanied by a body of his countrymen, who had hitherto served under the imperial standard, to take possession of the dominions of his ancestors. Having been invested by the hands of his benefactor with the usual insignia of royalty, a diadem of gold, a gold embroidered robe, and a belt, baldric, or scarf, enriched with jewels, the Tartar prince proceeded accordingly across the Volga to the eastward, where he exerted himself with becoming energy to establish his claims to the throne of his father. Touktemesh had indeed by this time totally abandoned the country, and with the affrighted remnant of his followers plunged into the boundless wilds and forests of Boular, or Asiatic Bulgaria, the country between the Volga, Siberia, and the icy sea; the greater part of his nobles and principal officers dispersing at the same time in different directions, for the preservation of life. The Teymûrians, on the other hand, hastened to act over again the scenes of slaughter

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and rapine already once exhibited on their part throughout the wide extended plains of Keptchauk; carrying the work of desolation and havoc eastward of the Volga, almost as far north as on their former expedition, to the verge of perennial darkness—the Zûlmaut, Cimmerian shades, or long night of the polar regions. Teymûr remained, in the mean time, encamped at the station of Youlez kolûk, or Auzûkaluk, on the plains to the westward of Astrakhan; where he was shortly afterwards rejoined by Meiran Shah, with some of those commanders who had been left behind with the heavy baggage.

The absence of Teymûr from his native dominions had been protracted, by this time, to a period some thing beyond what might be exactly prescribed by the maxims of sound policy, the greater part of the princes of his blood, and his ablest generals having accompanied him in the expedition; and yet this latter circumstance, under the notorious flexibility of oriental morals, might, for sundry weighty considerations, have contributed to diminish, rather than augment the inconvenience here adverted to, as incidental to the personal absence of the sovereign. At all events, Teymûr conceived it at this conjuncture expedient to dispatch his grandson Peir Mahommed, the son of Omar Sheikh, to provide for the security of Shirauz, and the provinces in that quarter; while several of his most distinguished Ameirs should proceed at the same time by his orders, for the same purpose to Samarkand. Peir Mahommed departed accordingly for Shirauz, at the head of six thousand horse, to be accompanied part of the way by Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Ameir Shums-ud-dein Abbas, with an inferior detachment of three thousand ultimately destined for Transoxiana. Having proceeded, however, together as far as Ardebeil, they received intelligence that Kâra Yûssuf, at the head of a body of Tûrkman of superior force, was encamped in the neighborhood of Alahtauk, with the design of making an attempt on Khoi. On which, as had been originally prescribed to them, Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and his colleague, prosecuted their march for Samarkand, while Peir Mahommed made the best of his way to Tebreiz, in order to assemble the troops of the province; and he was shortly afterwards joined at that place by several of the chiefs subordinate

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to the authority of Meiran Shah, with the military force destined for the protection Azerbâijaun.

On the other hand, when he had drawn together a force adequate to his purpose, Peir Mahommed advanced without further delay to oppose the designs of Kâra Yûssuf; and reaching a particular spot without obstacle became there apprized that a detachment of the enemy, sent forward by the Tûrkman chief to explore and scour the country, had taken post in the Kâraderrah, or black pass, a strong defile in the mountains, which at a subsequent period formed the boundary between the Turkish and Persian dominions. With equal promptitude and decision the young prince resolved on an attempt to cut off this detachment; and accordingly coming upon them with a suddenness which precluded resistance, all those who could escape fled with the utmost consternation to the Bend-e-mauhy, the river which flows into the lake of Van, so called from its fish-wear; to which Kâra Yûssuf had at this period removed his head quarters, but from whence he instantly withdrew in dismay, on intelligence that the Teymûrians were approaching. In effect the Shahzâdah came upon the heels of the fugitives to Bend-e-mauhy, a station it would appear of the same name with the river, and from thence dispatched a part of his force in pursuit of the Tûrkman, as far as Aouneik, or Avenic. Here, the enemy having disappeared without leaving a vestige to indicate the course of his flight, it was thought advisable to terminate the pursuit; and Peir Mahommed, being at liberty to resume his march for Shirauz, now proceeded to Sâltauniah, where he was hospitably entertained in his progress by Khaunzâdah, the consort of his uncle Meiran Shah.

Having resolved, soon after the defeat of Touktemesh, to extend the career of his arms through the possessions of the race of Jûjy to the north-west of the Volga, Teymûr was now on his march towards the Ouzy, Dnieper, or Borysthenes; Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, having been already dispatched in that direction, at the head of the advanced guard. At Mankermen on that river, some distance above its disembogement into the Euxine, and possibly some where opposite to the modern city of Kherson, this commander came upon Begyaurek Oghlan with part of an Ouzbek tribe; whom he plundered

and entirely dispersed, the chief only escaping, and that with the utmost difficulty. Alarmed by the terrifying reports which preceded the approach of the Teymûrians, Taush Temûr Oghlan and Auktao, two other chieftains of the same race, fled in dismay to the opposite bank of the Borysthenes ; and although a nation with whom they were in perpetual hostility, indiscreetly threw themselves for protection on the tribes of Hermedâi, then inhabiting the territory above Kherson, by whom they were attacked without remorse, and immediately plundered of all their property. The Tomaun of Auktao contrived, however, to escape and to secure an asylum in the peninsula of Anatolia, at Isra Yaca, according to De la Croix.

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Returning from the Ouzy, or Borysthenes, which appears to have terminated his career westward, Teymûr now proceeded in a northern direction, towards old Russia; and on the banks of the Tûn, Tanais, or Don, the Ouzbek prince Begyaurek Oghlan, was again overtaken, and this time completely surrounded by the imperial troops. In this desperate situation the Tartar chief found himself reduced to the dire necessity of abandoning his women and children, one son alone excepted, with whom he finally contrived to effect his escape through the dangers with which he was on every side enclosed. The family fell immediately into the hands of the Teymûrians, by whom they were conducted without delay to the presence of their sovereign. From the conqueror they experienced, however, a degree of kindness and liberality, very different from what they might have been led, by their apprehensions, to expect. They found a suite of tents set apart for their accommodation; and they were finally dismissed to rejoin the fugitive prince, highly pleased with their treatment, and furnished with money and every requisite to enable them to attain their object.

At this juncture Meiran Shah, with several of the subordinate Ameirs, appears to have been again detached to over-run the territory to the westward, subject to the authority of the princes of the race of Jûjy ; where he completed what had been left unfinished of the plunder and desolation of the country, extending the career of vengeance throughout the whole of Orous and Orousjek, great and little Russia, and carrying off an incredible number of the most beau-

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tiful captives both male and female, together with an immense booty in sheep and *camels*, and other cattle of every description. With equal fury and inveteracy Mahommed Sûltan, the son of Jahaungueir, laid waste the possessions of Kabûnjy Karawul, perhaps Kraal,* and of several other tribes who had abandoned their habitations, and wandered over the hills and plains to escape the destroying sword of the Teymûrians; but who were compelled to share in the dreadful calamities, which seemed to overspread the country with a fatality which nothing could elude.

On the other hand, Teymûr now conducted his victorious Kou-shûns to the gates of Moscow, the metropolis of the Czars, which he appears to have entered without resistance; the whole of the surrounding territory being consigned to indiscriminate rapine, and suffering every species of enormity from the unbridled excesses of a barbarous soldiery. The Tcheghataïan monarch, in a series of marches not explained, returned shortly afterwards south to the city of Azâk, on the Don near its entrance into the sea of Azof; and possibly the city of the latter name on the same spot, the Kauf having been substituted for the Fe, through the lapse of time and the inadvertency of transcribers. Some time after his arrival, Teymûr was here joined by Meiran Shah, with the division under his orders from his western incursion.

The annals of the Russian empire will doubtless furnish ample and interesting details of the horrors of this dreadful period; but the object of these pages is to exhibit the testimony of oriental history, and the above is all that we derive from the Persian original now before us. The Russian Government was, probably, at this time tributary to the sovereigns of Keptchawk Tartary, and became thus obnoxious to the fury of Teymûr; who made no distinction between willing subjection, and compulsory obedience. At the conclusion of four centuries afterwards, in the ever memorable autumn of 1812, the unfortunate inhabitants of Moscow had an opportunity of comparing the horrors of Tartar ferocity, with the tender mercies of the disciplined legions of the west, under all the advantages and improvements of civilized life; and they consecrated their history by an example of

This we believe is the designation given by the Turks to the king of Poland.

heroic self-devotion worthy the emulation, and entitled to the eternal applause and gratitude of all mankind. It should be engraved on the hearts of Englishmen, of Spaniards, Germans, Italians. The French nation, as some atonement for the long catalogue of its enormities, should be compelled to rebuild the ancient Russian capital; and a magnificent and lasting monument should be erected in the midst of it, to consecrate the bright example to the admiration of all futurity, and to commemorate to generations yet unborn the eternal gratitude of independent Europe.

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While at Azâk on this occasion, Teymûr in the excess of his zeal for the faith, after causing the Mahomedan inhabitants of the town and neighborhood to be set apart from those infected with the errors and vices of schism and infidelity, condemned the latter to be dispatched, without distinction, to that abode* where neither their crimes nor their errors could again occasion either jealousy or offence. Having furnished this further proof of his sanguinary character, that indeed of his age and nation, Teymûr quitted Azâk on his way towards the Kûbaun; but as the Circassians had taken care to set fire to the forage, and the march was effected with the utmost difficulty through the perpetual sloughs and extensive inundations by which it was impeded, the cattle of the army perished in prodigious numbers, before he could reach the station of that name. The Shahzâdahs Meiran Shah, and Mahommed Sûltan, with Ameir Jahaun Shah, and other commanders were then dispatched to over-run the province of Tchirkess in different directions; and this was succeeded by the ordinary scenes of robbery and blood, the Tchegatâians putting to the sword all who fell in their way, and seizing with their usual rapacity on every species of property which they set eyes on; returning withal to rejoin the head quarters of their sovereign, without having experienced, as yet, the slightest circumstance to discourage the career of desolation and murder, with which they had afrighted the nations on every side.

Conceiving that the Russian, and Circassian territories, no longer afforded employment for his insatiable spirit of conquest, Teymûr now directed his views towards the lofty and hitherto inaccessible

* Beyss-ul-Mehaud; the manuscript is probably defective, the mansion of rest perhaps.

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regions of Mount Alburz, or Caucasus. In the mean time, on some charge, either real or fabricated, but unexplained, he put to death Ameir Othman, the son of Abbas, one of his ablest and most distinguished captains. Then leaving the heavy baggage and impediments in charge of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, he proceeded to ascend the ridges of Caucasus; where his thirst of blood was further aggravated, not allayed, by the extermination of vast numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants, who had endeavored to protect themselves against his fury, in the castles, and supposed inaccessible passes of their mountains. He returned, shortly afterwards, to his principal encampment loaded with booty, and was there most sumptuously entertained by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein.

For seven or eight days he continued immersed in a course of festivities with his generals; but when a further period of moderate duration had been devoted to the repose of his troops, and to restore the strength of his horses, and other cattle, greatly reduced by extraordinary fatigue and exertion, Teymûr again quitted his impediments, and hastened in advance, lightly equipped, to resume his operations among the ranges Alburz, at this time directed in particular against two chiefs whose names were Kowla and Tawus; or perhaps the possessors of two strong holds so called, eminently distinguished among the Caucasian tribes, for their power and respectability. It would, however, be extremely tedious, and by no means instructive in proportion to the labour of translation, to accompany the author in his detail of the successful attacks carried on by Teymûr against these mountain chiefs of the Iberian nation. It will suffice briefly to relate, that against the fortress of Tawus* in particular, erected on the loftiest of the ranges of Alburz, the Teymûrians had recourse to a method of attack, which, in boldness and activity, has seldom found a parallel. After successively scaling their several mountains or steeps, each towering above the other, by the aid of ladders, they let themselves down, by ropes fixed to the summit of the last mountain and fastened round their waists, to a level with the works; and although their companions were seen to be destroyed by the darts and

* This is to be sought somewhere in the neighborhood of the modern Catharingrad about 35 or 40 leagues west of the Caspian.

missiles of the garrison, in numbers to discourage the most undaunted, others successively took their places, and so terrified their opponents by these repeated proofs of the contempt of death and danger, that they stood appalled on their defences; and, finding themselves assailed at the same moment from earth and skies, threw down their arms and submitted. The two chiefs already mentioned were both taken, and put to death by the conqueror.

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Having penetrated to the very innermost ranges of Alburz, to the station of Abbasah, or Ayausah, north-west of Tawus, in pursuit of Outerkou, one of the principal adherents of Touktemesh who had sought the protection of Afoulaud, the governor of the fortress of Pûlaud, the fugitive lord was there delivered up to Teymûr; by whom, as a punishment more painful than death which would have relieved him from every evil, he was condemned to drag after him a heavy weight fastened to his heels. Teymûr descending once more from the heights of Caucasus, now rejoined his camp at a place called Bashtauk, where, and in that neighborhood he continued for some time; until again led into the recesses of Caucasus under the guidance of Mahommed Oghlan, and Ledaina Terkhan, in order to attack the fortress and territory of Semseem; the former named Mahommed Oghlan being the son of Gheyûr Khaun, the lord of the country. This circumstance considered it is not to be wondered at that he should, with his usual good fortune, soon have made himself master of the whole; many of the miserable natives who had sought refuge among the rocks, and defiles, being inhumanly cast headlong from the precipitous heights, and otherwise condemned to experience the dire effects of this fierce conqueror's inextinguishable zeal in the work of desolation. As a service peculiarly acceptable to his creator he is said, indeed, on this occasion, to have demolished or destroyed without distinction the church of the christian with its images, and the temple of the heathen with its idols; thus devoting to one indiscriminate destruction the slaves of impiety, and the votaries of all religions at variance with his own intolerant creed. Returning thence after this signal display of Mussulman zeal, Teymûr directed his course towards Beishkent, on the verge of the Caucasian mountains towards Mingrelia, the inhabitants of which had formerly sub-

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The arms of Teymûr were next employed against the tribes of Jourtourkara [Cossaks of Jutour according to De la Croix] inhabiting the territory north of Mingrelia; after the subjugation or extermination of whom, he went into winter quarters at Boughazkom, described, by the author just mentioned, as a defile of mountains in Georgia, possibly in the eastern range of Caucasus. Here, some time afterwards, he received the submission of several Moghûl tribes hitherto hostile, and, among others, of those of Memkautû and Kauzikomûk. During the same winter, he appears to have been occupied in the reduction of the Bauliktcheian, or Fishermen; a numerous body of people who had sought an asylum in the neighboring islands, [of the Caspian] conceiving that the waters of the deep would be their protection against the calamities of invasion. In this they were deplorably mistaken. The imperial division destined to attack them, availing itself of a hard frost, immediately crossed over on the ice, and the whole became an easy conquest to these most fortunate depredators.*

While these occurrences were, however, passing, advices were received from Omar Tâban, who had been left to superintend the government of Astrakhan, to announce that Mahmedy the Kalaunter, or civil governor of the town, had evinced a disposition hostile to the authority of Teymûr; and to signify that, unless measures were early adopted to defeat his designs, some very serious disturbances were likely to be the result. In consequence of this information, notwithstanding the severity of the season, and the winter snow which covered the earth, Teymûr, leaving Meiran Shah and Mahomed Sûltan in charge of the grand encampment, proceeded with his utmost expedition towards the Volga; and, appearing rather unexpectedly in the neighborhood of Astrakhan, the suspected governor made a virtue of necessity, and hastened to meet the offended monarch. He was immediately dispatched towards Serâi, in the custody of Prince Peir Mahommed and Ameir Jahaun Shah, who

* In one of De la Croix's maps illustrative of his history, there appears an island in the Caspian, north of the mouth of the Terek, distinguished as having been pillaged by Teymûr.

had now received instructions to see that place laid in ruins. Teymûr in person then entered Astrakhan;* and, having first exacted a competent ransom from the inhabitants, finally consigned the whole to the merciless rapacity of his soldiers, by whom they were entirely stripped of all that was left. On the other hand, Peir Mahommed and his associates, having crossed the Volga on the ice, through a fracture in which they forced the unfortunate Kalaunter Mahmedy to become food for fish, and obtaining possession of Serâi the capital of Ketchauk, without resistance, it was in conformity with their instructions immediately reduced to an heap of cinders—in order to retaliate, as it is said, upon Touktemesh, the conduct of his troops in setting fire to the palace of Zenjeir Serai, about two leagues from Kesh, during their incursion into Transoxiana, and while Teymûr was at a distance, employed in the reduction of Fars and Irâk Ajem. Their usual places of resort being, at the same time, now completely annihilated by the Teymûrians, the hordes and wandering communities who frequented the surrounding plains, were, for a period of long duration afterwards, at a loss where to seek relief for their necessities, or a temporary repose amidst the vicissitudes of an erratic and wearisome life.

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While the progress of desolation was advancing higher up the Volga, the city of Hadjiterkhan, or Astrakhan, the inhabitants having been previously driven from their abodes, was also consigned to the devouring flames, and consumed to ashes; after which signal denunciation of his vengeance, Teymûr returned, without further delay, to his winter quarters at Boughazkom. In the mean time, the cattle belonging to his army, not only through the severity of the season and the scarcity of forage and grain, but from the distance at which they were removed from their native country, as well as from every other abode of culture and civilization, had, for the greater part, perished without the possibility of supplying the loss by their private resources; and matters were arrived at a crisis which threat-

* De la Croix describes that, as the town is surrounded by the Volga and the river is frozen in winter, the inhabitants usually build a wall of ice, as strong as one of brick, on which they fling water in the night, that the whole may congeal and become one mass. He does not however say that any thing of the kind was resorted to on this occasion.

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ened the most alarming extremity. Of this some judgment may perhaps be formed from the author's statement, that a maunn of millet was not to be purchased for seventy kopek dinaurs, the head of an ox for one hundred, nor a sheep for two hundred and fifty of the same currency.* The characteristic munificence of Teymûr, however, again interposed to remove the difficulty; the imperial commissaries, or Towatcheis, received instructions to distribute to the troops the whole of the booty accumulated during the recent expedition; which consisting, for the most part, of horses, sheep and oxen, the relief was so compleat, and the supply so abundant, that many a soldier who had hitherto served on foot, was now enabled to combat on horseback for his master's glory.

The whole of the territory of the Khuzzez, the region between the Caspian and the Euxine sometimes so denominated, and many of the countries situated to the North East of Europe, having become thus subjugated for a period at least, to the authority of Teymûr, that monarch, in the spring of the seven hundred and ninety eighth of the hidjerah, left his winter quarters at Boughazkom, on his way back to the Persian territory. Recrossing the Terek on the ice, he encamped his troops for some time at the station of Terki; but, after a short interval of repose disengaging himself, as on former occasions, from his heavy baggage and impediments, he proceeded on a fresh expedition of zeal against Aushkoujah, Oushkunjah, or Ushenje, a country of Georgia, according to De la Croix, to the north-east of Teflis. Here, while his numerous squadrons were investing Oushkunjah, the principal fortress of the country, intelligence being conveyed to Teymûr that a division of the troops of Kauzikomûk, although that people were in preceding times at perpetual war with the natives of the country, was now advancing to their assistance under a chief of the name of Shoukel, the Tcheghatayan monarch resolved to intercept him; and marching accordingly, with his usual celerity, at the head of a chosen detachment of five hundred horse, he found the enemy encamped in perfect security, in the rear of a deep defile in one of the passes, having turned their horses loose to graze among the herbage. Ascending one of the neighboring hills

* About £114. 11. 8. at 9 & 2 pence to the dinaur—a prodigious sum in those days.

alone, in order to examine the position of the enemy, it was easy to discover that these unfortunates were totally unapprized of the danger; and Teymûr giving the signal immediately to fall upon them, they were, for the greater part, destroyed. Their captain, however, contrived, for a few moments, to elude his destiny by escaping to the top of an adjoining rock; but, from thence, he was soon brought headlong, by an arrow from the unerring bow of Mûbasher, who immediately struck off his head, and laid it before his master. Some of the prisoners who fell alive into the hands of the assailants, were conducted, at the same time, to the presence of Teymûr; by whom, after expostulating at some length on the folly and absurdity of their proceedings, in thus attempting the relief of those with whom, in consequence of religious animosity, they were on all former occasions at war, they were finally dismissed, with Khelauts and other marks of his bounty, in order to report to their countrymen all that they had witnessed of the conqueror's power and magnanimity.

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Teymûr now returned to the siege of Oushkunjah, which was shortly afterwards taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword; while the adjoining territory was condemned, as usual, to the horrors of slaughter and desolation. From thence, he appears to have entirely crossed the ranges of Alburz to the southern extremity of Mingrelia, where he proceeded to invest the fortress of Nerguess, or Nerkes; of which, also, he was soon put in possession by the superior prowess of his troops. The enemies of the faith, the obnoxious Christian inhabitants no doubt, had, in the mean time, in great numbers sought for refuge in the caverns formed along the inaccessible acclivities of the neighboring mountains; and it was immediately determined to hunt them from their dens, by recurring to the mode of attack recently put in practice, in another part of the country, on an improved plan and larger scale. For this purpose several caissons, or wooden coffers, having been previously prepared, and then filled with soldiers, were suspended by ropes to the over-hanging summits immediately above, and from thence lowered down to a level with the entrance of the caverns, in which the unfortunate inhabitants had endeavored to shelter themselves from the fury of their invaders. Little provided against a system of attack so novel and unexpected, they were for the

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greater part unresistingly shot to death by the Teymûrian archers ; to whom, and to the spears and javelins of their pursuers, they became thus perfectly and easily assailable.*

Thus, in some measure, Teymûr may now be said to have traversed and explored the ranges and recesses of Mount Alburz, in every direction ; and to have made himself successively master of every post in the Caucasian region, that seemed capable of defence or resistance, his soldiers acquiring, at the same time, a prodigious booty in property and effects of every description ; while, to grace the triumphs and administer to the pleasures of the ruthless depredators, there moved in their waggons a countless train of the most blooming and beautiful captives. Prosecuting his march to the southward, the route of the conqueror lay by the boundaries of a district, the inhabitants of which, from their employment, the fabrication of coats of mail, were called the Zerrahgurs ; who, through an extraordinary supply of corselets, and other pieces of defensive armour, which they conveyed to the camp of Teymûr, fortunately succeeded in securing both his friendship and protection. The people of Mount Keitaug also, by a prompt and voluntary submission, entitled themselves to a share in the monarch's indulgence.

Passing through Derbend, orders were issued to place the fortifications of that important barrier in a state of effectual repair and defence. In the mean time, Sheikh Ibrauhim, the prince of Shirvaun and Shamaukhi, who like the genius of victory had hitherto inseparably accompanied the imperial standard, during this expedition to the regions of the north, had, with the permission of Teymûr, preceded the march of the imperial army to Shabraun, there provided, in the most sumptuous manner, for the reception of the Tcheghatayan monarch, on his arrival shortly afterwards. Again, when he planted the imperial standard on the banks of the Kûrr, several stages from thence, he was entertained with equal splendor and hospitality, by the same liberal and politic prince ; whom he now confirmed afresh in

* On reference to Vol. 4. page 156 of Dr. Prideaux, connection of the old and new testament, octavo edition, the reader will find a similar expedient recurred to with equal success, by Herod the great, against certain bands of robbers who in his time infested Galilee.

the sovereignty of Shirvaun and its dependencies ; leaving with him, at the same time, the charge of guarding the approaches from Derbend, with a strict caution to be, on all occasions, minutely apprized of the course of events in that quarter. When he had devoted some days to further recreation and repose on the banks of the Kûrr, Teymûr proceeded to recross that river, apparently below its confluence with the Araxes; since he is described to have encamped immediately afterwards at Akataum, or Actam, a station to the eastward of Moghaun.

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Meiran Shah, who had been formerly appointed to the government of Azerbâijaun, said, on this occasion, to include the whole of the territory extending from Baghdâd to the Derbend of Baukû, east and west, and from Hamadaun to the frontiers of Roum, at the head of the Euphrates, north and south, was now directed to enter on the administration of that important government. He received, at the same time instructions, when he should have placed the affairs of his province under sufficient regulation, to press the siege of Alanjek, which still continued to defy the power of Teymûr, with fresh vigour and activity. Shortly afterwards, when all things had been properly arranged for his departure, Teymûr took leave of his son, having embraced him for the last time with real cordiality; the Shahzâdah Rûstum, with Ameir Jahaun Shah, being directed to accompany him, at the head of the troops destined to serve under his authority, and to second his zeal and exertions, in the reduction of the important and, hitherto, impregnable fortress of Alanjek. Meiran Shah then proceeded, without further delay, into Azerbâijaun; where the families of his officers, and of the troops who composed the army of his province, having been already summoned from Khorassaun, soon afterwards repaired to join him. As soon as he reached his destination, the Shahzâdah disposed of the divisions of the right wing, or perhaps first line of his army, in quarters at Kârabaugh, Nekhtchuaun, and Aouneik adjoining to the lake of Van; those of the left wing occupying the stations of Sougboulâk, and Derguzzein, between Tebreiz and Sûltauniah, and forming, with the troops of the other line, an acute angle, nearly, pointing to the north-west. He proceeded, however, in person to superintend the siege.

A. H. 798. of Alanjek, which was now attacked with redoubled ardor, and
 A. D. 1396. which, according to one of the sketches in De la Croix's history,
 Rouzut-us-suffa. appears to have stood on the left of the Araxes, about one third of
 the distance from Nekhtchûaun to Irvaun.

The remainder of the year 798 was occupied, among other undertakings, in the reduction of Yezd, and Nihawund; the former in the north-eastern angle of the province of Fars, and the latter among the western ranges of the mountains of Irâk Ajem. During the period in which the imperial armies were absent on the expedition to the north, the former had been seized and fortified by Sûltan Mahommed the son of Abû Sâeid, the Tebbesite, supported by a body of Khorassaunian mercenaries, lately in the service of the extinguished family of Mûzuffur; while an officer of the name of Behloul, in the train of Ameir Bayezid Berlas, the governor on the part of Teymûr, availed himself of the same period to seize upon Nihawund, and to declare against the authority of his paramount sovereign, after having put his immediate superior to death. In the meantime having determined, on his arrival at Sûltauniab, on the enlargement of Sûltan Eissa the prince of Mardein, the Tcheghatâian monarch, as a further proof of his magnanimity, embraced the occasion to restore to him the whole of the territory of which he had been deprived, on his captivity; and now dismissed him to his country loaded with caresses, and with every mark of distinction that could contribute to secure his future attachment, and to alleviate the sense of recent injury. Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Khodadaud ul Hûsseyny, with a division of the imperial troops, were dispatched, about the same time, to quell the insurrection at Nihawund, and to punish the audacious promoter of it; while Teymûr with the main body of the army proceeded, shortly afterwards, also in the direction of Hamadâun. Nihawund was soon closely invested by Sûltan Hûsseyne, and, after a considerable exertion of vigor, and perseverance, finally reduced by that prince; the insurgents being generally cut to pieces, and the traitor Behloul, in particular, burnt alive. Sûltan Hûsseyne then received instructions to proceed towards Tûstur, for the purpose, as it is pretended, of relieving the province of Lûrrestaun from the outrages of those hordes of banditti, by whom it had been

long infested ; after the accomplishment of which primary object he was further enjoined to proceed along the shore of the Persian gulf to the neighborhood of Hormûz, or Ormûz, reducing the whole of the country in that direction to the imperial authority.

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The whole of the month of Ramzaun* was devoted by Teymûr, now encamped in the neighborhood of Hamadâun, to the discharge of the sacred duties prescribed by his religion ; at the conclusion of which, on the appearance of the new moon of Shavaul, he dispatched Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahaungueir, accompanied by the Ameirs Jullaul Hameid, Shah. Mêlek, and Arghûn Shah Akhtatchei (one of the equerries) for Shirauz ; the latter Ameirs being furnished with instructions to extend the Teymûrian conquests through the provinces along the sea of Omman, including the Gurrumseirs, or sandy, or arid districts of that name, as far as the city of Hormûz, from the eastward.

At this juncture information was received of the reduction of Yezd, which appears to have been accomplished under the following circumstances. When the siege had been protracted for a period of unusual duration, and nearly thirty thousand of the inhabitants had perished under all the horrors of famine, after having been reduced, for some time, to subsist on cats and dogs, Sûltan Mahommed, the leader of the insurrection, finding his means of subsistence in every shape at last entirely exhausted, determined for the present, with his followers, to withdraw from the danger, by excavating a passage under the ditch ; but his escape having been early discovered, he was immediately pursued by the Teymûrians, and finally overtaken and put to death at Mehrijerd, better known by the name of Esfrâein, in the southwest angle of Khorassaun. Fortunately for the defenceless inhabitants of Yezd, Teymûr had been prevailed upon to believe that in the recent commotions they had been actuated much more by the influence of force than of choice ; and he had, with a clemency rather unusual, accordingly given orders, when the city should have been taken, to save it from pillage, and to exempt it from exaction or contribution in any shape whatever. Hence, on the reduction of the town, Temoukah Koutchein, who permanently presided in this quarter,

* June 1396.

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immediately entered with his guards and domestics, and took such effectual means of prevention, that not a single soldier of the besieging army was permitted to set foot in the place. The result of this humane and considerate forbearance, was as it should have been: the whole surrounding country though recently in a state of desolation, from the ravages of the contending armies, was restored, in a period comparatively short, to one of the highest prosperity and abundance.*

These undertakings having thus successfully terminated in annihilating the plans of insurrection, the Shazâdahs employed against Yezd were directed to rejoin the imperial standard; in consequence of which, Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir proceeded through Khorassaun to Konduz, and Baklaun, in Tokharestaun, his cousin Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, repairing immediately, according to the letter of his instructions, to the presence of his grandsire.

Although, according to some authorities, Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh is thus said, on the reduction of Yezd, to have proceeded immediately to the imperial head quarters, and moreover, after having accompanied his grandfather on his return to Samarkand, to have hastened thence, with the royal permission, back again to Shirauz; there are, nevertheless, other historians who state that on the termination of the service against the insurgents at Yezd, this same prince proceeded straight to Shirauz, instead of repairing to the presence of his august grandsire. Not long subsequent to his arrival at Shirauz, on this occasion, Ameir Sounjek, one of the chiefs deputed to aid him in superintending the affairs of the province, conceiving himself injured by some of the Ameirs in the train of the Shahzâdah, undertook, without further consideration, to dispatch to his imperial master an accusation, wherein he charged the officers of the government with having grossly embezzled the revenues of the state. This was followed by the execution of Heyder, one of the prince's oldest and most faithful followers, in consequence of his

* It will be here recollected that Sheref-ud-dein Ally, the author of the Zuffurnâmâh, or chronicle of the exploits of Teymûr, so often referred to, was a native of this town. He is said to have died in Hidjera 850, having finished his work in 828, or about 30 years after the period under consideration.

attachment to Ameir Sounjek, and by the retirement from employment of both the Ameirs Towukkel, and Kâra, who on some offence from the Shahzâdah, embraced the opportunity to devote themselves to a life of seclusion among the disciples of Sheikh Jenneid Kazrouny, a noted Peir or doctor of the country. The administration of his superior having been, at the same time, impeached by Dowlut Khaujah, or Khojah, the prince's immediate lieutenant, Teymûr determined without delay, to recal both the Shahzâdah and his accusers; and to dispatch Mahommed Sûltan, the son of Jahangueir, to supersede him in the government of the province.

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On his arrival at Samarkand, Mirza Peir Mahommed was received with expressions of the most severe censure on his conduct; and he continued for some time under serious displeasure, although finally restored to favour. The conduct of Ameir Sounjek was, however, found not less obnoxious to condemnation for the part which he had taken in the accusation of his superior; and it was adjudged as a punishment that he should serve with his tomaun for a period of three years, in a war against the territory on the river Indus. While Dowlut Khaujah, much more unfortunate, after the excision of his nose and ears, would have suffered the punishment of death, were it not for the intercession of Shahzâdah Eskunder, who mediated for his pardon, and took him in his retinue to Andegaun in Ferghaunah.

Without, however, dilating further on matters of little comparative interest, we may be permitted to state that, having provided for the security of Fars and Khûzistaun, Mahommed Sûltan, anxious to carry into execution the design of extending his grandfather's authority to the sea coast in the direction of Hormûz, on a particular consultation with the Ameirs in his court, hastened to distribute, to each, the line of operations, on which it was determined to proceed according to the following arrangement. Accompanied by Ameir Jahaun Shah, and some other distinguished chieftains with the left division of his troops, he marched in person by the route of Darabjerd, celebrated, according to De la Croix, for its mines of rock salt of various colours; the veteran Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein having remained, through indisposition, in charge of the heavy equipments at Kerbaul, between Isfahaun and Yezd. Shahzâdah Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh,

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at the head of the right wing, attended by Ameir Shah Mèlek, proceeded by way of Kazerein, or Kazerûn ; and Ameir Jullaul Hameid, with Arghûn Shah, Beyan Temûr, and Begtchek, at the head of another division, took the intermediate direction of Jehrom and Lâr. At the same time, Eidekou Berlas received orders to pass through Kermaun, on a plundering expedition to Kidje, in the province of Mekraun.

According to the plan of operations thus agreed on, Mahommed Sûltan, and the Ameirs above enumerated, hastened to their destination ; and, either by kind treatment, or coercion, as the behavior of the inhabitants appeared to render it expedient, finally succeeded in subjugating the whole of the country between Shirauz and the gulf of Persia. On their arrival in the neighborhood of old Hormûz, on this occasion, they are said to have obtained possession of the several fortresses of Tungzendaun, Goushkul, Shameil, *Meina*, Tezrek, Menûjaun, and Taziaun, names few of which are to be, at present, recognized on the maps of the country, the whole having been totally destroyed by the Teymûrians during their expedition. Mahommed Shah, the prince of Hormûz, however, escaped to the island of Jeroun, in the neighboring sea of Omman ; from whence, he dispatched to mitigate the fury, and to purchase the forbearance of the invaders, by a most liberal present of all that was rare and costly in the produce of the adjacent maritime districts. He offered, moreover, at the same time, to make good to the imperial treasury, an undischarged arrear of four years' revenue of the country under his authority, amounting altogether to the sum of four millions and two hundred dinaurs ;* the greater part of which, in specie or effects, as far as he was possessed of the means, he accordingly liquidated on the spot, pledging his faith for the punctual remittance of the remainder, at some future opportunity. All which being finally acceded to, and every other matter adjusted to his entire satisfaction, Mahommed Sûltan quitted the province, shortly afterwards, with a splendid reputation, and returned towards the territory on the Oxus.

Having thus, in some degree, anticipated the course of events the narrative necessarily recedes to the period at which, about the eleventh of the month of Shavaul, of the seven hundred and ninety

* At the lowest computation, about, £1,833,379. 3. 4.

eighth of the hidjerah,* Teymûr took his departure from Hamadaun, on his way to Samarkand; at which metropolis, by the route of Veraumin, Bostaum, Amou, Khuzaur, or Cuzar, and Kesh, he appears to have arrived about the conclusion of the year. Some short time afterwards, as a mark of his paternal indulgence, he bestowed upon his subjects in Transoxiana a general exemption from taxes for three years; and in the latter Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and ninety ninth of the hidjerah,† he laid the foundations of his magnificent palace in the Baugh-e-shamaul, or northern gardens, so called from their situation on that side of the metropolis; which, through the extraordinary exertions and skill of his workmen, the best indeed to be found in Khorassaun, either Irâk, and Azerbâijaun, who had been brought to Samarkand on this and other occasions, he is said to have completed in the incredibly short space of five and forty days. It was, in all probability, nothing more than one of those fairy built, painted pavilions, so frequent in the east, that glitter for a few seasons and are then forgotten. According to De la Croix's history, the walls of this were, however, painted in fresco, with such exquisite precision and skill, as to surpass the performances of the celebrated Mâni himself, several of which Teymûr is said to have possessed, in his cabinet of curiosities. The courts were paved with marble, and the walls, moreover, to a considerable height from the foot, both within and without were cased in porcelain; exhibiting altogether such an assemblage of all that was beautiful and rare as, in the opinion of many travellers who surveyed it, to leave the negaur-khaunah, the gallery of paintings perhaps, of the Chinese emperors, far behind in the comparison.

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 A. D. 1396-97.
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While yet amused in superintending this display of architectural skill in the Baugh-e-shamaul, Teymûr proceeded to invest his youngest son Shah Rokh, with the sovereign government of the three provinces of Khorassaun, Seiestaun, and Mazanderaun, extending westward to the boundaries of Rey. A selection from the different tomauns of the imperial army, to a considerable extent, was made at the same time for the service of his government; and some of the most distinguished Ameirs of the empire, including the respectable names of Sûliman

* 18th of July. † February 1397.

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A. D. 1397.
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Shah, Mezraub the son of Ameir Tchaukû, or Jaukû, Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Abdus-summed, the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and his son Jahaun Melek, Peir Mahommed Fûlaud one of the sons of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Hussun Souffy Terkhan, together with many others whom it would be unnecessary further to particularize, who were ordered to form his court, and to attend him to Herât. Thus splendidly accompanied, Shah Rokh crossed the Oxus, in the month of Shabaun, of the year seven hundred and ninety nine;* and, by the following month of Ramzaun,† he had pitched his tents among the groves and meadows of Kehdestaun, one farsang, or about three miles and a half, from Herât, it being determined that he should discharge the duties of the impending fast amidst the luxuriant scenery of that delightful abode. Hence then we may venture to date the commencement of that government, which during the remainder of his father's life and subsequent to it, in full sovereignty, he conducted, with singular felicity, for a period not far short of sixty years. On the night of the twenty first of Zilhudje, he experienced, in another shape, the influence of his benignant star, in the birth of a son, who received from his august grandsire the name of Baysungur.

Shortly after the departure of Shah Rokh, Teymûr quitted the delights of his new palace, and proceeded towards Kesh; where, after recreating himself for some days among the delicious meads in the neighborhood, he took up his abode in the Aukserâi, or white palace, one of the imperial mansions in that his native city. Here he devoted the month of Ramzaun to the austerities prescribed by his religion; after which he again removed to the summer quarters of Sûltan-artouje. And here about this period he was joined by his grandson Mahommed Sûltan, on his return from the expedition to Hormûz, formerly noticed. In the course of his journey from Shirauz, this prince had recently experienced a very providential escape from assasination, by the hand of a certain Jummaul-ud-dein Fyrouzkouhy, the ancestor, according to some, of Ameir Shauhy, one of the Persian poets. However that may be, the same Jummaul-ud-dein one day, while running on foot with officious zeal

* May A. D. 1397.

† July.

A. H. 799.
A. D. 1397.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

close by the stirrup of the Shahzâdah, either embracing an opportunity for which he was prepared, or carried away by some impulse of his destiny as inferred by the author, suddenly drew his knife, and made a stab at him. Having fortunately eluded the violence of the stroke, the Shahzâdah was but slightly wounded; and the assassin, flying for life to a narrow pass among the adjacent mountains, was there found, by those who immediately pursued him, lying dead, in a manner that they were not able to account for. For this, at all events, Teymûr, who was never backward in the display of his benevolence, hastened to evince his gratitude to the supreme being by a most liberal distribution of alms to the poor.

Determined to the last to extend his connubial engagements, and, peradventure, at the same time to obtain security for the forbearance of his more powerful neighbors, Teymûr about this period dispatched Shumma Jahaun, the son of Khezzer Khaujah Oghlan Khaun of midland Tartary, accompanied by Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and a sumptuous display of presents, to demand in marriage for himself, the daughter of that prince. Soon afterwards he returned to encamp among the delicious glades of Kaun-e-gûll, in sight of Samarkand; where on the arrival of his daughter in law, Melket Aga, the consort of Shah Rokh, he continued for full three months, in the unrestrained indulgence of the grosser appetites for eating and drinking, to which his nation appears to have been not less addicted, than some others far more refined. During autumn, when the festivities in which he had been thus engaged were brought to a close, he proceeded, on the verge of the same enchanting scenery, to form the spacious garden of Dilgûshai;* the enclosure of which exhibited a magnificent square of fifteen hundred cubits, in the centre of each side, between the pavilions at the angles, presenting a superb and lofty portal which exalted its gilded pinnacles to the skies. The interior was furnished, moreover, with every species of fruit tree, and plant, flower and flowering shrub, that could contribute either to regale the senses or delight the eye; the whole being exclusively designed for the recreation of his destined bride, the princess

* Heart expanding. According to De la Croix, Dileashâ, or Dilnîshâ, rejoicing the heart, amounting to the same thing.

A. H. 799. Towukkel Khaunum, the daughter of Khezzer Khaujah, whose hand
 A. D. 1397. he had dispatched to require, as already mentioned.
 Rouzut us-
 suffa.

Crossing the river Seyhûn, some time afterwards, Teymûr proceeded to the village of Tchinaus, in the neighborhood of which, at the entrance of the Derrah-ahunggeran, or pass of the blacksmiths, he took up his winter quarters; the troops erecting for themselves barracks of mats and reeds, under which they prepared to sustain the rigors of the approaching winter. Their sovereign, in the mean time, embraced the opportunity to visit the sepulchre of Sheikh Ahmed Yeissivy, the son of Imaumzâdah Mahommed Haneifah, at the town of Yeissy, in the same neighborhood; where he at once gratified his veneration for the memory of the saints of this illustrious family, and his taste for building, by ordering the consecrated spot to be further adorned by a noble mausoleum of great extent and beauty. In the first place he is described, as far as our original is to be understood, to have laid the foundations of a Tauk, or portico, of extraordinary height, composed of a dome with four sides, each of thirty cubits, or about seventy feet, and two lofty minours, or minarets. On two sides of the same dome are stated to have been erected two pavilions of four stories each, and twelve cubits, or eight and twenty feet square, at two feet four inches to the cubit: but whether these were attached to, or separate from the main building, is not clear. The tomb of the Sheikh was itself surmounted by a superstructure of four stories; and two additional pavilions, of similar height and dimensions with those formerly described, containing chambers, or dormitories, and other conveniences, for strangers who repaired thither through devotion, and for those who officiated about the sacred shrine, completed the detail of the plan. The grave of the saint was finally enclosed in a sarcophagus of marble of the purest white, of the most elaborate sculpture, and exquisite workmanship. The edifice* was, however, not entirely finished until two years afterwards; the execu-

* From the description in the text it will perhaps not be very easy to form any precise idea of the plan of the structure altogether. But if we may be permitted to supply one from conjecture, it consisted of a quadrangle, with the grand portal in one face, that looking towards Mekkah; the four pavilions at the angles connected, although it is not so expressed, by a colonnade, and the tomb of the Sheikh, in the centre of the interior of the quadrangle.

tion being entrusted to the superintendence of Moulana Abdallah, the Suddre, or Almoner, who remained on the spot for this purpose.

A. H. 800.
A. D 1397.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

In the mean time, on returning to the cantonments in which he had left the main body of the army, messengers arrived to announce to Teymûr the approach of his expected bride, the princess Tekkel, or Towukkel Khaunum; and the whole of the ladies of the imperial family, the queen consort Serâi Mêlek Khaunum alone excepted, accompanied by most of the Ameirs of the court, were now dispatched to the distance of fifteen days' journey, to meet the illustrious stranger. In short, on thursday the first of the former Rebbeia,* having been sumptuously entertained at every previous stage, the Tartar princess brought her journey to an auspicious termination in the camp of Teymûr; and the ceremony which united her to her imperial spouse was solemnized, shortly afterwards, with all the pomp and splendor of Mahomedan usage.

About the same period, or not long afterwards, ambassadors reached the court of Teymûr, from Yessoun, or according to De la Croix, Tangouz Khaun, sovereign of Khatâi, or northern China, with magnificent presents from that monarch; and having discharged the object of their mission, which is not explained, were allowed to depart, after a short residence, highly gratified with the politeness and liberality of their reception. About the commencement of the spring, however, when the sun had entered Pisces, Ameirzadah Mahommed Sûltan, with forty thousand horse, was dispatched into Moghûlstaun, in order to protect the frontiers of the empire, in that direction. He was, at the same time, accompanied by the Ameirs Beirdy Beg the son of Saurbouga, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, and Shums-ud-dein Abbas; and he was in particular instructed to fortify, with a rampart and ditch, the station of Asheirah, under the parallel of Peking, and some distance north-west of the great wall of China. Crossing the mountains of Koulân, south-east of the country of the Moghûls, the Shahzâdah proceeded accordingly to Asheirah; where he hastened, with becoming activity, to carry into execution the commands of his grandfather, not less to render that post an important military station, than to promote and encourage

* 21st November 1397.

A. H. 800.

A. D. 1398.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

the general cultivation, and improvement, of the territory depending upon it.

At the approach of the vernal equinox,* of the year eight hundred, Teymûr broke up from his winter quarters at Tcheinaus, and returned across the Seyhûn to Samarkand; but after devoting a few days only to the recreations of that celebrated metropolis, he proceeded further towards Kesh. On his way to that place, and at the entrance of a mountain, the issue of a very beautiful stream, about seven farsangs, or five and twenty miles from Samarkand, being struck with the amenity and romantic scenery of the spot, Teymûr gave directions for the construction of an elegant palace, and gardens; on which, when finished, he bestowed the name of the Tukht-e-karatchah, or black palace. From thence, continuing his journey, and skirting the hills by the road of Rebbaut-e-yaum, he was met by his son Shah Rokh; who had recently left his winter quarters at Asterabad, and was coming, from the direction of Makhan, to visit the court of his father. Teymûr then proceeded without further delay to Kesh; but leaving that city on one side, he encamped on the adjoining plains, at Eiltchibâlegh, the abode of his youth, where he had determined to pass a few days.

* March 1398.

CHAP. VI.

IN the preceding pages it was observed that Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir had been invested with the government of the several districts of Kondez, or Kondûz, and Baklaun, in Tokharestaun, to which are now added the provinces of Kandahaur, Gheznein, and Kabûl, to the frontiers of Hindûstaun. Not satisfied, however, with the possession of this spacious domain, which might appear too limited for the restless spirit of ambition, or, what is still more probable, urged by the tenor of his instructions, that prince, after reducing the affairs of his government to the necessary degree of order, proceeded at the head of a numerous army, to extend the circle of Teymûrian conquest to the south-east; commencing his operations with an attack upon the Avghans, or Afghans, of Sûliman Kouh, or mountains of Solomon, south of Kandahaur. But, without entering into the detail, it will be sufficient for our purpose to observe that, after carrying plunder and desolation through the abodes of these obnoxious tribes, he finally conducted his army to the banks of the Indus; which immediately crossing, he obtained possession without resistance of the city of Outchah, or Ouch, the *Oxydracorum oppidum* of Alexander's expedition.

From this place Peir Mahommed hastened, without delay, to invest the city of Mûltaun; where he became engaged, perhaps contrary to his expectations, in the difficulties of an arduous and protracted siege; the city being resolutely defended by Saurung Khaun, the elder brother of Mullou Khaun prime minister of the court of Dehly. It is in this place necessary to observe that, on the death of the emperor Feyrouz Shah, some time previous to the period under consideration, the two brothers had advanced his grandson Mahmûd Shah, to the throne of Hindûstaun; and rendering themselves finally paramount in the administration of affairs, the one remained at the metropolis, to preside in the councils of the empire,

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

while the other undertook the superintendence of the important frontier province of Mûltaun.

It was at all events, as it would now appear, the intelligence which he received of the opposition experienced on this occasion by his grandson, before the walls of Mûltaun, that brought Teymûr, contrary to the design already ripe for execution, of invading the more distant provinces of the Chinese empire, to the final determination of leading his armies to the Indus. His present resolution was further strengthened by accounts long since conveyed to him, of the gross idolatry still suffered to extend its pollutions, throughout the countries dependent both on Dehly and Mûltaun; and as the views of this apostle of desolation had been for some time bent on a war of religion, it seemed of little importance whether the current of zeal impelled him south or east. His nobles and the individuals in his confidence, moreover, unanimously concurring in favor of the Indian expedition, nothing remained to obstruct the design; and, accordingly, in the month of Rudjub, of the year eight hundred,* with an army, in the metaphorical language of the author, more numerous than the leaves of the forest,† or the drops in rain, he proceeded across the Oxus, leaving his grandson Omar the son of Meiran Shah in charge of the metropolis and territory of Samarkand.

When he reached the town of Enderaub, on his way to the passes of Hindû Koh, a representation of the inhabitants was laid before Teymûr, of the outrages which they experienced, being zealous Mosslems, from the Siapoush, and other infidel tribes of Mount Ketour; who on the slightest demur, as they stated, to their demands of tribute, put their men to the sword, and forced their women and children into captivity. He therefore determined, before he proceeded further, to avenge the wrongs of this harassed people, on the heads of their oppressors. For this purpose, having made a selection of three in ten from the aggregate of his army, and leaving the main body and heavy equipments in charge of Shah Rokh, at the summer station of Gheznan, or Ghounandeiktour, in the mountains of Enderaub, Teymûr hastened by forced marches to Peryân, a town in Badakhshaun,

* March 1398.

† Nevertheless, his force is limited, in the institutes of Teymûr, to 62,000 horse.

two days journey from Enderaub. From thence he detached Mirza Rûstum, and Bûrhaun Oghlan, with a body of ten thousand horse, on the road to the territory of the Siahpoush ; proceeding in person with the remainder of his force towards Khawuk, on the north-western skirts of the Ketour mountains. This place, which he found in ruins, he caused to be immediately repaired, directing his cavalry to dismount and leave their horses there, it being his design to ascend the ridges of Ketour, on foot. On these mountains, it is here observed that, although the sun had now entered Gemini, or even Cancer according to some authorities,* the snow still lay on the ground in such quantity, that the horses which yet accompanied the army sunk knee deep at every step, and at last failed altogether in making any kind of progress. In these circumstances, the soldiers availed themselves of the night, when the surface of the snow became hardened by the frost, to lead their horses along, permitting them to rest during the day, under cover of their cloaks and blankets : and by such expedients they contrived to proceed in their march, until they finally gained the summit of one of the mountains among the loftiest of the whole range. From thence the principal Ameirs, who had been induced to retain their horses when those of the cavalry in general had been directed to leave them behind, now sent them all back towards Khawuk.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

The mountaineers had retired, in the mean time, far within the deep and numerous vallies formed by the different ranges of Ketour ; and the descent into these vallies presented such serious obstacles as, augmented by the heavy drifts of snow, appeared most difficult to overcome. Nothing, however, was sufficient effectually to impede the progress of Teymûr's hardy veterans, animated by the indefatigable zeal of their sovereign. The chiefs and their followers, some by ropes, and others by fairly sliding down the declivities, finally conveyed themselves to the bottom ; but for the particular accommodation of Teymûr, a sort of stage, or litter, of planks was formed with iron rings attached, to which were fastened several ropes, each of the length of one hundred and fifty cubits. A number of attendants were then let down to the extent of the ropes, by which the stage

* In May or June.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

was suspended, in order to prepare with their pickaxes, a ledge, or landing place, for the vehicle in its descent ; and on this, securely seated, the monarch was gradually lowered from place to place, until the operation five times repeated brought him safe to the bottom of the mountain. Teymûr then proceeded staff in hand, on foot, for the distance of nearly a farsang ; until by carefully securing their heads and legs, two of his horses had been also lowered without injury, to the bottom of the valley, all the others having perished in the experiment, when he mounted once more, and continued his march, accompanied by the whole of his troops on foot.

The infidel natives are described, either from reality, or for the sake of the metaphor, to have been of enormous stature and bodily strength, going for the most part entirely naked. Their chief bore the designation of Ghadashou, and their language bore no affinity with either Persian, Turkish, or Hindy ; neither did they possess the slightest acquaintance with any other language than their own, the only means of communication with them being through those of the neighboring countries, who, by residing for some time among them, acquired a knowledge of their barbarous idiom, and became thus qualified to interpret for them. Their principal and perhaps only fortress was defended on one side by a very deep river ; on the opposite side of which arose a lofty mountain, which seemed with its summit to touch the skies, and presented an apparently inaccessible front, to the most adventurous assailants. To this mountain, on receiving intelligence of Teymûr's approach, four and twenty hours previous to his arrival, they therefore conveyed themselves, their families, and the whole of their effects, as to a place of the utmost security ; and accordingly, when the Teymûrians entered the fortress, nothing remained to assuage the avidity for plunder, but a few sheep, which having seized, the invaders immediately set fire to the houses and consumed the place to ashes.

They were now directed to scale the mountain on the opposite side of the river ; and having with considerable difficulty, and some loss, succeeded in gaining one of the summits which overlooked the last retreat of the enemy, the Teymûrian chiefs and their followers, assailed them on all sides, for three days successively, with such

invincible perseverance and vigour, that they finally sued for mercy. They were informed on the part of Teymûr, through an agent whom he dispatched to confer with them, that on repairing to the imperial presence, and professing the eternal unity of the supreme being, not only their lives and properties should be secured to them, but they should be reinstated in the entire possession of their country. All this having been explained with due precision to the mountain tribes through their interpreters, these barbarians, after a further delay of three days, proceeded to the camp of Teymûr, accompanied by the imperial agent, and to all outward appearance made profession of the doctrines of the Korân ; and otherwise humbly acknowledging their unreserved and willing submission to the imperial authority, were dismissed by Teymûr, with many expressions of kindness, and with robes and dresses suitable to their several stations.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

That very night, however, as soon as nature had arrayed herself in the garb of the afflicted, these perfidious miscreants, in the expectation of taking them by surprise, rushed upon the division of Ameir Shah Melek ; but having been frustrated in this expectation, and one hundred and fifty being immediately seized and put to the sword by the Teymûrians, the residue, sore wounded and dispirited, withdrew to their retreat on the mountain. Thither they were closely pursued by their enraged adversaries, the whole of the male population put to death in strict conformity with the dictates of the law, and the women and children condemned to slavery. The heads of the slaughtered were erected into pyramids, on the loftiest parts of the mountain, and the record and date of the event engraven on stone was left to commemorate to succeeding ages, on the spot, the facility with which that had been now accomplished, which had foiled the exertions of some of the most puissant monarchs of former times.

A considerable period having, in the mean time, elapsed, since the separation of the division under Mirza Rûstum and Bârhaun Oghlan, without any intelligence of their proceedings, Teymûr conceived it expedient, without further delay, to dispatch Mahommed Azaud, and some others of those who had been brought up in the imperial household, at the head of four hundred chosen warriors, Persians as well as Turks, in order to ascertain what had befallen

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A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

them. Hastening to the execution of the service assigned them, Mahommed Azaud and his associates proceeded by roads equally obscure and intricate, and along mountains covered with snow, until they gained the summit of a lofty ridge forming the boundary of one of the vallies of the Siahpoush. Hence, firmly bracing their bucklers to their backs, and lying upon them, they boldly launched themselves to the bottom*. Shortly afterwards, they found themselves under the walls of a castle belonging to the natives, which had been entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, and without a vestige of either friend or foe; excepting, however, the track of a great multitude of people, which seemed to have taken a direction opposite to that from which they were just arrived. These happened to be the footmarks of a body of the Siahpoush; who advised of the approach of the Teymûrians under Mirza Rûstum, and Bûrhaun Oghlan, had recently marched to place themselves, in ambuscade, in one of the narrow defiles, in order to fall upon the strangers by surprise. In this they were completely successful; for when part of the troops had already passed the defile, and were carelessly encamping after turning their horses to graze, they were suddenly attacked by the Siahpoush at once rushing on all sides from their ambuscade. With a baseness which covered him with indelible infamy Bûrhaun Oghlan was among the very first to fly, throwing away his bow and quiver; and the enemy, perceiving the consternation with which the Teymûrians thus fled in all directions, now pursued with equal activity and confidence, putting them to the sword in great numbers.

Mahommed Azaud, on the other hand, when he discovered the track of the Siahpoush, determined without hesitation on pursuing them, whatever might be the result; and accordingly reaching the defile which had been the scene of the recent discomfiture, he fell in his turn upon the enemy, in the blind security of their victory, and defeating them with considerable slaughter, easily succeeded in recovering the whole of the arms and horses so shamefully lost on the part of Bûrhaun Oghlan, and his unfortunate associates. These

* Some of these circumstances will, perhaps, scarcely bear the scrutiny of sober criticism. They are, however, given in strict conformity with the original; and the reader is at full liberty to reject or believe them, at his discretion.

he shortly afterwards joined, without further accident, restoring their arms and horses to all such as were alive to reclaim them; but when he represented to Bûrhaun Oghlan the expediency of encamping for the present on the spot, and that they should be able to pursue their march with circumstances of greater advantage on the succeeding day, that commander, under the influence of the same pusillanimous spirit which had betrayed him to his recent discomfiture, persisted in proceeding to encamp on the summit of a neighboring ridge, whither he was immediately followed by the troops of his division. How just, exclaims the author in this place, the maxim which teaches us to cut off at once the miscreant who turns his back in the conflict of the field of battle, even though he escape a more honorable death by the hand of the enemy. At the same time it is, moreover, observed that from the age of the immortal Jengueiz to the present period, this is the first instance of cowardice on record against the race of the Keyaut. And yet it is acknowledged that, in the war of Keptchauk, the same Bûrhaun Oghlan had been already detected once before, in a similar instance of disgraceful misconduct, which had been overlooked by the indulgence of Teymûr; and the wretched man had been expressly employed on the present occasion, in order to give him an opportunity of expunging from his character the odious imputation. He seems, however, continues our author, to have chosen for his imitation the example of that Arab, who flying in the same disgraceful manner from the field of battle, in reply to the exhortations of his braver companions, when they called upon him to reflect on the obloquy which he was about to entail upon himself from the perpetual reproach of mankind, very coolly observed that he preferred life with malediction, rather than death with the useless regret and benediction, to which he must be equally insensible and indifferent.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Kouzut-us-
suffa.

In the mean time, when the object of his expedition had been completed, in the gratification of his vengeance against the natives of Mount Ketour, two officers of the names of Jullaul-ul-enaum, and Ally Seiestauny, were employed by Teymûr to explore the country; in order to secure a more practicable passage from, than that by which he had effected his entrance into, these almost inaccessible

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A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

vallies. This object being also attained, and a road opened in many places through the snow, he was enabled, without further difficulty, to withdraw from the country and return to Khawuk. Here he of course remounted his cavalry, which had on this occasion, with equal zeal and perseverance, continued to serve on foot for a period of eighteen days, during which he appears to have been engaged on the expedition. He shortly afterwards rejoined the main body of the army and heavy equipments under Mirza Shah Rokh. On the arrival of Bûrhaun Oghlan and Mahommed Azaud, he did not however omit to signalize his displeasure at the disgraceful conduct of the former, who with ten thousand men at his disposal had ingloriously fled before an inferior force of the barbarians, and his exalted sense of the gallantry and intrepidity of the latter, in so effectually redeeming the reputation of his arms, with numbers so inadequate. In short, the one was banished his presence, and entirely cast off from his favor, while the other was loaded with honors and applause; and the most liberal rewards were bestowed upon the warriors who had so gallantly fought under his orders. From a sense of delicacy towards the imperial family perhaps, the author has totally abstained from advertng, in any shape, to the conduct of Mirza Rûstum, on this unfortunate occasion.

On the reunion of his force, Teymûr conceived it advisable that Shah Rokh should return to Herat, in order to provide for the security of the important government of Khorassaun; immediately after which he put his troops in motion towards Kabûl. Crossing the mountains of Hindû Koh, he proceeded in several marches by the route of Penjshheher,* to the Tchelgah, or pasture grounds of Baran, at the distance of five farsangs, or about eighteen miles from the metropolis of Kabûl. Here to leave a proof that, at least on some occasions, he was influenced by a disposition to emulate the bounteous designs of eternal beneficence, he determined to open a canal from the river which flows in the neighborhood, in order to convey its waters all the way to the capital of the province. And as the undertaking was allotted, in regular proportions, to be carried into execution under the superintendence of his principal generals, it was

* Pentapolis.

completed in a very short space of time, being subsequently distinguished by the appellation of the Jûi Mauhygueir, or fishing stream. Its advantages and utility being, at the same time, very early understood, its banks were soon embellished by a number of respectable and flourishing villages; Teymûr, shortly after the accomplishment of the benevolent design, continuing his march to the already mentioned city of Kabûl.

A. H. 800.

A. D. 1398.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

Previous to his removal from the plains of Dourein, in the neighborhood of the river of Baran, on this occasion, ambassadors had presented themselves to Teymûr, from Eydekou the Ouzbek, from Temûr Kutlûgh Oghlan, and from his father-in-law Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan the Khaun of Jettah; all expressing assurances of regret for former misunderstanding, and of sincere attachment for the future. At the same place also, the protection of Teymûr was claimed by Tâeizy Oghlan, the descendant, in another branch, of the illustrious stock of Jengueiz,* who had been compelled to fly from the ancient and venerable residence of the Khauns [Oolûgh-yourut], near Kâ-rakorum, after an unsuccessful contest with the Khaun of Kalmauk. From Teymur he experienced a very friendly and hospitable reception; being immediately furnished with camels, horses and mules, and in short with an equipage every way suitable to his illustrious and royal descent. Another visitor, perhaps not the least welcome, who repaired to the camp of Teymûr at the period under consideration, was his agent Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had been employed during the expedition of five years to superintend the collections in Fars; and who now joined the imperial army, with a supply of treasure and valuable effects, to an almost incalculable amount. These consisted in the detail, of gold, and jewels of every denomination, of girdles enriched with precious stones, of dresses embroidered with gold, of piece goods of the most rare and costly fabric, of arms offensive and defensive, and of the most curious and elaborate workmanship, of Arabian horses with saddles of gold, of camels and mules for the saddle, with stirrups of gold, and with caparisons of gold brocade; and, lastly, of tents, pavilions and canopies of state, composed of broad cloth,† together with numerous other articles of

* This prince is adverted to, at the conclusion of Chap. 11th of Vol. II.

† Skerlaut, literally scarlet.

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suffa.

such singular beauty and variety as to fill the minds of the beholders with surprise and admiration. In short, so great was the magnitude of the supply of every thing rare and useful conveyed to the imperial repositories, on this occasion, that the officers and clerks of the exchequer were employed for three days and three nights without intermission, in comparing and registering the schedules; and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was himself engaged on his knees for one whole day, from morning to night, in specifying aloud the number and description of the various articles, in the presence of his sovereign. Neither did it contribute to diminish the surprise and admiration of Tâeizy Oghlan, in particular, and of the ambassadors of the Ouzbek chiefs in general, at the grandeur of the monarch, one single vassal of whom was thus capable of conveying to him a peishkesh, or present of homage, of such enormous extent and magnificence.

The agents of the Ouzbek chiefs were then dismissed highly gratified with the liberality of the reception which they had experienced, and furnished with appropriate letters to their respective principals. Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, at the same time, embraced an opportunity to solicit the imperial clemency in behalf of Bûrhaun Oghlan, and his associates in misconduct; and they were, in compliance with his request, absolved from all further consequence of their guilt. It was about the same period that Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of Transoxiana, with the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Rûstum, and the troops of the left wing, was detached in advance towards the Indian territory.

Soon after he had encamped near Kabûl, an Avghan, or Afghan, chief of the name of Melek Mahommed, repaired to the presence of Teymûr, to complain of Moussa, another chief of the same nation, of the Kerkes tribe, whom he represented as an odious, vile, and unprincipled robber—as having put to death his, the complainant's brother, an acknowledged, or affianced vassal of the imperial authority—destroyed the fortress of Irjaub, about three days journey from Kabûl, on the southern road to the Indus—and laid waste the possessions of the family, in that district, and usurped the whole to himself. In short, as having, by the atrocious violence of his conduct, rendered the intercourse through the districts adjoining to his place of residence

extremely dangerous, if not totally impracticable, to travellers of every nation and description. The Afghan concluded his statement by observing that having himself fled for life to Gheznein, he had there taken up his abode; until recently apprized of the approach of the Teymûrian standard, which had hastened him to lay his grievances at the foot of the throne. The indignation of Teymûr was it seems sufficiently roused by this recital of oppressions, for it is possible that the tyrant might have been extremely tenacious of his monopoly of violence; and he accordingly determined to confine his immediate exertions to the chastisement of this petty usurper on his prerogative.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

For this purpose he directed that Melek Mahommed should, for the present, remain concealed in the imperial encampment; until such time as some method should have been devised to obtain effectual redress for his wrongs. An agent was then dispatched to announce to the obnoxious Afghan, that it would be attended with the utmost inconvenience if a station of such importance to the security of the intercourse with India, as the fortress of Irjaub, was any longer suffered to remain in ruins. He was therefore invited to repair without delay to the presence of Teymûr, in order that he might be confirmed in the government of the country; with due observance to the claims of substantial justice, and with a view to the immediate rebuilding, on his part, of a fortress of such consequence to the public tranquillity.

Having prepared such presents as were suitable to the dignity of the powerful monarch, whom he was about to visit, the Afghan chief, without the smallest suspicion of evil, proceeded in company with the imperial agent to the camp of Teymûr; from whom he appears to have experienced a reception calculated to encourage his hopes. When he clad him with his dress of honor, the monarch informed him, however at the same time, that a division of the imperial troops would accompany him on his return, for the purpose of putting the dismantled fortress of Irjaub in a state of repair; that it was expected he would also appear at the head of his people, in order to assist in the prosecution of that most necessary design; and that no exertion would be omitted, on his part, to bring it to a conclusion before the arrival of the imperial standard on the spot. At the same time,

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A. D. 1398
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

either to lay his apprehensions entirely asleep, or to alleviate the sense of the burden thus imposed upon him, he was told that if, after all, any part of the work should remain unfinished at the period alluded to, assistance would not be wanting to hasten it to a completion. A detachment of three thousand men, under Moussa Rekmaul, was accordingly directed to proceed without delay towards Irjaub; where, soon after his arrival, that officer was joined, in conformity to agreement, by the Afghan chief with a body of his people, and altogether hastened in conjunction to the rebuilding of the town.

The imperial consort Serâi Melek Khaunum, with Mirza Olûgh Beg, who had hitherto accompanied the army, was now dismissed for Samarkand; after which Teymûr decamped from his position near Kabûl, and on wednesday the eighth of Zilhudje, of the year eight hundred,* displayed his victorious standard before Irjaub. The rebuilding of the place was advancing with considerable activity, under the superintendence of Moussa Rekmaul, and his auxiliary the Afghan chief; between two and three hundred men, we should have expected as many thousands, being daily employed in the work, which was carried on to the sound of their warlike music, horns and kettle-drums. Teymûr's orders were issued afresh to prosecute the undertaking with all possible dispatch, and the imperial commissaries were charged to furnish all the means at their disposal, towards the speedy accomplishment of this object. The construction of the principal mosque and other public buildings within the place, was entrusted at the same time to the superintendence of Ameir Shah Melek and Jullaul-ul-Islaum; and such, in short, was the zeal and expedition employed in prosecuting the whole to a completion, that the walls and towers, which embraced a circumference of considerable extent, together with several mosques and public structures, of no small magnitude, were all entirely finished in the short space of fourteen days.

In the mean time, in his instructions to the Tawatcheis, exempts, staff officers of the army perhaps, Teymûr had intimated his pleasure, when the rebuilding of Irjaub should have been completed, that the followers of Moussa the Afghan should not be permitted to return

* 21st August 1398.

to their homes; and this circumstance by some means or other became indistinctly known to the people whom it so materially concerned. When, however, the whole of the works had been thus brought to a thorough completion, Teymûr mounted his horse one day, and, attended by his principal generals, proceeded to view the ditch and rampart, which had been thrown up for the defence of the place. Just as he was passing opposite to the principal gate, one of seven Afghans, who had taken post in a balcony, behind, or possibly above the gate, suddenly discharged an arrow at the person of the monarch. Fortunately the shaft flew wide of its object; and Teymûr escaped with no other inconvenience than what was produced by the starting of his horse, at the sound of the winged mischief. Enraged at such an act of daring treachery, Teymûr immediately entered the town by another gate, and gave directions for the instant seizure of all the Afghans. The seven, of whom one had been guilty of this unavailing attempt at assassination, aware that their lives were forfeited, resolved to defend themselves to the last; and many of the Teymûrians, by whom they were early assailed, were severely wounded in the endeavor to dislodge and destroy them. At last, a native of Seiestaun in the service of Teymûr, by applying a ladder to the building, succeeded in ascending with his followers, and finally cut them all to pieces. On the same day, Moussa the Afghan, with two hundred of his people, was seized and delivered up to Melek Mahommed; who, with the aid of three of his attendants, more than amply acquitted himself of the debt of vengeance for a brothers blood, by putting the whole to death, and making an obelisk of their heads to commemorate the deed. The tents and habitations of the Afghans were then pillaged, and their property, women and children, consigned to the inhabitants of Irjaub and the neighboring districts, so long exposed to their licentious outrages. The government of the place and of the adjoining territory, was finally conferred by his august avenger, upon Melek Mahommed, as a lasting proof of his bounty.

His visit to Irjaub thus terminated to his satisfaction, Teymûr, on the eighteenth of Zilhudje,* put his troops again in motion, and

* 31st of August.

A. H. 800.
A. D. 1398.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

A. H. 800.

A. D. 1398.

Rouzut-u-
suffa.

having traversed the intervening mountainous and forest districts, proceeded to encamp at Shenûzaun; from whence the heavy baggage was dispatched, under the care of Khaleil Sûltan, towards Banou, by the route of Keptcheghâi. Shortly afterwards, Teymûr at the head of several thousands* of his cavalry, hastened by a forced march towards the fortress, or fortified town of Nughez, or Nagaz; where, according to De la Croix's work, he is said to have arrived early in the morning of the twenty first of the month,* Ameir Sûliman Shah having been previously detached with the division of Khorassaun, in order to put this place in a state of repair.

On his arrival at Naghaz, information was communicated to Teymûr, that the Perniaulies, or Pervians as they are denominated in De la Croix, a cast of Afghans whose territory appears to have lain to the right, or westward, of Teymûr's route to the Indus, and who had formerly been required to join the imperial standard, had given proofs of disobedience and hostility. In fact they had the audacity to intercept a convoy which had been dispatched towards Kabûl, by Mirza Peir Mahommed, with the plunder acquired during his expeditions on the Indus, and to wrest from them apart of the booty. On the very day of his arrival, Teymûr therefore resolved on proceeding immediately in pursuit of them, to the mountains and forests into which they had withdrawn, and from whence they continued their depredations, on the adjoining districts. At the end of three days he had accordingly conducted his troops to the verge of the abodes of this proscribed banditti; when he directed his cavalry to dismount and to penetrate on foot in all directions, into the woods and mountain ranges in their view, which they were, at the point of the sword, to purify from the abominations of the polluted race of whom they were in quest. In conformity with their instructions, the Teymûrians were immediately in motion on every side, in pursuit of the objects of their master's wrath; and a vast number of the male population became the victims of their sanguinary fury, the habitations

* The manuscript exhibits sudd, or one hundred thousand, but as tchund, may be so easily converted into sudd, through the customary negligence of a mercenary transcriber, the interpretation which we have given in the text is the most probable, and most consistent with previous statements.

3rd of September.

of whatever description were pillaged and burnt, and the women and children wherever captured, driven into slavery.

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A considerable remnant having contrived, nevertheless, through a thousand difficulties to escape the sword of the exterminator, Teymûr indicated the design of continuing on the spot, until the whole of this Afghan tribe should have been entirely destroyed, and the neighborhood completely secured against future outrage on their part. But while he was yet deliberating on the subject, the leader of the obnoxious tribe, whose name appears to have been Aweil, or Aubel, impressed with a sincere desire of effecting his reconciliation, hastened to the presence of the conqueror, and in humble and abject terms implored his mercy. Teymûr, on his part also, conceiving a favorable impression of the sincerity of his protestations and of his regret for what was past, was easily prevailed upon to listen to his intreaties, freely pronounced his pardon and restored him to his authority, with higher power and advantages than he had ever before enjoyed.

In the mean time, when he had completed his object of placing the fortifications of Naghaz in a state of repair, a report was conveyed to Ameir Sûliman Shah, that the Kulauties, another more numerous and powerful tribe of Afghans, had also received the orders of Teymûr with contempt, and had neglected to furnish their contingent of troops to the imperial army. Two days, therefore, previous to the return of his sovereign, Ameir Sûliman had hastened to attack this contumacious and refractory tribe; and, although remarkable for their great stature and bodily strength, had completely succeeded in either destroying, or expelling them from their retreats. So that on the day on which the imperial standard returned to Naghaz, Ameir Sûliman had the gratification of presenting himself to his sovereign, with a considerable booty, the fruits of his victory, together with the women and children of the vanquished tribe; and he was received with every testimony of approbation, and loaded with favor and regard, in acknowledgment of this zealous and acceptable piece of service.

Teymûr appears to have quitted his position in the neighborhood of the Perniaulies, on the first of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and first of the hidjerah;* and immediately on his arrival at Naghaz,

* 12th September.

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or very shortly afterwards, we find him dispatching the same Sûliman Shah, to join Peir Mahommed at Mûltaun. The command at Nughz, or Naghaz, was entrusted to an officer of the name of Shah Ally, a native of Ferah, with a garrison of five hundred men for its protection; and shortly after this, although the date is not expressly stated, Teymûr also decamped from Nughz, and, taking the route of Banou, or Bunnou, which is situated, according to the best modern maps, on the Koumull river about forty miles above its confluence with the Indus, at Deinkote, on the eighth day of Mohurrem,* reached the banks of the latter river; on the exact spot where, about one hundred and seventy seven years before, it had been crossed by Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein the Khaurezmian, in his disastrous flight from the vengeance of Jengueiz, as described on a former occasion.

Orders were immediately issued for the construction of a bridge, for the passage of the Indus; and in the course of two days a very respectable one was laid across the river by means of sehpayah, or grapnels of three prongs, and rafts of reeds and bamboos. In the mean time, among his other occupations, Teymûr was employed in giving audience of leave to Seyud Mahommed of Medeinah, who had arrived at court as the agent of that city and of Mekkah; in order to express an anxious expectation that the Tcheghatâian monarch would at some future period conduct his victorious standard to that quarter, and receive the sacred territory of the prophet under his protection; also to the envoy of Eskunder Shah prince of Kashmeir, who had been the bearer of assurances of submission and allegiance on the part of his master, to whom instructions were now conveyed, through his agent, to join the imperial army with his contingent of troops, at the town of Dibalpour on the north bank of the Setlege, between Feyrouzpour and Jalindehr.

On monday the twelfth of Mohurrem,† Teymûr proceeded across the Indus, followed by the whole of his army to the verge of the Tchoul Jerou; a desert of great extent to the eastward of the river, which from having afforded to Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein, on the occasion recently adverted to, an asylum against the pursuit of his enemies, has received from historians the appellation of Tchoul Jullauly.

* 19th of September.

† 23rd September.

About this period the Rayas, or native chiefs, of Kouhjoud, a range of mountains to the northwest of the Punjaub, between Kashmeir and the Indus, repaired to the camp of Teymûr, with suitable presents, and assurances of submission to his person and authority: and as these chiefs had long before, as well as on the present occasion, given substantial proofs of the sincerity of their attachment, in their hospitable and friendly entertainment of Rûstum Toghâi Bougha, when on his march with a division of the imperial troops towards Mûltaun he entered their country, they experienced from the Tcheghataïan monarch, on their arrival, every mark of confidence and regard, and departed extremely gratified with the liberality of their reception.

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At the period when Mirza Peir Mahommed entered the province of Mûltaun, as mentioned in the former part of this chapter, none had been more forward to join his army than Shahaub-ud-dein Mûbaurek Shah; the chief, or zemindaur, of an island, or peninsula,* formed by the stream of the Jammed, or Behaut, pre-eminent among the neighboring Rayas, in the multitude of his followers, and in the abundance of his wealth and resources. However, after voluntarily enrolling himself among the vassals of the empire, and tasting liberally of the bounty of Peir Mahommed, this personage, when he had served a short time with the army, took it into his head to return home; and, either seduced by the demon of presumption, by a delusive reliance on the natural strength of his place of residence protected by surrounding waters, or having, peradventure, discovered on closer inspection, that the reputed renown of the Tcheghataïans surpassed the reality, audaciously threw off his allegiance, and put himself at once in a posture of hostility and defiance.

Hence, when the position of the grand imperial army was advanced to the banks of the Jammed, and Teymûr became apprized of the defection, his earliest exertions were directed to the chastisement of this audacious apostate from his allegiance; and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was accordingly dispatched at the head of his own tomaun, or division of ten thousand, to make an immediate attack on the post of the hostile zemindaur. Proceeding in conformity with his instructions

* I cannot conjecture where to fix the territory of this personage, unless it were about Saumbisseb, or Sambaste, below Rotass.

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towards the island, or peninsula, occupied by the enemy, Nûr-ud-dein discovered on his arrival, that in addition to its natural strength, Shahaub-ud-dein had covered his position by a deep ditch and lofty rampart, the approach to which was rendered still more difficult by an extensive lake, or inundation. With their accustomed celerity, however, the imperial troops surmounted the difficulties of the approach, and they proceeded to assail their adversaries in their works; but on these they failed to make any impression, since they are stated at the close of the day to have withdrawn to their encampment. That same night, in the expectation that they might be taken by surprise, they were attacked in their quarters by Shahaub-ud-dein, at the head of ten thousand of his best men, and a most desperate conflict immediately ensued; in which however, after repeated efforts, Nûr-ud-dein and his followers finally succeeded in repulsing the enemy, many of whom perished in the river, in the consternation of their flight.

In the mean time, the main body of the army, under the immediate command of Teymûr, encamped before this island, or peninsular position. But, in contemplation of such a crisis, having providently collected a flotilla of two hundred of the river craft, Shahaub-ud-dein, on his return from his unsuccessful attempt against the camp of the Teymûrians, immediately embarked with his family and the bulk of his followers, and proceeded down the Jammed, with the design of escaping along that river to Outchah, although this place was stated long since to have been in possession of the imperial troops. As soon as it was discovered that he had taken flight, Nûr-ud-dein hastened along the bank of the river, by instruction of Teymûr, to harass and impede the retreat of the fugitive. However, when he had continued to hang on the flank of the flying enemy to a considerable distance, and occasioned no small havoc among the boats on the Jammed, Nûr-ud-dein thought it expedient to relinquish the pursuit, and to rejoin the main body; where those who had distinguished themselves by their steadiness and intrepidity during the recent night attack, were now most liberally rewarded on the part of Teymûr.

On its arrival in the neighborhood of Mûltaun, on the other hand,

the flotilla of Shahaub-ud-dein was again attacked and, its retreat finally cut off by the troops under Mirza Peir Mahommed and Sûli-man Shah; by whom a great part of those on board were destroyed and thrown into the river. Shahaub-ud-dein, however, swam ashore, and succeeded in effecting his escape into the adjoining woods, many of his followers taking the same direction. These latter were pursued and cut to pieces in great numbers, by Ameir Shah Melek, with a detachment of the Teymûrians; who made themselves masters on this occasion altogether of an immense booty, the captured vessels being loaded, moreover, with cattle and provisions of every description to an incalculable amount. Shortly afterwards, Teymûr also descended in person, for *five or six days*, along the side of the Jam-med,* which we may venture to identify with the Behaut, or Tchailum, the Hydaspes of Alexander's expedition, until he reached the spot where it unites with the Tchunâvah, or Tchunaub, opposite to the fortress of Yelmeny; where he now encamped, giving orders for the immediate construction of a bridge, to convey his army to the other side, which was completed in the space of three days.

Having crossed the united stream of the Behaut and Tchailum, a little below the confluence, by the temporary bridge constructed on this occasion, Teymûr pitched his tents under the walls of Yelmeny, on the bank of the river here bearing the same name. The governor of the town and other magistrates, with the Seyuds and ûlema, or men of letters, hastened to the presence of the conqueror, whose hands they were graciously permitted to kiss. On the same day, which appears to have been the first of the month of Suffur,* Teymûr is stated to have again passed a river and to have encamped on the plains of Yelmeny, so called in the manuscript, but we believe more correctly, Tolûmbah, laid down in the best maps to the left of the Rauvy about fifty miles above Mûltaun. The clerks of the imperial exchequer were immediately directed to impose upon the inhabitants of Tolûmbah, a contribution of two laks, which, if of rupees, might amount to about twenty five thousand pounds sterling;

* In its course from Kashmeir to it's junction with the Indus, this river is distinguished by no less than four different names, viz. the Tcheilem, Behaut, Jammed, or Jamad, and Diudana.

† 12th of October

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from the operation of which the Seyuds, or race of the prophet, and ûlema, were however exempted. The officers employed in the collection had levied the whole of this contribution, to a mere trifle which remained unpaid, when the multitudinous soldiery of the army arrived; and being in the utmost want of grain and provisions, received orders to supply themselves wherever they were to be found. In the obscurity of the night, under the pretext of searching for these indispensable articles of supply, the troops poured in throngs into the town, which was thus immediately exposed to all the horrors and excesses incidental to a place entered by assault. The dwelling houses were set on fire, and the property of the inhabitants devoted to indiscriminate plunder. Yet in this instance an exemption was again observed, with respect to the Seyuds and other classes of the faithful; whose houses were entirely excepted from those circumstances of plunder and conflagration, which involved their more unfortunate fellow citizens in one common scene of ruin.

While these enormities were in progress in the town of Tolûmbah, information was laid before Teymûr, that several of the petty princes in the neighborhood, after professing their allegiance to Mirza Peir Mahommed, were now in a state of contumacious hostility to the imperial authority. It was therefore thought expedient, without a moments delay, to dispatch the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Mahommed Eykou Teymûr, with the divisions under their orders, to punish the apostacy of these insolent and refractory rebels; whose conduct did not fail to produce an adequate degree of resentment in the royal mind. The Ameirs in question proceeded accordingly to enter the junguls, or forests, in which these obnoxious chiefs had taken post; and having put to the sword about two thousand of their Hindû adherents, returned in due time to the imperial encampment, with a booty amply sufficient to reward their exertions.

After this further vindication of his power, Teymûr, on saturday the seventh of Suffur,* again put his troops in motion; and on the following day encamped in the neighborhood of a Jaul, or lake, contiguous to the banks of the Beiah, or Setleje. Here he received information that Nussrut the Gougre, at the head of two thousand

* 19th of October.

horse, awaited his approach, on the side of the lake just mentioned, relying for the defence of his position, on the broad and deep channel of the river which ran by; if, indeed, as the manuscript expressly indicates, this Jaul was not the name of a village protected nearly all around by the course of the Beiah. Be this, however, as it may, Teymûr prepared to attack the position with his whole army; his right wing being led on by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Allaudaud, and the left by the Ameirs Shah Melek, and Sheikh Mahommed Eykou Teymûr; while Ally Sûltan Tawatchei was posted with a body of Khorassaunian foot in front of the centre, where the sovereign probably, as usual, commanded in person. The Gougre, on the other hand, with not more than one thousand of his followers, had the audacity to present himself for battle, in the very front of this tremendous force; and being attacked among the bogs, and sloughs on the margin of the lake, by Ally Sûltan, and his infantry, he appears to have opposed a vigorous resistance, since that chief and many of his division are said to have been wounded in the onset. But Nûr-ud-dein, and Allahdaud, with the troops of the right wing, hastening to take their share in the conflict, the enemy were for the greater part cut to pieces; it never having been properly, ascertained whether their general effected his escape from the scene of death, or accompanied his slaughtered associates to the abodes of eternal misery. In the mean time, the victors proceeded, as usual, to pillage the property and set fire to the habitations of the vanquished; and having, with considerable fatigue and difficulty, made their way through the deep swamps and sloughs which covered the neighbourhood, finally encamped at Shahnawauz, described as a respectable and opulent village, where they found a most abundant supply of grain. Of this, when they had accommodated themselves with all that they could carry away, they burnt the remainder by Teymûr's directions, lest it should serve to relieve the wants of the infidel inhabitants of the town and neighborhood; a measure of which, we should have supposed his experience might long since have taught that monarch, the impolicy and absurdity. The imperial army now quitted Shahnawauz, and, descending along the right bank of the Beiah, or more properly the Setleje, again encamped on the same river, opposite to the

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town of Jenjaun, stated by De la Croix to be about forty miles from Mûltaun.* The same day, Hurri Melek, the confidential agent of Shahrokh, arrived from Herât, with advices from that prince, and a routine of presents which he laid with the usual ceremony before the throne of Teymûr.

The manner in which Mirza Peir Mahommed became engaged in the siege of Mûltaun, has been already noticed. We are now informed that at the expiration of six months, during the whole of which the works of the town were, in some place or other, twice every day regularly assailed by the besiegers, famine at last produced in favor of the prince, what, by external force he had hitherto in vain laboured to accomplish. For having exhausted all their means of subsistence, even to their cats and dogs, the garrison found themselves finally constrained to surrender the city; which, with the territory depending upon it, was accordingly taken possession of by the Shahzâdah. Of this event, at the proper period, Peir Mahommed did not fail to apprise his imperial grandsire. In the mean time, it being the period by the natives of Hindûstaun denominated the Bershegaul, or rainy season, the Shahzâdah, in consequence of the loss of all his horses, from the heavy rains which fell for several days without cessation, found himself compelled to shut his army up within the walls of Mûltaun. This was followed by the immediate revolt of the native chiefs; who, in many places, proceeded to put the Teymûrian officers to death, and carried their insolence so far as to menace the gates of the metropolis, the troops within having been rendered incapable of acting by the loss of their horses.

From this state of anxiety and alarm, Peir Mahommed was, however, at length relieved by the advance of his grandfather; the enemy disappearing in dismay at the approach of the imperial standard. Finding the danger thus dispelled, the Shahzâdah, accompanied by a full train of his dependents, hastened from Mûltaun; and, on the fourteenth of Suffur,† entered the imperial encampment still on the right, or western bank of the Setleje, where he was received by Teymûr,

* The miles of De la Croix are evidently Kosse, of about a mile and a half English, the distance of 40 Kôsse being that at which this place appears, in the best maps, to the eastward of Mûltaun.

† 25th of October.

with every mark of paternal regard and affection. It is here observed that, as soon as they understood that he was in possession of Mûltan, Jenneid Boureldâi, his brother Bayezzid, and Mahommed Derweish Taykhauny, three Moghûl chiefs who had deserted the imperial division under Ameir Jahaun Shah and fled into Hindûstaun, during the war against Khaurezm, had immediately proceeded to join Peir Mahommed, the prince having engaged to intercede for them with their offended sovereign. Of this engagement the prince now availed himself of the opportunity to acquit himself; and Teymûr having consented at his intercession to pronounce their pardon, the three chiefs were accordingly set at large, not however, before they had each of them received an allotted number of strokes under the bastinado.

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On saturday the fifteenth of Suffur,* the army proceeded across the Setleje, and encamped near the opposite fortress of Jenjaun recently mentioned, where it remained for a period of four days. This interval of repose Peir Mahommed embraced to lay before his grandfather the allotment of presents, which he had been able to collect for his acceptance. These consisted, as usual, of diadems, or tiaras, enriched with all kinds of precious stone, of scarfs or girdles of gold similarly enriched, of horses of the choicest breed, with caparisons of gold and silver, of the most delicate manufacture in silk and linnen, and of articles of plate and utensils for his household of solid gold, altogether to a vast amount. All this, however, although it occupied a period of two days to register the account in the treasury, Teymûr, with his usual liberality, distributed without reserve among the ladies of his family, the princes of the blood, his generals, ministers, and other members of his court and army. At the same time, to make up for their recent losses before Mûltaun, he caused a supply of thirty thousand horses to be distributed to the soldiers of the Shahzadah's army who are described to have entered the imperial encampment, some on foot and some on bullocks, and must have exhibited to their countrymen a very grotesque and amusing spectacle. From Jenjaun Teymûr proceeded, about the twentieth of the month†, towards Jehwaul, where he again encamped; a distance of about forty miles, which he dispatched in separate stages.

* 26th of October.

† 31st of October.

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Soon after his entrance into the Punjaub, the inhabitants of this quarter had also submitted to the authority of Mirza Peir Mahommed; and an officer of the name of Mûssafer Kâbuli, with a detachment of one thousand men, had been dispatched by that prince, in consequence, to superintend the government of the country. Nevertheless, like the natives of the districts to the westward of them, when the Tcheghatayan troops at Mûltaun had been so materially crippled in their activity by the effects of the periodical rains, these also hastened to throw off the yoke of the strangers; and uniting with the slaves, or household troops, of Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, proceeded to put the imperial commander with the whole of his detachment to the sword. But when the approach of Teymûr was announced by appalling rumours, from Mûltaun to Dehly, these men, so audacious when a temporary misfortune seemed to suspend the career of the invader, suddenly abandoned their dwellings, and fled for security to the distant fortress of Batneir. Immediately therefore on his arrival at Jehwaul, having placed the heavy baggage and impediments of the army in charge of Ameir Shah Melek, and Dowlut Temûr Tawatchei, with instructions to proceed with the main body by the route of Dibalpour* on the upper Setleje, so as to join him again at Samau-nah, Teymûr in person, with ten thousand of the best cavalry, hastened by a more southern route to Adjuden, about twenty miles, which he reached on the twenty-fourth of the month.†

A short time previous to this, seduced by the imprudent counsels of two Sheikhs of the name of Mûnower, and Saudek, the inhabitants of Adjuden, had, for the greater part, forsaken the place; some flying with Saudek towards Batneir, and others with Mûnower, towards Dehly. The Seyuds, however, and ûlema, apprized of Teymûr's uniformly kind and indulgent disposition towards all of their class, resolutely withstood the arguments of the two Sheikhs, and remained by their dwellings; and, in the full confidence of his clemency, on the day of his arrival at Adjuden, threw themselves on the protection of the Tcheghatayan monarch. They experienced, as they had been taught to expect, a very gracious reception, and returned to their habitations not a little elated by this circumstance

* About seventy miles to the north-east.

† 4th of November.

of good fortune; Moulana Nausser-ud-dein Omar, and Mahommed the son of Khaujah Mahmûd Shahaub, being deputed by the conqueror to preside over the place, and to protect the remnant of inhabitants from the excesses incidental to the passage of a numerous, and undisciplined soldiery.

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The fortress of Batneir is described to have been, at this period, a place of extraordinary, if not impregnable strength; for the reputation of which it may, however, perhaps have been more immediately indebted to its almost inaccessible situation, some distance within the sandy desert of Bikkaneir. To this alsomay be ascribed the circumstance, if true, that hitherto it had never been visited by foreign hostility; and hence, on this occasion, it became the asylum to which the inhabitants of Adjuden and Dibalpour, and indeed of all the adjoining districts of Hindûstaun, had flocked for protection. Such, in short, was the multitude which thronged to its gates before the terrors of invasion, that the compass of the walls was too narrow for their reception. A prodigious assemblage of cattle, with carriages innumerable containing the effects of the fugitives, were crouded at all events under the surrounding walls, while guards were stationed at every avenue to watch over their security.

In the mean time, having passed a few hours within the town of Adjûden, on a visit to the sepulchre of Sheikh Fereid Shukkergunje, the influence of whose sainted spirit he besought to accompany him in his designs, Teymûr, on the twenty-fifth of Suffur,* took his departure from that place: and having crossed the Dûna river, which runs by it, proceeded to Khaules Kouteli, a hill or range of hills here stated to lie at the distance of two kêsse from Adjuden, and fifty from Batneir, three of these kôsse or Kourûh, being at the same time expressly represented as equal to one imperial, or statute farsang.† After a short halt at Khaules Kouteli, for the performance of meridian prayer, he continued his march thence for the whole of the remainder of the day, and of the following night without intermission; and

* 5th of November.

† As the distance from Adjuden to Batneir, in Arrowsmith's valuable map of Asia, is almost precisely 91 geographical miles, we are warranted in stating these kôsse as equal to one mile and three quarters each, and the farsang at five miles and a quarter.

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on the twenty-sixth of the month, at Tchaushtgâh, the hour of his morning's repast about ten in the forenoon, to the extreme surprise and terror of the inhabitants, he appeared in sight of Batneir, having performed this extraordinary march of fifty kôsse, in less than four and twenty hours. All that was without the fortifications became the immediate prey of these formidable and unexpected visitants.

Confident, nevertheless, in the strength of his post, and in the numbers assembled for its defence, Râo Doultchen,* or perhaps, Doultchund, appeared but little disposed to submit, and the imperial troops advanced without delay on all points to attack the Sheherbund, or fortified suburbs, which were carried at the first onset; the unfortunate Hindûs being put to the sword in great numbers, and a vast booty falling into the hands of the assailants. The commanders of Tomauns and Koushûns then proceeded to the attack of the interior fort, which they approached with fearful celerity under cover of fascines and hurdles. On the other hand, determined on making a gallant resistance, Râo Doultchen, at the head of some of his bravest Hindûs, had taken post at the principal gate; where being, however, assailed with equal vigour and perseverance, on the part of the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Seyud Khaujah, and Jahaun Melek, with others belonging to the Tomaun of Shah Rokh, the Hindû chief conceived that the works of the town were on the point of being forced; and a sudden panic seizing upon his mind, he immediately dispatched a certain Seyud, who resided under his protection, to intercede for a cessation of hostilities for the remainder of the day, and to engage, in his behalf, that the gates of the town should be thrown open on the day following, when he would in person quit the place, and make his submission to Teymûr. From regard to the character of the agent, in whose veins flowed the blood of his prophet, Teymûr consented to this arrangement; and the troops were immediately ordered to withdraw from the foot of the works, and to retire altogether from the town, to their encampment without the suburbs.

Finding, however, next day, little on the part of the Hindû that indicated a disposition to fulfil his engagements, the generals of the

* In Hindy the author here observes that Râo corresponds with the title of Bahauder, or hero, or perhaps knight, in Persian.

imperial army again received orders each to approach, by sap, that part of the enemy's works directly opposite to his station; and the rapidity and perseverance with which these orders were carried into execution on the part of the Teymûrians, in spite of the fire-works, stones, and arrows, showered upon them in all directions, was again so appalling that, alarmed at their progress, Râo Doulchen and his officers, from the towers and ramparts, implored afresh the mercy of their besiegers. A second time the imperial clemency was awakened in their behalf; and the same day Râo Doulchen dispatched his own son and lieutenant, with some very rare and costly presents, further to solicit the indulgence of Teymûr, who permitted him, after a very favorable and distinguished reception, to return to his father. Encouraged thus to hope for similar indulgence, on the part of the conqueror, the Hindû chief did not hesitate the day afterwards, accompanied by Sheikh Saud of Adjuden, probably the Saudek recently mentioned, to repair himself to the tents of Teymûr; to whom, in humble prostration, he was permitted to present some rare and beautiful animals, with three toghouz, or sets, of Arabian horses, consisting of nine to each set. He likewise experienced a reception equally liberal and distinguished, and was presented in return, with a gold embroidered Khelaut, or pelisse, a scarf, or girdle of the same, or still more costly materials, and a diadem richly set with precious stones.

A. H. 891.
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The multitude which had fled to Batneir, on intelligence of the approach of Teymûr, was great beyond calculation, and particularly from Deibalpour, and Adjuden, and the adjacent parts of Hindûstân; and the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Allahdaud were now directed to take possession of the gates; and to dispatch to the imperial encampment, without delay, all those from the surrounding districts who had sought so treacherous a security within the walls of this remote fortress. In consequence of these instructions, five hundred of the inhabitants of Deibalpour, who had been accomplices in the death of Mûssafer Kâbulî and his followers, were immediately put to death, and their women and children condemned to slavery. Some also from Adjuden, who had been induced, it seems, by absurd and groundless apprehensions to turn their backs on the Tcheghatayan stand-

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ard, and to seek the same fallacious security, here experienced the woeful retribution of their folly and unwarrantable suspicions. In the mean time, Kummaul-ud-dein the brother, and his nephew, the son of Râo Doultchen, impressed, not unjustly as the author would persuade us, with alarm of the vindictive designs of Teymûr, in an evil hour proceeded to close the gates of the town against their ferocious adversaries; although perfectly aware that their chief was at the same moment in the hands of the conqueror. This, of course, excited afresh, and to a more violent degree, the indignation of Teymûr; and again the rapid progress of the Teymûrians to sap the foundations of the walls and towers, produced its former terrific impressions upon the infatuated wretches within. The brother and son of the Hindû, who was now in irons through the rashness of their proceedings, now both together came out of the town; and once more in the most abject terms implored the mercy of Teymûr, having lodged the keys of the fort in the hands of the imperial generals.

It might have been conceived that the fate of Batneir was now finally decided; but the worst was yet to come. For, when the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Allahdaud, proceeded into the town, in order to collect the contribution which was imposed upon the inhabitants as the ransom of their lives, the perfidious Rayas, or opulent Hindû residents, most probably Raujpouts, raised every obstacle, by cavil and otherwise, to the payment of the stipulated sums; and evincing in every respect a disposition to betray their engagements, the dispute at last terminated in open and actual hostilities. Teymûr was early apprized of this new disturbance, and a mandate was immediately issued for the total extermination of its authors. The Teymûrians now approached for the last time; and having scaled the parapets of the ramparts, by means of ropes and sling-nooses cast over them, were soon masters of the whole of the works. In this extremity the infidel Hindûs, or Raujpouts, for such from this characteristic trait they assuredly were, associated with others of the inhabitants,* set fire to the town; and having cut the throats of their women and children, all together in the frenzy of despair stood ready to combat to the last with their assailants. They are described as equally form-

* De la Croix states that some of these called themselves Mussulmans.

idable in point of numbers, courage, and bodily strength; and a most deadly conflict accordingly ensued between them and the Tcheghatâians, in the midst of the conflagration which raged on all sides of them. The believers, in unusual frequency, bit the dust, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein himself was on the point of being sacrificed to the vengeance of the exasperated Hindûs, having been entirely surrounded by them; when in the very crisis of his danger he was fortunately rescued by the intrepid zeal of two of the Teymûrian soldiers, one a native of Baghdâd, and the other of the province of Seiestaun, who at the imminent hazard of their lives cut their way through the deadly circle by which he was enclosed.

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The ministers of Teymûr's vengeance were, however, finally triumphant; ten thousand of the unfortunate garrison and inhabitants having fallen by the swords of these pious and worthy advocates of a religion of intolerance and blood. Such of the buildings of the place as had hitherto escaped the general conflagration, were now set on fire and the whole burnt to the ground; and nothing remained to indicate the site of this once populous town, excepting a few melancholy heaps of cinders and ashes. All the effects that had been rescued from the devouring element, were by Teymûr's directions distributed to the troops; and the two soldiers who had so nobly exerted themselves, in the relief of Nûr-ud-dein, were selected as objects peculiarly worthy of imperial favor.

On the third of the former Rebbeia,* or three days after the destruction of Batneir according to De la Croix's work, Teymûr directed his views to penetrate further into the neighboring districts to the eastward; and proceeding fourteen kosse in the time usually allotted for the dispatch of a single farsang,† he came to a station which is designated by the appellation of the Kinaur-e-aub-e-hawz, or hâouz, —the side of the tank.‡ On the following day, he broke up from thence and conducted his troops to the walls of Sersetty, or Sreswatty, on the river of the same name; the proposed termination, according

* 12th of November.

† A mode of expression intended to indicate extraordinary celerity of march; perhaps six or seven miles an hour.

‡ The Kaggar river is about half way between Batneir and the Sreswatty, and may perhaps be the water here adverted to.

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to some maps, of the canal once designed to connect that river with the Jumna. As the inhabitants of this town were, for the greater part, strangers to the vaunted light of Islaum, and are here contemptuously stigmatized as eaters of hogs flesh, they had abandoned the place, as soon as it had been ascertained that the Tcheghatâian armies were approaching in that direction. They were immediately pursued, and partly overtaken, by a detachment of the imperial troops, and cut to pieces in considerable numbers, with the loss of one person only on the part of the Teymûrians. After a repose of one day at Sersetty, Teymûr continued his march the next, taking a northerly direction towards Futtehabad, lying, according to De la Croix, at the distance of eighteen miles from the last station.* This place, on his arrival, he also found deserted by the inhabitants; who were however pursued by the Teymûrians with considerable slaughter to the fugitives, and no small acquisition of spoil to their pursuers.

From Futtehabad, Teymûr proceeded next to Ahrouny, a fortified town which was consigned to the discretion of a rapacious soldiery, the greater part of the inhabitants put to the sword, and the remainder driven into slavery, because, according to our author, there was not among the whole a single individual of sufficient weight, good sense or prudence, to come forward with an appeal to the clemency of the conqueror. The place was consumed to ashes. In the mean time, for a period of some duration, the neighboring territory had been subject to the dominion of the Jatts a numerous and powerful tribe; which had long and cruelly infested the roads, in all directions, with every species of violence, robbery, and outrage. No sooner was it known, however, that the armies of Teymûr had drawn their swords on the fertile plains to the eastward of the Indus, than these ferocious plunderers retired into some adjoining forests, rendered difficult of access by the wilderness of thorns,† and thorny trees, interspersed throughout. To punish and put a stop to the further outrages of these unlicensed marauders, a division of the imperial troops was immediately employed under Towukkel Hindwi Kerkerrah, and

* We have already hazarded an opinion that the miles of De la Croix were kôsse, of about one and three quarters, or two miles.

† Ney shukker indicates the sugar cane; but Neishgur must mean thorny, as the sugar cane is seldom cultivated in the jungles.

Moulana Nausser-ud-dein Omar; who accordingly entered the jungles, and having hunted the banditti from their hiding places and cut to pieces about two hundred of them, returned without loss, and with a considerable number of captives to rejoin the main body of the army.

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But as the views of Teymûr were directed to the entire extirpation of the obnoxious tribe, in order to secure mankind effectually against any future violence, on the part of these depredators, he dispatched the heavy baggage with the accumulated booty, in charge of Ameir Sûliman Shah, towards Samaunah, while he proceeded in person, with the body of the army, in further search of the Jatts, who were still secreted in the surrounding woods and deserts. On the same day, that on which he left the station of Tohanah, the ninth of the former Rebbeia* according to De la Croix, no less than two thousand of these proscribed barbarians, for the author is not sparing of ill language on the occasion, were drawn into the snare cast round them by their destiny, and their property women and children became the lot of their exterminators. Thus, continues our author, was the mischief occasioned by these faithless banditti, a mischief by which not even the morning breeze was permitted to pass in that direction without extreme difficulty, now entirely cut up by the roots. In the mean time, a community of Seyuds, whose abode was in the neighborhood, embraced the opportunity to claim the protection of Teymûr, who conferred upon them the most encouraging marks of his favor; an officer being immediately appointed to preside over their village, and to defend them against the excesses to which they might otherwise have been exposed, during the passage of the imperial armies.

On the banks of the Kehker, or Kaggar, river, not far from the town of Samaunah, Teymûr rejoined his heavy equipments previously dispatched towards that place, under Ameir Sûliman Shah; and having halted, according to De la Croix, for the space of four days, he proceeded, on monday the fifteenth of the former Rebbeia,† to the bridge of Koupelah, perhaps Koubleh, apparently either on the Sreswatty, or a branch of that river, near, or at the head of which he

* 18th of November.

† 24th of November.

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again encamped. At this station he was now joined by Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the Ameirzâdahs Sûltan Hûsseyne and Rûstum, and by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, Sheikh Arslan, Sounjek Bahauder, and Mûbasher, with the troops of the left wing, dispatched as formerly related, to enter Hindûstaun, by the northern route; having subjugated many refractory and hostile tribes during their march, and enriched themselves by a competent accumulation of spoil. The Tcheghatâian monarch then led his armies over the pûll, or bridge, of Koupelah to the station of Keytuhl, situated at the distance of five farsangs* and two meil, or about twenty miles [south east] from Samaunah.

The princes of his blood and other distinguished commanders, who had been hitherto employed in traversing the invaded territory in different directions, being now all assembled under the standard of their sovereign, the following order of march was prescribed for the future movements of the imperial army. The right wing was directed to proceed in a separate column, under the orders of the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and Rûstum, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Yadgaur Berlas, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and other chiefs whose names it would be tedious to enumerate; the left wing in another column, as before, under the direction of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of Transoxiana, accompanied by the Mirzas, or Ameirzâdahs Khaleil Sûltan, and Sûltan Hûsseyne, together with the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Shah Melek, Sheikh Arslan, Mahommed Eykou Temûr, and Sounjek Bahauder: and the centre, consisting of the great, the Saur-subbuz, [the green perhaps], and other Tomauns, in a third column, conducted by Ameir Allahdaud, and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, perhaps quartermaster, or campmaster general, under the immediate orders of Teymûr. And in this disposition, occupying as well as can be understood, either from right to left, or front to rear, a space of between four and six farsangs and two meil, or from fourteen to three and twenty miles, the whole now advanced towards the metropolis of Dehly, which lay at the distance of about ninety-five or a hundred miles to the south-east.

* Ferishtah says five kôsse.—or about 17 miles.

On the twenty-second of the month,* the army reached Assendy, about seventeen miles, according to De la Croix, from the last ground at Keytuhl; the inhabitants of this as well as those of Samaunah and other places in their progress, having deserted their abodes, and fled to Dehly. Leaving Assendy the next day, the imperial standard was advanced to the fortress of Toghlûkpour, a short march of six miles.† The author here observes, in passing, that the inhabitants of this place destitute of the knowledge of those sublime truths which vindicate the inseparate unity of the supreme being, maintained the absurd doctrine of the existence of two divinities, or eternal principles, to one of whom they assigned the appellation of Yezdan, and to the other that of Ahreman [Arimanes]; the former, according to their interpretation, being the fountain of light, and the source of all that is good and excellent, and the latter, the principle of darkness, and of all evil and mischief. They were, in all probability, a colony of the descendants of the ancient Persians, professing the doctrine of Zeratust, Zerdûst, or Zoroaster; of which indeed the author, as a Persian scholar, could not have been ignorant, as they are still sufficiently numerous and respectable, on the western side of the Peninsula of India. In this place they are, however, distinguished by the appellation of *Saloun*, and like the inhabitants of most other places in his route had abandoned their dwellings at the approach of Teymûr. The town was, therefore, wholly burnt to the ground, and not a vestige left to indicate the spot whereon it stood.

Leaving the ruins of Toghlûkpour‡, Teymûr proceeded twelve kôsse, to Pauniput; where he appears to have arrived on the twenty-fourth of the month. Like the rest, this place had also been abandoned by the inhabitants; but a granary of one hundred and sixty thousand mauns§ of wheat, discovered in the fort, furnished a very seasonable and acceptable supply to the army. Thus prosecuting his march, and halting occasionally according to circumstances, Teymûr,

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† De la Croix; the miles were probably kôsse.

‡ This was probably the same with what is now called in the maps Sufendou, about the distance of 20 miles to the westward of Pauniput.

§ The maun is an indefinite admeasurement, from one to twenty-eight, and even forty pounds.

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on the twenty-seventh of the former Rebbeia*, directed the Ameirs of the left wing to scour the country up to the walls of Jahaun-nemâi; a magnificent palace erected by the late Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, on an eminence on the right bank of the Joun, or Jumna, about two farsangs or seven miles above the city of Dehly. This order was carried into execution with the customary promptitude and dispatch, and the whole country from the village of Kaun-e-gûzein to the palace in question, was accordingly overrun by the imperial cavalry; the inhabitants of the intervening plains being either put to the sword or driven into captivity, and their property pillaged or destroyed.

The executioners of his vengeance having again rejoined him, Teymûr, on monday the 29th of the former Rebbeia,† proceeded across the river Jumna, directing his march to the fortified town of Louny, situated to the left of that river,‡ and between it and the Meilen, or Heilen; a canal cut by Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, for the name of this prince seems connected with every thing devised to improve and embellish his country, in order to unite the same river with the Kâleiny. The country in this neighborhood affording the most excellent forage, Teymûr encamped the same day in sight of Louny, which had been previously invested by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud; and as the Koutwal, or governor of the town, continued to make an obstinate resistance, he set his troops to work, in order to gain the defences by sap, and in the course of a very few hours they were masters of the place. The Mahommedan inhabitants, whose lives had been previously secured through the intercession of a respectable Sheikh their fellow citizen, were then set apart from the infidels; the whole of whom were immediately put to the sword. The town was afterwards pillaged and burnt, and the walls laid in ruins.

On the first day of the latter Rebbeia.§ Teymûr took horse to reconnoitre the passages of the Jumna, opposite to the palace of Jahaun-nemâ; and the same day, on his return to camp, he dispatched Ameir Jahaun Shah with other distinguished commanders to sweep the country|| on all sides of Dehly, and to secure a supply of

* 6th of December.

† 8th of December.

‡ About ten miles above the city of Dehly.

§ 10th of December.

|| Ferishtah says, "the country south of Dehly."

grain for the army, in the event that he might be compelled to lay regular siege to the great Indian metropolis. The following day, desirous of visiting the palace of Jahaun-nemâ, Teymûr crossed the Jumna to the western side, accompanied by seven hundred of the flower of his cavalry; and having accordingly gratified his curiosity to a sufficient degree, in admiring the various beauties of this magnificent structure, his attention was directed towards the adjoining plain, in order to determine how far it presented situations for giving battle, with advantage, to the enemy. While these circumstances engaged his consideration, Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, and Jeneid Bûreldâi, who had been sent to scour the vicinity round, brought in each a prisoner; one of whom, Mahommed Sellef a respectable Ameir of the court of Dehly, the monarch caused to be immediately put to death, having replied unsatisfactorily to the questions put to him with regard to the state of affairs in the city. A few minutes afterwards, a body of the enemy composed of four thousand cuirassiers, or cavalry clad in mail, with five thousand foot, and seven and twenty elephants, under the command of Mullou Khaun, or Mellou Ekbal Khaun as he is entituled in Ferishtah, the prime minister of the empire, issued from the groves which encompass the city at that distance, and drew near to the spot on which Teymûr was engaged in making his observations. Without a moment's delay Teymûr recrossed the river, leaving Seyud Khaujah and Mûbasher Bahauder, to make head against the advanced parties of the enemy; before whom they retired gradually to the river side, where they took their final stand against their adversaries.

In the mean time, as soon as he had regained his camp in the neighborhood of Louny, the Ameirs Sounjek and Allahdaud were dispatched by Teymûr, with a competent force, to the assistance of Seyud Khaujah and his gallant associates. With the rapidity of lightning these commanders passed the Jumna, to the support of their companions in arms, whom they soon and effectually relieved from the pressure of the enemy; the latter, on receiving some striking lessons of the superior address of the Teymûrians, and in particular of the unerring skill of their archers, early withdrawing from the conflict, although not without sustaining a considerable loss. On this

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occasion the circumstance of one of their elephants being disabled during the flight of the enemy, is described to have produced an important impression among the Tcheghatâians; those among them in any degree accustomed to penetrate beyond the present, hailing the incident as a happy presage of future more substantial successes.

Quitting the bank of the Jumna, opposite to the palace of Jahaun-nemâi, Teymûr, on friday the third of the latter Rebbeia,* removed his camp to the eastward of Louny; where he was joined shortly afterwards, if not in the course of the same day, by the Shahzâdahs who had been employed to make a sweep of the country. It was during the short period of suspended activity which now took place, that a general massacre of the prisoners was resolved on; a measure the odium of which the author has endeavoured to shift from the memory of the Tcheghatâian conqueror, to his ministers. For, at a general council, composed of all the princes of his blood, and his principal generals, after Teymûr had expatiated with some formality, and considerable eloquence, on the precautions observed by the monarchs of former ages, in conducting the complicated operations of war, whether in disposing of their armies for the immediate conflict of the field of battle, or in providing for their safe retreat, when committed to situations of unforeseen difficulty and danger; and in short, on all the maxims and occurrences of that destructive science, of which he was, without dispute, the most consummate master of his time, the Shahzadahs and other members of the council, ventured to represent, that from the passage of the Indus to their arrival on the spot on which they were now assembled, the accumulation of prisoners of all descriptions of idolaters, Magians as well as Hindûs, was so great as at this moment to exceed one hundred thousand, within the precincts of the imperial encampment—that, from a predilection by no means unnatural, in the event of a general battle with the troops of Dehly, it was to be apprehended that these men would avail themselves of the opportunity to go over to the enemy—and that the indiscreet and undisguised satisfaction indicated in their behavior during the recent movement of the force under Mullou Khaun, afforded the strongest grounds for such an inference. But however

* 12th of December.

originating, these suggestions, built on the maxims of a barbarous and sanguinary policy, were sufficient with Teymûr to justify the horrible mandate which he immediately issued, that these unarmed and defenceless captives should be put to the sword; denouncing, at the same time, the punishment of death to any that might evince the slightest disposition to delay the execution of the sanguinary decree. The scene of butchery accordingly commenced, with frightful activity; and such is described to have been the zeal with which the detestable mandate was carried into execution, that no less than fifteen innocent and defenceless victims were contributed, to the list of the massacred, by Moulana Nausser ud-dein Omar, a man to this period so little habituated to bloodshed, as never to have drawn his knife to the slaughter of a sheep. In short, it is acknowledged that, at the most moderate computation, not less than one hundred thousand of the natives of India perished by the hands of their persecutors, on this cruel occasion; and when the atrocious butchery had reached its consummation, an order was circulated, that every tenth soldier in the army should remain with the encampment; as a guard over the women and children of the slaughtered, and as a security for the accumulated booty of every description.

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On the day which was rendered thus memorable, by the massacre of so many defenceless human beings, Teymûr resumed his position on the left bank of the Jumna; nothing being now left to divert his attention from the prosecution of his grand design, the final subjugation of the metropolis of Hindûstaun. In these circumstances his astrologers, appalled perhaps by the horrible and bloody scene which had just passed before their eyes, having held a previous consultation among themselves, on the course of events indicated by the present position of the heavenly bodies, ventured to intimate to their sovereign what had been the result of their observations; and to urge the expediency of a short delay in his operations, until the aspect of the stars should exhibit something more favorable to the issue. To these, however, Teymûr paid but little attention, the experience of a long and eventful life having possibly convinced him of the fallacy of such speculations, and how little the course of human affairs is governed by the influence of trines and sextiles, or the triangular and hexagonal positions of the stars.

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But as he conceived it, at the same time, necessary to employ some expedient, in order to produce in the minds of his soldiers an anticipation favorable to his undertakings, he proceeded, the following day, after the performance of morning prayer, and the recital of the usual portion of the sacred volume, to consult the Korân, in the expectation of opening upon some passage that might apply to the enterprize, in which he was about to engage, against the city of Dehly; and the result was, it seems, flattering to his most sanguine hopes. Not yet satisfied, the sacred volume was again unfolded, with reference to his design as it affected Mullou Khaun in particular; on whose courage and talents the troops of the Indian monarchy appear to have reposed their firmest reliance: and the attention of Teymûr was immediately attracted by the following passage, in the chapter of the Bee! "God propounded as a parable a possessed, [or purchased] slave, "and *him* on whom we have bestowed a good provision from us, and "who giveth alms thereout both secretly and openly: shall these two "be esteemed equal?"* Elated by the perusal of these lines, of which the application was so obvious, Teymûr broke up without further delay, from the left of the Jumna, and proceeded across that river, to the opposite or western side; where, on the plains of Feyrouzabad, the imperial army now finally encamped.† In addition to the ordinary precautions of a ditch and breastworks, the latter composed of the branches of trees and hurdles, [fascines and gabions], Teymûr placed a multitude of buffalos, well bound neck and heels, in front of the ditch, [within the ditch according to Ferishtah,] in order the more effectually to prevent surprise, and to embarrass the approach of the enemy.‡

On the morning of Tuesday the seventh of the latter Rebbeia,§ Teymûr proceeded to draw out his troops in order of battle, the command of his right wing being entrusted to his grandson Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, aided by the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, and Sûliman Shah, with Komaury, and Temûr Khaujah, or

* Vide Sale's Korân Vol. II. Chap. 16. Page 85.

† 14th December.

‡ In his institutes Teymûr asserts that he had recourse to these precautions, in order to impress the enemy with the persuasion that he was conscious of his weakness.

§ 16th of December.

Khojah, the son of Aukbougā, and other distinguished chieftains. A. H. 801.
 The left wing was placed under the direction of the Mirzas Sûltan A. D. 1398.
 Hûsseyne, the son of one of Teymûr's daughters by the grandson Rouzat-us-suffa.
 of his early friend Ameir Moussa, and Khaleil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, at this period not more than fifteen years of age, assisted by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah and Sheikh Arslan, and other commanders whose names it would be unnecessary to recapitulate. The vanguard, of the centre possibly, was consigned to the discretion of Mirza Rûstum* the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud; and, as the animating principle of the whole machine, Teymûr displayed the imperial standard at the head of the centre, of which he assumed the command in person. In this disposition, he advanced to the ground on which he had previously determined to give battle to the enemy. Sûltan Mahmûd, on the other hand, accompanied by the minister Mullou Khaun, also displayed his standard at the head of the centre of his army; of which the left wing was placed under the orders of Toghâi Khaun, and Ameir Ally Mûeyud, and the right under those of Melek Mûeyne-ud-dein, Melek Hauny, and other distinguished Indian commanders. But the whole force of the army destined, on this occasion, to combat in defence of the throne of Dehly, does not appear to have exceeded twelve thousand horse and forty thousand foot, well armed and equipped for battle. Their principal dependence is, at the same time, said to have rested on a formidable line of armed elephants, one hundred and twenty in number, each with a wooden turret on its back, filled with archers and slingers,† parties of cross-bowmen and rocket boys being, moreover, stationed in the intervals of the line of elephants: and in this array, with minds prepared for conquest or for death, they approached to meet their enemies.

Although the Tcheghatâian troops had at former periods been engaged in many a fearful conflict—had dissipated the ranks of many a puissant army—the enormous bulk of the elephants, so formidably arrayed and caparisoned for offence, was, however, a spectacle to

* According to De la Croix's translation, this prince commanded the rear guard.

† Tcherkh-andauz.

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which they had not yet been sufficiently familiarized. They had heard it, moreover, described that the bodies of these tremendous animals were proof against every weapon, and their strength so prodigious that they tore down the largest trees by the middle with their trunks, and detruded the most massy buildings by the mere pressure of their sides. It is accordingly acknowledged that the various reports, which they heard circulating in every quarter on the subject, had produced a considerable sensation of alarm upon their minds; so much, indeed, that when Teymûr assigned to the different Ameirs of his court their respective stations, and, with his usual solicitude for the accommodation and security of persons of their class, demanded of Khaujah Afzel of Kesh, and Moulana Abduljebbaur the son of Niamman-ud-dein the Kharezmi, and the other men of letters who attended him during the expedition, where they wished to be disposed of, they unanimously requested to be conveyed to the same place with the women. Considering therefore the apprehensions which appeared to have seized upon all descriptions of his followers, the monarch, in order as far as possible to restore their confidence, gave orders afresh that a breastwork of hurdles, strengthened by a ditch, should be immediately thrown up along the whole front of his line of battle; a number of buffalos being picketed as before, without the ditch, further to embarrass the attempts of the enemy. The foot soldiers were, moreover, furnished with large iron prongs, a sort of crows feet possibly, which they were to cast before the elephants, when they approached to the attack.

But, an eternal providence watching over the destiny of Teymûr throughout every stage of his eventful life, all these precautions proved entirely superfluous, and might have been omitted with perfect safety to the design. In the mean time, while the distance between the adverse lines was gradually and rapidly diminishing, the Tcheghatâian monarch, who had taken his station on a rising ground near the centre of his armies, suddenly dismounted from his charger; and twice, humbly prostrate on the earth, besought the Almighty disposer of events, to aid him in the subjugation of his enemies; and, as his supplications originated, it seems, in motives of *the most spotless purity*, appearances, almost instantaneously, indicated that they

were favorably attended to. For, it is considered a circumstance extremely singular to relate, if not totally extraneous to the ordinary course of events, that, while their sovereign was thus devoutly engaged in addressing his creator, it occurred to the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud, who were attached to the advanced guard, to accept as an omen auspicious to his cause that any troops should be detached from the centre to the support of the right wing. It so fell out, that Teymûr was no sooner at leisure from the performance of his devotions, than he dispatched Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, with Altûn Bukhshy, and Moussa Kummaul [possibly Rekmaul] exactly as their hopes anticipated, to reinforce his right, while another division of troops proceeded at the same moment to the assistance of the vanguard; and this being immediately observed by the three respectable commanders just mentioned, was joyfully hailed as the undoubted presage of success, and, with a courage thus animated to the conflict, they manfully prepared to receive the enemy.

But, in order to explain the matter more in detail, the author proceeds to relate that the Ameirs Sounjek Bahauder, Seyud Khaujah, Allahdaud, Nussret Komaury, Sâeine Temûr, Mahommed Derweish, and other chiefs who led the Kerawul, or light troops, of the advanced guard, observing that the enemy were advancing from all sides to attack the right wing of the imperial army, immediately threw themselves into ambuscade; so that the advanced parties of the assailants passed through without discovering the snare. They had, however, no sooner cleared the ambuscade than they were furiously assailed in the rear by the troops in ambush; by whom, at the very first onset, five hundred of them were laid in the dust. Soon afterwards, Peir Mahommed led the Kumbul, or vanguard of the right wing, into action, directing his attention towards one of the elephants which he singled out, and sword in hand immediately attacked; the main body of the same wing bearing simultaneously and with united force against the adverse wing of the enemy, which was, as has already been mentioned, under the direction of Tôghâi Khaun—another of their chiefs, on whose courage and skill, the Hindûstaunies appear to have reposed the utmost reliance. The whole of this wing, nevertheless,

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now gave way in consternation before the Teymûrius, who pursued, with eager impetuosity until they had driven the enemy beyond the Hâouz-e-khauss, or royal tank—a noble reservoir the work of Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, more than a bow shot across, on the south-west side of Dehly, calculated, when adequately replenished by the periodical rains, to furnish an ample supply of water to the whole of the city for the twelve months round. The tomb, or mausoleum, of that beneficent and illustrious monarch stood by the side of this magnificent reservoir.

To the left likewise, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, at the head of the advanced guard of that wing of the army, and aided by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, was equally successful against the right of the enemy; which was also thrown into disorder, and pursued to the very gates of the town. In the mean time, the centre of the army of Dehly, preceded by the line of elephants, made its grand attack upon the advanced guard of Teymûr's centre, under Mirza Rûstum, and the Ameirs Shah Melek, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein; who opposed, however, so determined and destructive a resistance, as at once to change the hopes of the enemy into the blackest despair. They were, almost at the same moment, assailed with irresistible fury by Dowlut Temûr Tawatchei, and Mûngaly Khaujah, and other commanders of Tomauns, and Koushûns, who, bearing the invincible fortune of their master at the points of their lances, pushed without dismay to the line of elephants, whose riders they brought alternately headlong to the earth; the trunks of these enormous and useful animals being struck off in frequent instances by the scimitars of the Tcheghataïan warriors. The Indian commanders exhibited, nevertheless, to the extent of their ability, a courage and perseverance, in many respects, worthy of a better fate; neither did they relax in their exertions until convinced, by surrounding objects, of the disgrace and defeat about to overwhelm them. They then gave up the contest, and fled on all sides in dismay and despair, and the whole plain was soon covered with the dead and dying.

Sûltan Mahmûd and Mullou Khaun his minister, having retreated with the utmost precipitation into the city, Teymûr proceeded in person in full career to the very gates; and having taken a careful

survey of the walls and towers, drew off, for the present, to the tank of Feyrouz Shah, by the side of which he caused his pavilion to be immediately erected. Here he received from the Shahzâdahs and his principal generals their heart felt congratulations on the triumphant issue of the conflict; every instance of distinguished valour exhibited, in the course of the day, by the soldiers of the imperial army of all classes and descriptions, being now reported in detail, for the approbation of their sovereign. The name of Khaleil Sûltan is recorded in particular, as having attracted universal applause by an example of undaunted spirit, little expected in a youth of his years. In the heat of the conflict he had captured one of the largest elephants, which he led in triumph immediately to the presence of his grandfather. In short, every circumstance of this memorable day most justly contributed to awaken afresh, in the bosom of Teymûr, the most lively sensations of gratitude towards that inscrutable and all-bountiful being who, from among so many millions of his creatures, had selected himself alone to bless with so illustrious a progeny, and with a train of followers to aid in his designs, so numerous and puissant; with treasures so prodigiously accumulated, and with an extent of dominions at the same time so rich, flourishing, and populous. All this he did not fail on the occasion to acknowledge with all the fervor and devotion, which it was in so eminent a degree calculated to excite.

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Having, as we have just seen, fled from the fury of the Tchegataïan armies into the city of Dehly, Sûltan Mahmûd and his vezzeir, with hearts resigned to grief despair and blood, thought for a moment to interpose the walls of the devoted metropolis between them and the fearful mischiefs which were accumulating around; beginning to repent, when repentance was no longer availing, of their manifold misdeeds, or, more justly speaking, to meditate with painful regret on the total failure of all their plans to oppose the progress of their cruel invaders. Conceiving, however, on further reflection, that there remained for them no means of safety but in early, and immediate flight from the scene of danger, they determined on leaving the city without a moment's delay; and accordingly, during the obscurity of the same night, took their departure, each by a different gate, Sûl-

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tan Mahmûd directing his course for Gûjerât, and the minister proceeding towards Beren. Intelligence of their departure being, however, early conveyed to Teymûr, several Ameirs were immediately dispatched in pursuit. These returned shortly afterwards with a considerable booty, together with the two sons of Mullou Khaun, Seyf-ud-dein, and Khodaud,* whom they had taken prisoners; although both the Sûltan and his minister succeeded in effecting their escape, beyond the reach of all pursuit. In the mean time, before the night was yet at an end, the Teymûrian generals were ordered to secure all the gates; with instructions that no more of the garrison and inhabitants should be permitted to leave the town.

On wednesday the eighth of the month,† early in the forenoon, Teymûr repaired in mighty pomp to the Eidgauh, or place of sacrifice, in front of the Durwauzah-e-meydaun; one of the gates of that division of the city called the Jahaunpunnah, and over against which, according to De la Croix, lay the Hâouz-e-khauss, or royal tank of Feyrouz Shah, already described. Here the Seyuds and Kauzies, men of letters and the law, and the devout and abstinent of every class and denomination, hastened to make their submission to the conqueror, by whom they were very graciously received. The Nâeib also, or Locumtenens, of Mullou Khaun, who appears to have been a native of Bâlkh of the name of Fuzzul-ullah, together with the civil officers of the government, and of the revenue, ventured to approach the imperial presence, and experienced a reception no less favorable. In the mean time, the ministers of religion and Seyuds successfully pleaded with the Shahzâdahs and principal generals, for their intermediation with the Tcheghatâian monarch, in behalf of the terrified inhabitants of Dehly; and a promise was secured that they should be inviolably protected in their lives and property—a promise with which they returned highly rejoiced to the city.

The imperial standard was now displayed over the principal gate of the town, and the martial music struck up to announce to the world the consummation of this important conquest; the precise date of which is to be found in certain words of either of three distichs compos-

* According to Ferishtah these were the sons of Sûltan Mahmûd himself.

† 17th of December.

ed on the occasion ; but *z'futtah Shah—in the conquest of the Shah*, A. H. 801.
 that is to say of Mahmûd Shah, the leading words of the first line of A. D. 1398.
 one of the distichs, will give, without further investigation, the num- Rouzut-us-
 ber 801, being the year of the hidjerah in which it was achieved. The suffa,
 captured elephants, together with twelve rhinoceroses found in the royal
 menagerie, were next brought before Teymûr ; the former being taught
 to place their foreheads to the earth, and to raise a fearful cry, as
 if imploring the mercy of the conqueror. Of one hundred and
 twenty of these noble animals, which, in all, fell into the hands of the
 Tcheghatâian troops on this memorable occasion, two were conveyed
 to Meiran Shah at Tebreiz, five to the court of Shah Rokh at Herât,
 one to Ameir Ibrauhim at Shirvaun, and one to Ameir Taherten at
 Arzenjaun. The remainder were either conducted, at a subsequent
 period, to Samarkand, or distributed on the spot among the Shahza-
 dahs, and principal Ameirs of the imperial court and army. And
 finally, on friday the tenth of the latter Rebbeia,* Moulana Nausser-
 ud-dein Omar, accompanied by a numerous train of the ministers of
 religion, and of the principal lords of the court, proceeded, by com-
 mand of the conqueror, to pronounce from the pulpit of the cathedral
 mosque of Dehly, the names and titles of the august and invincible
 Teymûr, associated with those of his grandson Peir Mahommed Sôltan
 the son of Jahangueir, on this occasion, at least, his acknowledged
 successor to the throne of Asia.

Thus far, all circumstances considered, matters appear to have
 proceeded in a train not altogether unfavorable to the poor inhabi-
 tants of Dehly ; although the Puttektcheis and inferior officers of the
 imperial exchequer, who had entered the city for the purpose of
 collecting the ransom stipulated for their redemption, from pillage
 and massacre, had already commenced their operations with inflexible
 rigor and severity. In the mean time, not to omit the opportunity
 of indulging in the social enjoyments of wine and music, Teymûr
 entered on a magnificent course of festivities, for the entertainment
 of the princes of his blood, and the generals of his armies; the whole
 being admitted, at the same time, to a most bountiful participation in
 that liberality, with which their sovereign so well understood how to

* 19th of December.

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cherish and reward the exertions of distinguished merit, in whatever shape displayed. But, while the conqueror was thus employed in softening the rugged brow of war, amidst the smiles and blandishments of female beauty, and the fascinations of the festive scenes before him, a body of his soldiers had collected together, on thursday the sixteenth of the month,* at one of the gates of the city; where they proceeded to insult, and otherwise molest, the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants. Some of their Ameirs were immediately dispatched to restrain them from the exercise of these acts of audacious and undisciplined violence; but the destruction of Dehly, and its vicinity, having been predetermined in the inscrutable plans of an eternal and overruling providence, the exertion proved unavailing; the consummation could it seems be no longer averted; and the circumstances which accelerated the catastrophe, appear to be described with sufficient fidelity in the following detail.

The Princess Tchelpa Aga, with other ladies of Teymûr's court, had rode into the city in order to visit the palace of Hazaur settoun, or a thousand pillars; said to have been erected by Melek Jounah, in the short space of four months.† A multitude of individuals also entered the town at the same time, for the purpose of purchasing sugar and grain and other necessary supplies for the army, while numerous bands of soldiers poured in pursuit of the unhappy fugitives, who had there sought, from the western provinces, an asylum against the enormities of their invaders. In these circumstances, perceiving the disorderly disposition of the promiscuous throng which every moment increased, and alarmed beyond measure at the barbarous and unintelligible jargon of the Moghûls, the inhabitants of the whole of the three divisions, of Srei, Jahaunpunnah, and old Dehly, which comprized the aggregate of the metropolis, all at once flew to arms, and in the frenzy of despair proceeded to assail their insolent oppressors. To add to the horrors of the scene, great numbers of the idolatrous Hindûs hastened to set fire to their habitations and effects,

* 25th of December.

† According to Ferishtah, this palace was erected about A. D. 1303, by Sûltan Alla-ud-dein-Khiljy, in Guelty, who reigned at Dehly, with great renown, from A. D. 1296 to 1316. Melek Fakher-ud-dein Jouna was, however, the former title of Mahommed Toghlûk Shah, a succeeding monarch of Dehly.

and, with their women and children, cast themselves into the devouring flames. The Teymûrian generals on the spot, notwithstanding these outrages and ill-timed hostilities on the part of the inhabitants, proceeded without delay to shut the gates; in order to prevent the further access of the troops from without, and, as far as possible, to check the progress of the mischief. This was, however, unavailing. Fifteen thousand of the Tcheghataïan soldiery, either more or less, were already within the town; which, from thursday evening to the ensuing morning, exhibited accordingly the most frightful scenes of plunder and conflagration.

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On the following day, the seventeenth of the month, as soon as the morning dawned on the devoted city, the whole of the Teymûrian army, from without, breaking through all restraint, rushed towards the walls, and entered the town; where the measure of calamity was now carried to its utmost extent; every street and quarter of the two divisions of the Srei and Jahaunpunnah being, for the greater part, immediately rifled by the rapacious soldiers. On saturday, the eighteenth,* nothing was omitted to complete the work of spoliation and violence, all that escaped the sword of the spoiler, being driven into slavery; the meanest soldier in the army having twenty slaves in his possession, others found themselves masters of fifty and sixty, and not a few led out of the town to the number of one hundred each, including women and children. Of the booty—in jewels, and particularly in diamonds and rubies, in pieces of the most rare and beautiful manufacture, in valuable effects, and the richest furniture of every description, in utensils of gold and silver, in chrystal vases and in specie, it would be scarcely possible, it is affirmed, to estimate a thousandth part of the almost incalculable aggregate. The noble and elegant females, and the women indeed of every class, now condemned to a bondage worse than death, having their legs and arms, and other parts of their persons, in a manner, loaded with gold and silver ornaments, such was the abundance of the precious metals and other more costly articles, that the most valuable aromatic drugs and ointments, which is not, however, extremely singular, were contemptuously cast aside, as little worth the attention of the rapacious spoiler.

* 27th of December.

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suffa.

In the mean time, a remnant of the infidel, or native, Hindûs, had gradually retired, and taken post in considerable force, in the great mosque of old Dehly; where they prepared to defend themselves, with desperate resolution, against the imperial troops. The Ameirs Shah Melek, and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, with five hundred followers, armed from head to foot, proceeded therefore on the nineteenth of the month, by Teymûr's directions, to quell this last effort of ill concerted resistance; or rather this virtuous, but unavailing recoil of oppressed humanity, against barbarous violence. As might have been expected, the post was forced; and the unhappy Hindûs, who sought to defend it, were all put to the sword. The imperial troops then extended the horrors of pillage and blood through every corner of old Dehly; and the desolation of the Indian metropolis was thus complete. Such as escaped the carnage were driven to share, with their fellow citizens, the misery and degradation of captivity. The most skilful workmen, mechanics, and artificers, were for the most part distributed among the princes of the blood, and the ladies of the imperial family who accompanied the expedition; others were sent to the younger branches, and the royal dames, who had been left at Samarkand. But, as Teymûr had it in contemplation, immediately on his return, to erect at that metropolis a cathedral mosque, or Jumma-mesjeid, of hewn stone, similar to that which stood in the city of Dehly, particular orders were issued, that all the artificers who wrought in stone or marble should be exclusively reserved for his own service.

Of the three towns composing the celebrated city, of which the spoliation is thus recorded, we are indebted to the author for the following imperfect outline. The town of Srei, situated to the East inclining to North, which appears to have stood on the same ground with the ancient city of Indrapet, and of the still more ancient one of Hustnapour of the Mahabauret, was encircled by an oval wall; and that of old Dehly, lying in the opposite direction of west inclining to the south, was enclosed by a similar wall, or rampart, but of much greater compass. Between these two towns, and connecting them together, were two long walls, giving protection to the Jahaunpunnah; a kind of intermediary suburb, although far more extensive

than either of the two former divisions of the city. The three towns, altogether, communicated with the country and with each other, by thirty gates; namely, three leading from Srei to Jahaunpunnah, and four from the same to the country outwards; thirteen from Jahaunpunnah, six to the northwest, and seven to the southeast, and possibly along the Jumma; and the remaining ten gates, must be assigned to the division of old Dehly, communicating on different sides with the country round.

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Having continued for the period of fifteen days in the environs of Dehly, Teymûr prepared to follow the impulse of zeal and ambition, to other parts of the Indian territory. But, previous to his final departure from the capital, he convened an assembly of the Kauzies, Seyuds, and other distinguished individuals of the Mahommedan persuasion, in the great mosque of the Jahaunpunnah; where it was announced to them, that an officer of the imperial household was appointed, to preside over and protect them against the excesses and irregularities, which might unavoidably occur during the passage and movements of the different divisions of the Tcheghatâian armies. After which, at tchaushtgah, or breakfast time about ten in the forenoon, of wednesday the twenty second of the latter Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and first of the hidjerah,* the conqueror quitted his ground in front of the walls of the Jahaunpunnah; and proceeded, with the main body of the army, to Feyrouzabad on the Jumma, about three kôsse, or six miles, below the city of Dehly. Some hours were devoted to explore the beauties of this place; and to offer up to the divine majesty the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise, in the noble mosque of polished marble, erected, on the bank of the same river, by that able and enlightened monarch Sûltan Feyrouz Shah.

At the gate of Feyrouzabad, as he was quitting the town, Teymûr was accosted by Seyud Shums-ud-dein of Termed, and Alla-ud-dein, the Nâeib, or agent, of Sheikh Gougury who had been recently dispatched on a mission to Bahauder Nehaur, the chief of Koteilah; with assurances of the zeal and submission of the latter ruler, and of his design to confirm these assurances in person, on the ensuing friday.

* 31st of December.

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When he reached the ground of encampment on the neighboring plain, some personages presented to him, on the part of the same Bahauder Nehaur, two white parrots; which had been transferred from one Indian sovereign to another, from the time of Sûltan Toghlûk Shah, who reigned at Dehly from the month of august A. D. 1321 to that of february 1325, and which must, therefore, have surpassed the age of seventy-four years at this period. They were accordingly received by Teymûr as curiosities most singularly rare. Leaving the neighborhood of Feyrouzabad, Teymûr appears to have now recrossed the Jumna, into the Doaub, or Peninsula, between that river and the Ganges, some distance below that place; and after an easy march he proceeded to encamp at the town or station of Ketah, at present little known: where the abovementioned Bahauder Nehaur, accompanied by his son Kolektaush, and introducing a very rare and costly assortment of presents, was admitted to an audience, and, after rendering due homage, very honorably received by the Tcheghatâian conqueror.

Quitting the obscure place to which we have just referred, Teymûr proceeded in two marches of six kôsse, or about twelve miles each, to the town of Assaur, where he again encamped; and from thence, on the twenty-sixth of the month,* he dispatched the Ameirs Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud, to invest the fortress of Meirta. Two days afterwards, he received advices from these commanders, from their position before Meirta, announcing that Eleiaus an Avghan chief, with the son of Moulana Ahmed of Tahnaser, and a Gubber, or infidel Raujpûte probably, of the name of Seffy, had occupied the place in considerable force, and with views of determined resistance; and that they had, moreover, in reply to the summons of surrender, arrogantly sent to inform them that the fortress of Meirta had, at no very distant period, baffled the attempts of no less a *personage* than Termasherin Khaun himself.† Offended in a high degree at this insolent and sarcastic reference to the failure of Ter-

* 4th of January 1399.

† According to Ferishtah, the invasion of Hindûstaun by Termasherin Khaun took place during the 727th of the hidjerah, about the 1327th of the Christian era, while Sâltan Mahommed Shah Toghlûk was on the throne of Dehly.

masherin, Teymûr instantly set off, at the head of ten thousand horse, and, having marched without intermission during the whole of the succeeding night, appeared the following day at noon, the twenty-ninth of the month, before the gates of Meirta. The very moment of his arrival the commanders of Tomauns and Koushûns received orders, each from his respective station, to open a trench of approach towards the opposite point of the enemy's works; and by night-fall, a lodgment from ten to fifteen cubits wide was effected parallel to, or at the foot of, every tower of the place. Terrified at the alarming celerity with which, in spite of every obstacle, the besiegers had carried on their approaches, the garrison appeared at once to have lost all power of exertion; and of this their assailants did not fail to take their advantage. On the morning of the first day of the former Jummaudy,* Ameir Allahdaud, at the head of his Koushûn, advanced to the principal gate; and one of his followers, an intrepid soldier of the name of Serâi, having by a cast fixed his Kummund, or noose, to one of the battlements of the parapet, was the first to ascend to the top of the wall. He was, however, immediately joined by a number of his associates, animated by the noble example of their fellow soldier. In a moment Eleiaus the Afghan, and the son of the Tahnaserian, who were probably at the post of danger, were made prisoners by Râstum Berlas, and conveyed without delay, bound hand and foot, to the presence of Teymûr. The Gubber chief fell during the assault; and his tribe, together with most of the garrison, were put to the sword. The women and children were made slaves. And thus, in a few hours, was a fortress, which had defied the puissance of Termasherin, subdued by the more skilful experience of Teymûr and his veteran legions.

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On the reduction of Meirta, which, it may perhaps be unnecessary to observe, stands in the Doaub, forty or fifty miles north-north-east of Dehly, and about two thirds of the way from the Jumna to the Ganges, according to the best maps, Ameir Jahaunshah, with a division of the imperial troops, was directed to proceed along the Jumna upwards, in order to pillage and lay waste the territory of the infidels in that quarter. At the same time, Sheikh Nâr-ud-dein with the

* 8th of January.

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suffa.

heavy baggage and impediments, was ordered to follow a central route along the Kara-sou, or Kaleiny, or black river; while Teymûr in person, with the imperial standard, took a direction more to the right, towards the river Ganges. When he had continued his march to a considerable distance, Teymûr, at length, reached the bank of that celebrated river, at the town of Peyrouzpour; having been joined during the march by Ameir Sûliman Shah, with the division under his command. Finding that he could not conveniently effect his passage to the opposite side, with the whole of his army, Teymûr proceeded along the right or western bank of the river upwards; until, after a further march of three kôsse, or about six miles, he came, about ten in the forenoon, to a part where the passage might be effected, although not yet with any considerable force at one time. Some of the troops, however, more confident than their fellows, plunged into the stream and swam across; and Teymûr, in person, was spurring his charger to follow the example, when his generals on their knees interposed to prevent the design; urging the expediency of remaining on the western bank of the river, until the appearance of Peir Mahomed, and Ameir Sûliman Shah, who had previously crossed, with the right division, in the neighborhood of Peyrouzpour.

In compliance with the remonstrances of his generals, and after causing Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and Jahaun Melek, with a reinforcement of troops belonging, chiefly, to the Tomaun of Shah Rokh, to pass over to the support of those who had already, as we have seen, crossed to the left bank, Teymûr resumed his march along the opposite bank upwards for two kôsse further, and there encamped. The day following, which appears to have been the third of the former Jummaudy,* he prosecuted his march for Toghlûkpour, situated about twenty kôsse higher up; but when he had proceeded part of the way, intelligence was communicated to him that an immense body of the disorderly and refractory natives, were collected with views of hostility, in the bed of the Ganges, at no great distance off. He conceived it therefore immediately expedient to dispatch a division of five thousand horse under Mûbasher Bahauder, and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, with instructions either to attack, or keep the

* 10th of January.

enemy in check. He continued his march, however, without delay, although he happened at this period to be under the care of his physicians, for a swelling in his knee.*

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In these circumstances, his scouts, or videttes, brought information that the enemy were rapidly descending the Ganges in eight and twenty of the river craft, formidably armed and appointed. The instant this intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, the pain in his knee seems to have been entirely dispelled by the ardor of religious zeal—if such be the appellation with which we are to dignify an insatiable thirst after human blood. At the head of one thousand of his best cavalry, who happened at the moment to be the nearest to his person, Teymûr immediately approached the river side; where on his arrival, part of his followers taking post along the bank, from thence proceeded to assail the enemy in their boats, with volleys of arrows, while others more resolutely plunged into the stream, and attacked them sword in hand. Against the former species of attack the enemy contrived to protect themselves, without great difficulty, covering themselves with their targets and returning volley for volley; but the warriors who had committed themselves to the stream, intrepidly seizing the boats by the gunnel, and springing on board, all they found were immediately cut to pieces; and being thus masters of a part, were enabled to assail the remainder with greater facility and advantage, and thus soon completed the capture of the whole flotilla. Two of the vessels, however, better manned and armed than the others, and fast bound together with ropes, continued to make, for a long time, the most courageous and desperate resistance; although finally overpowered and compelled to submit to their destiny, by the superior prowess of the Teymûrians.

Triumphant in this naval combat on the sacred river, Teymûr proceeded on his march for Toghlûkpour. In the course of the succeeding night, that as it would appear of the fourth of the month,* he was apprized, by two messengers from the Ameirs Allahdaud and Bayezzid Koutchein, who had been detached in advance with Altân Bukhshy, that the enemy had assembled in considerable

* In his shoulder or arm, according to De la Croix, Bauzu for zaunû—it may, however, have been the former.

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force, on the opposite bank, under an Indian chief of the name of Mûbaurek Khaun, and seemed disposed to hazard a conflict with the imperial troops. Before day light the next morning, at the head of one thousand of his cavalry, Teymûr, with his usual promptitude of decision, crossed the river, and having marched about a kôsse on the opposite, or eastern bank, halted for the performance of morning prayer; after which, when his soldiers had adjusted their armour, he advanced with little anxiety for the event in search of the enemy, whom he shortly afterwards discovered, standing to their arms in order of battle, with Mûbaurek Khaun at their head, to the number of ten thousand horse and foot. In these circumstances, yielding to a moment's reflection on his great disparity of number, and on the distance, by which he considered himself precluded from all probability of support, from the troops of his right and left wings, Teymûr perceived, at a single glance, that he had no resource but in the exertions of individual courage, and in the sure hope of the distressed, the watchful care of an Almighty providence.

By one of those extraordinary and fortunate contingencies, which have so frequently contributed to secure the triumphs of the brave, at the very instant these reflections were rapidly passing through his mind, it happened that a body of five thousand men, part of the tomaun of Shak Rokh, which had crossed the Ganges, as formerly described, above Peyrouzpour, under Seyud Khaujah and Jahann Melek, should make their appearance most seasonably to his relief. On this, the Ameirs Shah Melek and Allahdaud, with the troops immediately about his person, received Teymûr's orders, without regard to superiority of number, or speciousness of array, to attack the enemy in their front. Notwithstanding the imposing appearance which they exhibited at first sight, Mûbaurek Khaun and his followers were, however, not of a temper steadily to await the charge of their adversaries; who were now, sword in hand, rapidly advancing upon them. Suffering themselves therefore to be overcome by a shameful panic, which was possibly not diminished by the unexpected arrival of the reinforcement to join their assailants, they instantly quitted the field without a struggle; preferring a short protracted existence with infamy, to the noble perils of a dubious conflict. They were pursued with

great slaughter, into the adjoining woods, into which they had fled for shelter; their women and children were driven into slavery, and an immense booty in cattle of every description became, as usual, the reward of the victorious Teymûrians.

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Teymûr had not yet removed from the spot, from whence he had just driven the enemy, when information was afresh communicated to him, that another body of Hindies was collected, in considerable force, at the foot of the pass of Koupelah, or Goupila, adjoining to the Ganges, some distance higher up; where that river appears to expand itself into a spacious and extensive lake.* Without a moment's delay, at the head of five hundred horse only, the remainder of his troops being yet employed in collecting and securing their booty, the Tcheghatâian monarch proceeded, in quest of this new enemy, in the direction which had been indicated to him. When he approached the range of hills forming the pass of Koupelah, the enemy was discovered in great multitude, most advantageously posted, and prepared at all points for a vigorous and determined resistance. They were, nevertheless, immediately attacked and dislodged from their post, with equal facility and dispatch, by Ameir Shah Melek and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, at the head of a part only of that small body of troops, with whom their sovereign had thus committed himself to the hazard of an unequal conflict; there now remaining for the immediate protection of his person, in the whole, not more than one hundred horse. The danger to which he was exposed, was not unobserved by the enemy; and an Indian chief of the name of Melek Sheikhah, with some thousands of followers both horse and foot, advanced sword in hand, with the determination of avenging, on the head of the imperial desolator, the wrongs of his native country. Teymûr, however, nothing appalled, addressed himself to combat hand to hand, for life and safety; but, when he had approached within a trifling distance of his antagonist, one of his attendants, deceived by some circumstance of resemblance, called out that it was the Sheikhah Gougury, one of the imperial vassals, at the moment supposed to be with the camp in another part of the country. Misled by the information, Teymûr turned short towards the neighboring

* Boheirah.

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range of hills; while the supposed Sheikhah proceeded, with considerable execution, to lay about him, with his scimitar, among the Teymûrians who happened to be nearest at hand. Thus undeceived, Teymûr again drew round, without delay, to oppose the violent hostility of this impetuous stranger, who is described to have been a person of more than ordinary stature. He had, however, by this time been brought headlong from his horse, by a wound in the abdomen by an arrow, and another in the head by a sword; and he was soon afterwards laid neck and heels before Teymûr, in whose presence he expired, before he could make any reply to the questions immediately proposed to him by the conqueror.

He had scarcely been relieved from this dangerous embarrassment when again intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, that another body of Hindies remained still collected in great force, within the pass, at the distance of two kôsse from his present position. Although his approach lay over roads equally rugged and difficult, and through a forest impervious to the winds of heaven, and although he had already twice, in the course of the same day, sustained the fatigues of an arduous conflict, after which, to a man in his sixty third year, some repose might have been conceived indispensably necessary, Teymûr the self-same hour, accompanied by such of the imperial vassals and chiefs of Koushâns, as were present, hastened to seek the enemy. His progress being, however, considerably retarded by the intricacies of the forest, and the difficulties of the road, he had leisure to reflect on the hazards to which he was exposing himself; and he could not forbear ejaculating a fervent wish that his grandson Peir Mahommed, and Aneir Jahaun Shah, whom, three days before, he had detached to harass and exterminate the idolaters and magians,* on that side the Ganges, might, by a manifestation of the divine will, or by some fortunate coincidence, be brought to his support. At the same time, he acknowledged that there existed but a very slight probability for the occurrence of an event so desirable. When, however, the sun had declined about half-way from the meridian, the so little expected Peir Mahommed and Jahaun Shah, who had formed no conception that

* It is not clear that there were any of the religion of Zoroaster in this part of the country; the term is probably applied in additional contempt of the unfortunate Hindies.

the emperor was on the same side of the river, much less that he was so nearly at hand, before he had well given expression to his wishes, stood suddenly in his presence; and enabled him, with restored confidence and more adequate force, to rush upon the hostile multitude now in his front. The Hindies were immediately defeated with severe loss; and the conqueror returned, with a vast acquisition of booty, in cattle and other descriptions of property, to the ground on which he had fought the second action of this busy day.

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At this station, which all circumstances apparently concur to fix on the left, or eastern bank of the Ganges, at no great distance from Loldong, it was reported to Teymûr, that beyond the pass of Koupe-lah, fifteen kôsse upwards, there stood a rock in the form of a cow, either natural or artificial, through the mouth of which issued the principal stream of the Ganges; and which rock constituted an object of universal worship with the superstitious natives, from every part of the Indian territory. Neither was this superstitious veneration confined to the Indian territory alone; since the sacred spot was the resort of numerous pilgrims from the remotest limits of this quarter of the Asiatic continent. Such, in short, is described to have been the blind stupidity of these uninstructed idolaters, that, although common sense and experience might have generally taught them, says our author, that nothing good was to be expected from a mass of inert and insensate matter, they were, nevertheless, induced to bring the ashes of their dead from places most remote, and to commit them on this spot to the hallowed stream; accompanied by the richest oblations in gold and silver, as the surest means of averting present evil, and of securing the highest gradations in a future state. Lastly, these simple enthusiasts conceived their devotions consummated in performing their ablutions leg deep in the stream; casting its sacred waters over their heads, and shaving their heads and beards, before they quitted this scene of superstitious folly and puerility. In the mean time, if this information was not, indeed, altogether intended to deceive, a moment's consideration of the best surveys would lead us to conclude, that it must have referred to some thing of the kind at Deupraug; and not to the Gungoutra, or celebrated descent of the Ganges, at the cow's mouth, which, instead of fifteen, is by the

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course of the river, at least an hundred kôsse beyond the pass of Koupelah.

But, however this may be, learning that there was now assembled on the spot a vast multitude of the Hindû natives, with every species of property to an incalculable amount, Teymûr resolved without further delay, to proceed in that direction ; and accordingly, at sunrise of the fifth day of the former Jummaudy,* he came upon this devoted body of Hindûs, whom he found posted, as on former occasions, in one of the narrow passes, with the rash and useless determination of again giving battle to the imperial troops. Here they were instantly attacked, and, for the greater part, put to the sword by Mahommed Sûltan, Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders, at the head of the right and left wings, and by Ameir Shah Melek with the advanced guard of the centre. Some contrived, however, through a thousand difficulties and exertions, to escape the carnage. But, recollecting all at once that the country was now effectually relieved from the polluted sway of the enemies of the true faith, and that his victorious legions were incumbered, beyond measure, by the immensity of the booty which had fallen into their hands, this mild reformer conceived the sudden resolution of returning upon his steps ; and accordingly repassing the Ganges, on the very same day by the hour of noon, he proceeded, after the performance of his devotions, immediately along the right, or western bank of the river, downwards ; making a march of five kôsse before he found it convenient to encamp for the evening.

This rapid movement in retrograde might afford grounds for the suspicion, that occurrences in advance did not terminate in a manner exactly to correspond with the views of Teymûr, since we hear no more of his zeal to pursue the unfortunate votaries of Hindû superstition, to their sanctuary at the descent of the Ganges. Satisfied on the contrary, with having purged the empire of Dehly from the pollutions of infidelity and idolatry, he now adopted the final resolution of withdrawing, without further delay, into his native dominions ; and for that purpose, on tuesday the sixth of the former Jummaudy, of the year eight hundred and one,† his operations on that celebrated

* 12th January.

† 13th of January 1399.

river being confined to the short period of four days, he quitted the banks of the Ganges—the course of his march now taking him in a north-westerly direction towards the upper Jumna.*

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suffa.

On the day following, when he had already dispatched the Yourutcheis, or quartermasters, in order to conduct the column of baggage to join him, intelligence was brought to Teymûr that, in the defiles and vallies of Mount Sewaulek, which is estimated at a lak and a sixth part of the whole of Hindûstaun,† a formidable body of the natives had united to defend the recesses of their country. In consequence of this information, instructions were transmitted afresh to the division of the army which accompanied the heavy baggage, along the course of the Kârasou, or Kâleiny, to proceed straight forward in to Sewaulek, instead of digressing to the right to join the main body, as had been originally directed. Teymûr in person marched, in the mean time, to the foot of Sewaulek, where he now encamped; and where he was shortly afterwards joined by Khaleil Sûltan, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had hastened in advance of the heavy equipments.

On this occasion, his principal generals employed every argument with Teymûr, to dissuade him from unnecessarily exposing his person among the forests and defiles of Sewaulek; urging, at the same time, that the task of chastizing the still refractory infidels of these wild regions might with perfect safety be entrusted to the zeal of his faithful vassals. The monarch, however in substance, stated in reply that he could not be supposed less sensible than those who spoke to him, to the two-fold advantage to be ensured by a zealous exertion in the cause of truth and religion; namely, the acquisition of temporal wealth, and, what was of infinitely higher importance, the attainment of eternal happiness hereafter. Neither could he, for a moment, forget that the lives and safety of the people committed to his care were never

* The point of his departure may have been some where in the neighborhood, or, on a parallel with Hurdwaur.

† This mode of expression the translator does not exactly comprehend. De la Croix explains it, as extending over two thirds of Hindûstaun. From the tenor of the history Mt. Sewaulek would appear to extend across the upper part of the Douaub, between the Ganges and the Jumna; and may therefore be said to stretch across two thirds of the northern boundary of Hindûstaun.

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to be bartered for any considerations of private risk and convenience. As he was, therefore, determined to claim his full share in the glory, he should not withhold his person from the danger of the service; and in this, his resolution was not to be shaken. On the same day he transmitted orders to Ameir Jahaun Shah, who had been detached a week before, with part of the troops of the left wing, on a predatory expedition along the Jumna upwards, to join him without delay, in that incursion of frantic zeal, in which he was immediately about to engage.

Having been accordingly joined, on the tenth of the month,* by Ameir Jahaun Shah and his division, Teymûr put his whole force in motion to enter the recesses of Sewaulek. In one of the principal passes of this celebrated range of mountains, a Râi, or Rajah, of the name of Behrouz, had lodged himself, at the head of a powerful body of the uncivilized and predatory natives; with whom, relying on the unassailable strength of his position, he vaunted his design to make the most determined resistance. The attack immediately commenced, on different points respectively, by the right wing of the Teymûrians, led on by Mirza Peir Mahommed, Ameir Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders, by the left under Mirza, or Ameirzadah Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, and by the Hurawul, or advanced guard of the centre, under Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Shah Melek; the Tcheghatâian monarch himself remaining at the entrance of the defile, in order to support the operations of the whole, as occasion might require. The conflict which ensued was extremely fierce and sanguinary, although it finally terminated in the triumph of the imperial troops; who were rewarded, as usual, by a considerable booty, in treasure, cattle, and other valuable effects, as well as in arms. On this occasion, finding that the stoutest of the soldiers had supplied themselves from the spoil, to the prejudice of their weaker, or less fortunate associates—some to the extent of three and four hundred head of cattle—Teymûr did not hesitate to insist on their surrendering a part, in order to furnish a fresh and more equitable distribution of the whole booty; which drew upon him the applause and benedictions of every rank in the army.

* 17th of January.

When he had thus secured the fruits of his victory, Teymûr returned to his camp in the neighborhood. Such, however, by this time was the prodigious accumulation of his baggage and incumbrances, that a march of four kôsse, or about eight miles, was the utmost he could accomplish in the four and twenty hours. This will sufficiently account for the tardiness of his progress, between the tenth and fourteenth of the month;* on which latter day he appears to have recrossed the Jumna, some kôsse to the westward of the station of Kunder. He now encamped at the foot of Sewaulek, in another direction, where intelligence was conveyed to him that another of the Hindû Râias, with an enormous force collected together by various means, had taken post on one of the loftiest ranges, within the thickest of the forests; and in a situation no otherwise accessible than, with infinite labour and difficulty, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the way through rocks and underwood. Impelled, however, by the ardour of religious zeal, this indefatigable and ever victorious monarch on the same night, between the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month, without tarrying for daylight, set his soldiers at work to cut their way through the forest by the light of torches; and thus to open a passage to the enemy. In the course of the night they had, with incredible activity, succeeded in penetrating not less than twelve kôsse, or about four and twenty miles,† into this almost impermeable jungul; and, by the morning of the fifteenth, the imperial standard was displayed in the valley which separates the two mountains of Koukeh and Sewaulek. The troops were immediately disposed in order of battle, and proceeded to attack the enemy; but the moment their ears were assailed by the horrible din of the horns and kettle drums, and by the appalling war-cry of the Teymûrians, the wretched Hindûs were so completely panic stricken that they broke and fled in the utmost consternation, pursued with unsparing slaughter by their remorseless invaders. On this occasion, Ameir Jahaun Shah had been entrusted with the direction of the left wing; and entering by a different road, although equally successful in the scheme of slaughter, had been less fortunate in the acquisition of spoil. Both right and left wings, however, rejoined.

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* 21st of January.

† Perhaps eighteen would be nearer the truth.

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the main body in the course of the evening; after having, for the greater part, succeeded in exterminating the obnoxious natives of these mountain regions.

On Friday the sixteenth,* Teymûr reascended the heights of Sewaulek, at a distance of fifteen farsangs, or about fifty miles, from the country of Bekker, or Bekirkout;† the intervening tract being overgrown with vast forests, and intersected by ranges of hills and rugged passes, which rendered it almost entirely inaccessible to foreign hostility. Nevertheless, understanding from various sources of intelligence that these impervious forests and hills were the resort of numerous idolatrous tribes, and the zeal of Teymûr being still inflexibly directed towards the utter extermination of the unhallowed brood, wherever they came within the reach of his power, the imperial troops were employed, from different points, to enter this gloomy wilderness; although the monarch was now prevailed upon himself to remain at the outskirts. But, without accompanying the author further in his detail of these sanguinary inroads, which furnish neither variety, nor novelty in the description, it will be sufficient to observe that during the period of a month, in which the Teymûrians were employed among the mountains of Koukeh, and Sewaulek, they fought twenty-seven battles, and reduced seven castles of singular strength, and the first importance. One of the latter belonged, it appears, to Sheikhou, a kinsman of Sheikh Gougre, prince of Lahour; and the garrison had been prevailed upon, through the mediation of certain Mahommedans who resided among them, to submit to the imperial authority. This is, however, alleged to have been nothing more than a mask, or expedient, to answer the purposes of present convenience. But the deception having been, in some degree, discovered through the unwarrantable practices employed by the refractory rabble in order to evade the payment of the ransom stipulated for their exemption from plunder and execution, one of the imperial officers ventured to avail himself of a very simple device

* 23rd of January.

† Were it not that the latter is specified in De la Croix's map of the expedition of Teymûr, I should have been disposed to think that this referred to Nuggurkout, or Naugracut, which is to be sought for in this neighborhood.

to bring them more effectually under controul. It was agreed upon, that various articles of property should be received in payment of the ransom, and some old clothes and bows of little worth having been accepted of, at an estimate far above their value, the garrison were entirely thrown off their guard by the allurements of this gainful traffic; and they were at last induced, in this way, to dispose of the very weapons with which alone they could justly hope to secure themselves against attack. Accordingly, when it became known that they had thus stupidly disarmed themselves, an order was issued that forty of them should be immediately enrolled for the service of Hindû Shah Khauzen, [the treasurer,] one of the principal officers of the imperial court. Of this, as might have been expected, the wretched infidels with frantic violence opposed the execution; and they proceeded to the extremity of putting several of the Tcheghatâian soldiers to death. Little more was necessary to awaken the desire of vengeance in the Teymûrians, who were immediately led to the attack of the place; which, in all probability, they carried without any great resistance, putting the garrison to the number of two thousand men to the sword.

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In this place, the author of the Rouzut-us-suffa, with a degree of candour in which he does not on many occasions affect to indulge, pauses to remark that, although he has related the circumstances of this capture as it is described in the Zuffurnâmah of the Yezdian, and in other works, yet he is not altogether convinced, because they were guilty of the folly and imbecility of bartering away their arms to make up the payment of their ransom, that the charge of duplicity and fraud, depravity and hostility, so liberally bestowed upon them, is so clearly established against the unfortunate garrison, as these authors seem disposed to allege.

Having satisfactorily terminated his operations on the confines of Sewaulek, Teymûr resumed, without further delay, his march westward, towards the territory of Jummou; where he soon after this encamped near Baubelah, or perhaps, Bâeilah, a small town or village dependent on that place. The Ameirs Sheikh Mahommed Eykou Temûr, Mûbasher, and Ismâeil Berlas, had been previously dispatched to surprise and take possession of this town; but the inhabitants, a brave and hardy race of men, having the advantage of

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thick and intricate forest, which they rendered further inaccessible by surrounding it with a breast-work of hurdles and other materials, evinced a determination to make a gallant and formidable resistance. The Teymûrian chiefs were, however, proceeding without delay, to attack and punish them for their audacious insolence, in thus presuming to defend their property and abodes, when they received a message from the sovereign directing them to suspend their attack, until he should join them with the remainder of the army.

The following day, being as it would appear the seventeenth of the latter Jummaudy,* Teymûr accordingly brought up the main body of the army, when the whole immediately advanced in order of battle, to force the enemy's lines; which they carried, after all, without the slightest resistance, the enemy, terrified by the appalling shouts and tremendous martial music of the Tcheghatâians, instantly abandoning their posts, and dispersing in the utmost dismay. Having levelled, or removed the defences, part of the imperial troops remained encamped in front of the jungul, while another part proceeded to the town, which stood within; and there supplied themselves in perfect security, with the grain which was found there in vast abundance. In the course of the same day, Teymûr prosecuted his march to the distance of four kôsse, after which he again encamped.

At this period, Ouljah Temûr, Fûlaud, and Miatemmed Zeyne-ud-dein, the agents who had been long since dispatched from Dehly, to the court of Eskunder Shah prince of Kashmeir, rejoined the camp of their sovereign. They were accompanied by the envoys of that prince, who on their admission to an audience, represented to Teymûr, that their master had already reached the station of Jebhan, at the foot of the Kashmeirian mountains, on his way to do homage before the throne of the conqueror of India, when he was met by Moulana Nûr-ud-dein, with a demand, as he alleged, on the part of the officers of the imperial treasury, for thirty thousand horses and a contribution of one hundred thousand *dûrest* of gold, each of the weight of two methkauls,† to be levied on the province; and that the Shah had,

* 23rd of February.

† At a dram and a half to the methkaul, this would be about two tons, six hundred, and eighty-seven pounds and a half.

in consequence, immediately returned into Kashmeir, in order to provide for the discharge of this enormous demand; with the design, as soon as that object should have been accomplished, of prosecuting his journey with less anxiety of mind to the imperial presence. With considerable apparent moderation, Teymûr for himself, expressly disavowed having authorized this exorbitant claim on the part of his ministers; declaring that in demanding what was so entirely disproportionate to the resources of the country, they had set at nought the most obvious maxims of strict justice, which should have restrained them from levying upon the Shah, more than was commensurate with his ability to discharge. The envoys repeated their assurances of the sincere submission, and purity of design of Eskunder; and they were charged by the Tcheghataïan monarch, in reply, to tell their master that he was to suffer no consideration whatever to detain him from the immediate prosecution of his journey to court. On the eighteenth, however, the day of their dismissal, they were finally given to understand that the presence of their master would be expected on the banks of the Indus, on the eight and twentieth of the month, or exactly ten days from that date.*

After the departure of the Kashmeirian agents, who were accompanied, on their return by the same Miatemmed Zeyne-ud-dein, who had been their conductor to court, the imperial troops, by the plunder of three very large and flourishing towns on the verge of their course, succeeded in securing an ample supply of forage and subsistence for the army, for several days afterwards. In the mean time, having continued his march for the distance of four farsangs, [about fourteen miles], through richly cultivated lands, with the corn still standing, Teymûr entered the pass, or valley, which gives issue to the river of Jummou; and having, from its frequent flexures, repeatedly crossed and recrossed the stream, he came at last to the foot of the mountain on the right hand side, where was situated the smaller town of Menou, that of Jummou, the capital of the district, being situated to the left. The inhabitants of both these places are described as a tall, robust, and athletic people, whose country from its hills and

* If it had been eight and twenty days, as exhibited in the manuscript, the intimation must have been obviously intended to deceive.

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forests, was generally reputed unassailable. Encouraged by such a belief, after having conveyed their women and children to the tops of the remotest hills, the native chiefs with the bravest of the men, took post on one of the most inaccessible ranges; from whence they continually assailed the Teymûrians, with volleys of arrows and other missiles, insulting them, at the same time, with the most barbarous and savage outcries.

For, doubtless, competent reasons, Teymûr conceived it advisable, for the present, to confine his vengeance to the pillage of the town of Menou; after which, on their return, the imperial troops entered that of Jummou, where they found such prodigious magazines of grain and other articles of subsistence, as to furnish an abundant supply for all their wants. Teymûr then proceeded on his march westwards; leaving, however, several Koushûns of his most resolute veterans, concealed among the woods, to take advantage of the movements of the enemy. On Friday the twenty first* of the month, having crossed the river Jummou for the last time, and continued his march four kôsse, or about eight miles, Teymûr encamped on the left bank of the Tchunaub; where that river intersects a plain, of luxuriant pasturage, extending to the distance of four farsangs in every direction. Shortly after the main body of the army had thus cleared the defiles of Jummou and Menou, the natives, states our author, conceiving that the lordly ruler of the forest had entirely quitted their woods, like foxes from their holes, suddenly issued from their hiding places. And in such circumstances, where they least expected it, they found themselves fiercely assailed by the Teymûrian troops, in ambuscade, by whom they were cut to pieces in great numbers. The Rajah of Jummou, who was wounded in the conflict, fell into the hands of Dowlut Temûr Tawatchei, and Husseyne Melek, of the Koutchein tribe; by whom, with fifty of his followers, he was now conveyed to the presence of the Tcheghatâian monarch. It was thought advisable that the Rajah's wounds should be made the object of peculiar care, and he was himself finally prevailed upon, by the joint influence of threats and promises, to make profession of the Mahommedan creed, in violation of one of the most sacred laws of his country consenting even to

* 27th of February.

eat bullock's flesh in company with his newly adopted brethren. A. H. 801.
 By these sacrifices he, however, effectually secured the favor of A. D. 1399.
 Teymûr; to whose court he now voluntarily attached himself, and Rouzut-us-suffa,
 whom, in all probability, he accompanied to the Indus.

In the mean time, while he lay encamped on the Tchunaub, intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, that the Shâhzadahs and other Ameirs who had been detached towards Lahour, in order to chastise the contumacious apostacy of Sheikhah, the brother of Nussret Gougry, had succeeded in securing the person of that perfidious and ungrateful changeling. This man, while Teymûr was employed in the peninsula of the Jumna and Ganges, had received permission to proceed to Lahour, on a promise of again joining the imperial standard when it reached the Beiah; a promise, however, of which he thought he might venture to omit the performance. On the twenty-fourth of the month,* the imperial army was in motion to cross the Tchûnaub, and, after a march of five kôsse, again encamped in a situation of singular beauty and amenity. The same day, the agent of Meiran Shah brought advices of the state of affairs in Azerbâijaun, and the provinces in that quarter of the empire; and on the day following,† Hindû Shah Khauzen was directed to proceed immediately to Samarkand, in order to announce the approaching return of Teymûr.

On the twenty-sixth of the latter Jummaudy, the army finally quitted the Tchûnaub; and, after a march of six kôsse, or about twelve miles, encamped in the desert tract, some distance to the westward of that river. On the twenty-seventh,‡ the army was again in motion; and while the imperial litter was set for a moment on the summit of an eminence, contiguous to the line of march, a lion is described to have suddenly rushed from his haunts, and being immediately beset on all sides by the troops in attendance, was attacked sword in hand, and cut down by the intrepid Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein. Before the close of this day's march Teymûr was joined by the Mirzas Peir Mahommed and Rûstum, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Sûliman Shah, on their return from their successful expedition against Sheikhah Gougry, and Lahour. Of the assortment of presents which they laid before their sovereign on this occasion, consisting of articles

* 2nd of March.

† 3rd of March.

‡ 5th of March.

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suffa.

the most costly and rare selected from the accumulated booty, the whole was immediately distributed by him to his courtiers, without the reserve of a single article for himself. His attention being, at the same time, particularly directed towards the gallant and faithful Peir Mahommed Azaud, of whose talents and prowess some signal proofs were exhibited among the Siahpoush towards the commencement of the expedition, Teymûr conceived it a fit opportunity to distinguish him above others by presenting him with a vest from his own wardrobe, together with a quiver suspended to a belt of gold; all of which had occasionally formed the appendages of his own dress, and were thus rendered doubly estimable to those who best loved him.

In the course of the same day, the twenty seventh of the month, the Shahzâdahs and principal generals received orders, by a route prescribed to them, to proceed to their respective governments; each, according to his rank and station, presented with some splendid decoration for his person, from the diadem blazing with the radiance of the diamond, for his brows, to the girdle enriched with gems and gold, for his waist. The Hindûstauny chiefs and nobles, who, like the genius of victory, had attached themselves during the expedition to the stirrup of the conqueror, were also now permitted to return homewards, richly arrayed in robes of honour, and furnished with letters patent for their possessions, under the imperial authority. The important government of Mûltaun was, at the same time, conferred upon Khuzzer Khaun; who had formerly escaped from the prisons of Saurung Khaun, to the protection of Ahouden, chief of Beiaunah, west of Agra, but who had subsequently enrolled himself under the standard of Teymûr.

The country through which he was now passing, between the Tchûnaub and Behaut, the latter river also denominated indiscriminately the *Tcheilum*, Jamed, and Dindana, in different stages of its course to the Indus, furnishing a vast variety of game and beasts of the chase, including, according to our author, the lion, tyger, rhinoceros, wolf, and an animal to which he assigns the name of Koutahpâi, or shortleg, together with the elk, or Sauber, or stag of the forest, and the Gâozen-e-kaboud, Neilagão, or blue ox—and among the feathered race, the pheasant, peacock, wild-duck, and paroquet, without mentioning numerous other kinds, Teymûr did not omit the oppor-

tunity of indulging in his favorite amusement. Having, accordingly, gratified his inclinations in this respect, by a prodigious slaughter among these different animals, the Tcheghataïan monarch, on the twenty-eighth of the month,* continued his progress westward, and after a march of eight kôsse, encamped at the station of Jebhan; an advanced post, already mentioned, on the frontiers of Kashmeir, the country round, at this period, blooming in all the verdure and fragrance of spring.

A. H. 891.
A. D. 1399.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

On the last day of the latter Jummaudy,† having determined to make the best of his way to Samarkand, Teymûr separated from the army, and proceeded by a forced march of twenty kôsse, [about forty miles], to the town of Saumbisseb, or Saumbastah; a dependency on Mount Joud, and situated, according to the best maps, on the right or western bank of the Behaut, about thirty miles below Rotas. On the first day of the month of Rudjub,‡ he prosecuted his march to the village of Beroujah, or Beroutchah; from whence, after the performance of meridian prayer, he hastened to enter the desert of Tchoul, or Joul-Jullauly, formerly mentioned; through which he succeeded in effecting his passage, by the hour of evening prayer, about sunset, when he appears to have encamped on the side of a piece of water, formed by the periodical rains, after a march of thirty kôsse or about sixty miles, from the last mentioned village of Beroujah. Some time in the forenoon of the following day, he reached the left bank of the Indus; being the fifty seventh day since his departure from the vicinity of the Ganges, and just five months and seventeen days from the period at which he crossed the Indus to the eastward, at the commencement of this memorable expedition.

A bridge of boats and hurdles secured to grapnels in the bed of the river, having, in consequence of previous orders, been already constructed by Peir Ally Seldûz, Shah Ally Ferauhy, and other officers left in charge of the adjoining districts of Banou and Nughz, Teymûr appears to have immediately crossed to the opposite side, where he remained until noon. Then leaving Ameir Allahdaud at the head of the bridge, with injunctions to take care that the passage should be effected without precipitation, by the army which followed at some distance in the rear, he finally proceeded on his journey to the castle of Banou, or Bunnou, on the Kowmul river; the situation of which was indicated in a former page.

* 6th of March.

† 7th of March.

‡ 8th of March.

CHAP. VII.

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1399.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

HAVING left Banou on thursday the fourth of Rudjub,* corresponding with the first of Ferwardein, the new years day of the era of Melek Shah, Teymûr proceeded towards Nughuz, which he reached on the following day. He was detained at Nughuz, in order to complete the fortifications of that place, and in particular, in extending them so as to include a neighboring convenient spring within the works, until the ninth, on which day he proceeded one stage, by the mausoleum of Sheikh Mûbaurek Shah, to the station of Kermauje. But finding his reception here, from a certain Afghan chief, not exactly suitable to his dignity, or the claims of civilized society, he continued his march the same day, to Aseikan, Askina, or Aksica, where he was hospitably entertained in the habitation of Sheikh Abdal. On the tenth,† he passed through the defile of Araumek, [Rame of De la Croix], and having taken some repose and dined, the same day proceeded to Kabûl. Here leaving some of the ladies of the imperial family, who were unable to keep up with the necessary expedition, in charge of Mûbasher Bahauder, he continued his journey, on the eleventh, to the head of the new canal of Mauhygueir, recently completed under his own instructions. From thence, on the twelfth, he proceeded to the station of Gherbaun, or Garban; and having encamped for the night, gave orders for the construction of an extensive Rebbaut, or square, of brick and tile, for the accommodation of travellers, the spot being situated at the junction of several roads.

He continued his march from Gherbaun, on the thirteenth of Rudjub, and proceeding two farsangs, or about seven miles, the manuscript exhibits ten farsangs, or 35 miles, and we have chosen that of De la Croix as the more moderate computation, he passed through the defile of Shebertou and encamped at a place to which, in consequence

* 11th of March.

† 17th of March.

of an eruptive disorder, that broke out in biles upon his legs and arms, his attendants gave the name of Binna khoushk—the abode of drought, or insalubriousness. Having been detained here three days by the severity of his complaint, he was able to prosecute his journey on the fourth, which must have been the seventeenth of Rudjub,* in a litter conveyed by mules; but as the motion of these animals increased the pain of his disorder, the officers of his household took the litter on their own shoulders. And in this manner he was borne through the straits of Seiahbunje, being compelled to cross the same river from the commencement to the termination of the pass, probably that of Soraub, not less than eight and forty times; namely, six and twenty times on one side of the ridge, and two and twenty on the other. This species of exercise, however, seems to have removed his complaint altogether; and he proceeded accordingly, on the eighteenth of the month, from the station of Soraub towards Bakalaun; and having halted to partake of a short repast at the village of Aukher, possibly in the neighborhood of the last mentioned town, he continued his march the same day to Karabaugh, or perhaps Karaboulac, as given in De la Croix's history. On the nineteenth, according to that author, he reached Semenkan, or Semenjaun, and proceeded the same day to Gaznik. On the twentieth, he prosecuted his journey to Kûlm, and setting out from thence at noon, reached the banks of the Jeyhûn, in front of Termed, in the middle of the night between the twentieth and the twenty-first of Rudjub.†

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1399.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

De la Croix.

On the twenty-first, he proceeded by boat across the Jeyhûn, and was met on the opposite bank by the princes Olûgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, the queen consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Tomaun Aga, by the princess Beigesy Sûltan his favorite daughter, and by a numerous assemblage of the magistrates and chief citizens of Samarkand and its dependencies, who had hastened thus far to salute and congratulate their common sovereign on his triumphant return.

Having remained at Termed for two days, and after having been sumptuously entertained on the second day by the Khaunzadah Alâul-Melek, a Seyud of the greatest distinction, and possibly the gov-

* 24th of March.

† 27th and 28th of March.

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1399.
De la Croix.

ernor of that place, Teymûr proceeded, on tuesday the twenty-third of the month,* to the Keshlaur, or winter palace of Jahaun mûlk; on the twenty-fourth, to the baths of Turkey, and on the twenty-fifth, he passed the iron gate, or strait of Koluga, and encamped on the river Barik. On the twenty-sixth, he continued his journey to Tchekedalic, on the twenty-seventh to Kouzimonad, and on the twenty-eighth, reached the station of Dourbiltchein, where he found his son Shah Rokh, who had repaired thus far from Herât, to offer his homage of filial respect to his august parent. On the same day, Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, whom, at his departure on the expedition, Teymûr had left in charge of the government of Samarkand, and who, by his prudent and conciliatory demeanor, had merited his entire approbation, also appeared at court; and experienced a most gracious and distinguished reception from his imperial grandsire. On the twenty-ninth, Teymûr proceeded to encamp on the little river Toum; and on the last day of Rudjub, he displayed his victorious horse-tails on the verdant meads in the neighborhood of his native city of Kesh.

Here, employed on pious visitations to the tombs of his father, and children, and that of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kolaour, the patron saint of the place, and in distributing alms to the poor of the vicinity, Teymûr continued until the fourteenth of Shabaun;† on which day he quitted Kesh, and proceeded to encamp on the Roudek. On the fifteenth, he reached the Tchunaur-rebaut, or hotel of the plane trees; on the sixteenth, he passed the intervening mountain, and encamped at Kûtlûg; and on the seventeenth, he continued his journey to Takht-e-kâratchah, the palace which, as formerly described, he had caused to be built during one of his excursions from Samarkand. On the eighteenth, he arrived at the Koushek, Kiosk, or garden palace of Jahaun-nemâ; on the nineteenth, he proceeded to the pleasure house of Doulutabad, and on monday the twentieth of Shabaun, about nine in the morning.‡ he reached his palace in the garden of Dilgûshâi, in the neighborhood of Samarkand, which had been finished during his absence; and where a sumptuous and royal

* 30th of March.

† 20th of April.

‡ 20th of April.

banquet prepared by his illustrious relatives, and the inhabitants of the metropolis, now awaited his arrival.*

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1399.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

On the day following, Teymûr made his entry into the metropolis; where his first object, after indulging in the recreation of his baths, was to visit the tomb of Kothem the son of the venerable Abbas. From thence, he proceeded to the hospital and almshouse, erected and endowed by his consort Tomaun Aga; after which, he successively visited the several imperial palaces and gardens of the Baugh-e-tchunaur, Baugh-e-behisht, and Baugh-e-belend. In the mean time, the captured elephants, which had remained behind with the baggage of the army, arrived at Samarkand; and by their prodigious bulk and singular structure, filled the natives of the country, unaccustomed to the spectacle, with admiration, and astonishment at the consummate skill displayed by the creator, in all his works. The treasures of art, manufacture, and curiosity, acquired during the Indian expedition, were now distributed with unbounded liberality among the shahzâdahs, the princesses of the imperial family, the Ameirs and Nûyans, and the nobility and principal inhabitants of Transoxiana. Saurung the captive governor of Mûltaun, and the elder brother of Mullou Khaun the prime minister of Dehly, together with two of the elephants, and many articles of the greatest rarity and value, was dispatched to Asheirah on the frontiers of Khatâi, in order to be presented to Mirza Mahommed Sûltan; who commanded, as we have already seen, in that remote quarter of the empire. Neither were any of the feudal chiefs, or Ameirs, stationed on the other boundaries of his extensive dominions, forgotten in this liberal dispensation of their sovereign's bounty. Not long afterwards, Shah Rokh was permitted to return to Herât, the metropolis of his government.

Amidst these peaceful avocations, the design of erecting a cathedral mosque in his capital did not escape the attention of Teymûr; and on sunday the fourth of Ramzaun† accordingly, the day fixed

* For this dry detail of the stages of Teymûr's journey from the Indus to his capital, if an apology be required, it must be sought for in the eventual utility of such itineraries, to the purposes of geographical information; and the author of these pages would not regret his labor, if they presented manymore such to the perusal of his readers.

† 9th of May.

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1399.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

upon by the astrologers, the moon being then in leo, and, in the jargon of the sect, departing from the sextile of the sun into that of Venus, the architects and other workmen, who had been selected from every country in Asia for their superior skill, proceeded to lay the foundations of this long projected structure. Of these, two hundred of the most skilful who wrought in stone and marble, were constantly employed on the body of the building; and five hundred in the mountain quarries, in squaring and dispatching the stone for the work. Ninety chain, or head, of the captured elephants were set apart for the conveyance of the different materials, the larger stones being, however, transported in carts drawn by oxen. Each of the princes of the blood, principal generals, and Ameirs of the court, was respectively, charged with a pillar, or arch, or pinnacle, or other part of the work; and the whole being carried on under the immediate superintendence of the emperor, was prosecuted to a completion with extraordinary diligence and dispatch. In the mean time, our author professing to be a compiler of history, not a describer of architectural beauties, and declining to enter into further particulars with respect to this magnificent structure, we shall endeavour to supply the defect from the work of De la Croix. It appears therefore, to have been sustained or decorated by four hundred and eighty pillars of hewn stone, [sung toraushidah], most likely of marble, each seven cubits high. The vaulted roof was covered with the same sort of stone, neatly sculptured and polished, the height from the architrave of the entablature to the top of the roof, being nine cubits. At each of the four corners of the building was raised a lofty minaret; the doors were of brass; and the walls, without as well as within, and the arches of the roof, or dome, were decorated with inscriptions in relievo, among which was the entire chapter of the cavern—the eighteenth of the Korân. The pulpit and reading desk were of the richest materials and workmanship, and the niche of the altar was covered with plates of iron overlaid with gold, and likewise of extraordinary beauty.

The elevated rank, as well as the conspicuous share allotted to Meiran Shah in the events of this reign, renders it here necessary to recur to the affairs of the seven hundred and ninety-eighth of the hidjerah;

in the autumn of which year, and in consequence of a dangerous fall from his horse in hunting, and the unskilful and improper treatment of his physicians, that prince became subject to a very unhappy and deplorable derangement of intellects. Hence his behavior became, in a variety of instances, extremely capricious and extravagant, and in every respect unworthy of his exalted station. Among the instances of extravagance recorded against him, we find it related that he would occasionally lay the treasures of his government in places where they were at the discretion of every casual beggar; and among circumstances of more heinous criminality, it is laid to his charge that he would on the slightest grounds condemn the innocent to die. In the early part of the hot season of the year seven hundred and ninety-nine, from no other inducement than a vague idea, that Sûltan Ahmed would abandon his capital at the very rumour of his approach, he led his troops towards Baghdâd; and although intelligence was conveyed to him on his arrival at Ibrauhimlik, that some among the higher orders of the inhabitants of Tebreiz, had entered into a confederacy hostile to his government, he persisted in his design, and in defiance of every suggestion of prudence, prosecuted his march to the gates of that capital. Sûltan Ahmed, on the other hand, fully aware that, at such a season, the siege of the place was an undertaking of equal folly and temerity, instead of becoming again a fugitive, as had been fondly anticipated, determined to abide by his post, and made every preparation to defend himself. In two days, however, after he had thus unadvisedly engaged himself before the metropolis of Irâk, Meiran Shah, in consequence of intelligence from Tebreiz, announcing afresh, and with alarming frequency, the violent agitations which disturbed that capital, found himself, after all, constrained to abandon his ill-concerted scheme, and to return with the utmost celerity, to appease the commotions which menaced the subversion of his own power; and which he did not fail to punish, on his arrival, with equal severity and rigor—the Kauzy, or principal judge of Tebreiz, in particular, being among the malcontents who suffered death for their turbulent and seditious practices, on this occasion.

During the autumnal quarter of the same year, on some slight suspicion of hostility to his interests, and without the smallest investigation into the grounds of his suspicion, he led an army against

A. H. 801.

A. D. 1399.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

A. H. 801. Seyud Ally Erlaut, the ruler of Shekky; whose territory he laid waste,
 A. D. 1399. and pillaged of every species of property.

Rouzut-us-
 suffa.

Hence, as it was reasonable to apprehend, when accounts of the Shahzadah's debauched and voluptuous indulgences, aggravated by these violent and unwarrantable proceedings, became circulated in the neighboring provinces, the Georgians, who had disappeared to their hiding places in the mountains, from the vengeance of the Moghûl armies, availed themselves of the opportunity furnished, at the same time, by the departure of Teymûr on his Indian expedition, to resume their hostile aggressions on the frontiers of the Empire. At this period, Sûltan Sunjur the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein* was engaged in the blockade of Alanjek, now reduced to the last extremity; although it still continued to hold out with singular pertinacity, against the Teymûrians, under Sûltan Taher the son of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd. A strong line of circumvallation thrown up, by the besiegers, around the whole circumference of the hill, seemed also to have cut off from the garrison all communication with the adjoining territory, and all hope of relief from without; and it was at such a crisis, that Melek Gûrguein, or Gregory, prince of Georgia, dispatched a superior force, in order to raise the siege of this important place, and to attempt the deliverance of Sûltan Taher. To this force, provoked by the recent wanton outrages committed by Meiran Shah, on the territories of his government, and however zealously attached to the authority of Teymûr and the cause of Islâm, Seyud Ally of Shekky, immediately united his troops; and the whole together proceeded accordingly, without delay, to enter the province of Azerbâijaun, on their way to Alanjek. Before such superior numbers, as soon as he became apprized that they were advancing against him, Sûltan Sunjur conceived it prudent to retire, and he accordingly raised the siege, and withdrew to Tebreiz; where he communicated to Meiran Shah, amidst the voluptuaries to whom he had resigned himself, the circumstances under which, on the verge of its accomplishment, he had been compelled to abandon the service entrusted to his care.

* Perhaps it was Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein himself, and that the prenomén of Sûltan Sunjur was only an additional title bestowed upon him.

In order if possible to retrieve the disgrace of which this must have been the occasion, Meiran Shah employed his own son Aba Bukker, accompanied by the same Sûltan Sunjur, with Hadjy Abdullah Abbas, and an additional force, which was now led to repel the enemy and to resume the position before Alanjek. In the mean time, the Georgians had accomplished their object in approaching that place, by the liberation of Sûltan Taher; who had hastened to descend from his post on the appearance of his deliverers, leaving Hadjy Salah and Siddi Ahmed Ally Shâby, together with three Georgian Ornawers, or Oznawers, a title of nobility with that nation, behind him, in order to continue the defence of this important fortress. Having therefore, nothing further in view in this quarter, than what related to the safety of Sûltan Taher, the Georgians were on their march from Alanjek homewards, when they fell in with the Tebrizian army, with whom a conflict now unavoidably ensued; in which the latter being defeated, both on the right and left, by the superior force of their adversaries, although Seyud Ally the chief of Shekky was killed in the battle, Mirza Aba Bukker, after signalizing himself by the most conspicuous gallantry, conceived it advisable to quit the field to his opponents, who were then permitted to continue their retreat into their native country, without further interruption.

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suffa.

All this time, nevertheless, Meiran Shah, to the entire and shameful neglect of all public business, continued so completely immersed in his pleasures, that the affairs of his government, were suffered to fall into the most ruinous state of confusion; so that on his return to Samarkand, from his memorable expedition to Dehly, one of the earliest pieces of information that reached Teymûr was the very precarious and unsettled condition of affairs in Azerbâijaun. Not long afterwards, the consort of Meiran Shah, the highborn Khaunzadah in person, repaired to Samarkand, to complain of some gross and unmerited insults which she had sustained from her husband, as well as to represent the disorder in his intellects; expressly declaring, at the same time, that nothing but the immediate presence of the sovereign in Azerbâijaun could prevent the open and actual revolt of the infatuated prince, against his father's authority. These untoward circumstances are assigned, at all events, as the causes which limited the stay of Tey-

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A. D. 1399.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

mûr in his capital, on this occasion, to the period of four months; at the termination of which, it was finally resolved to proceed once more into western Persia. And the Tawatcheis, or imperial commissaries, were accordingly dispatched to the different provinces of the empire, in order to summons the several contingents, without delay, to join the imperial standard, fully equipped in all respects for a distant warfare of seven years.

In concurrence with instructions to this purpose, Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Jahaun Melek, and Peir Mahommed Pûlaud, with other distinguished chiefs attached to the government of Khorassaun, hastened to Herât; in order to convey to Shah Rokh, his fathers commands to march with the troops of his province, into Azerbâijaun, previously dispatching a division in advance, under Sûliman Shah, towards the capital of Tebreiz. In obedience to these commands, the advanced division thus indicated was immediately dispatched by Shah Rokh, under Sûliman Shah, accompanied, at the same time, by Seyud Khaujah; and, as soon as they could be assembled, he proceeded in person with the remainder of the troops of the province, taking the route of Bostaun and Damaghaun. Receiving, however, on his arrival at Jaujerem, advices by Towukkel Kerkerâ, that the main body of the imperial armies, after crossing the Oxus, would pursue the route of Damaghaun, and that the division of Khorassaun must therefore proceed by that of Shasemnaun and Asterabad, the Shahzâdah immediately altered the direction of his march, and drew off to the right, into Mazanderaun; where, through the difficulty of the roads, and the noxious herbage in the swamps and forests of that barbarous country, he lost the greater part of the cattle of his army. After sustaining the greatest hardships, and privations in every form, he succeeded at length, notwithstanding, in conducting his troops to Feyrouzkôh; from whence he was enabled to continue his march without further obstacle.

In the mean time, having left his grandson Mahommed Sûltan, to preside during his absence over the important provinces of Tûraun, or that part of his dominions which lies to the eastward of the Oxus, and having sent the Mirzas Eskunder and Omar Sheikh, to take charge of Andegaun, and the government of Ferghaunah, Teymûr

quitted Samarkand once more, on the eighth day of Mohurrim, of the eight hundred and second of the hidjerah,* and proceeded across the Jeyhûn, at Termed, to Balkh; where he took up his abode in the mansion of Ameir Yadgaur Berlas, the governor of that city, by whom he was most hospitably entertained during his stay. From thence he continued his march to Saurek Kemesh of Jaum.† Here he was visited by the princesses Melket Aga, and Gouher Shaud Aga, both the wives of Shah Rokh; the former of whom took this opportunity, of presenting to his grandsire her infant son Seyûrghetmesh, born in the month of Ramzaun, of the preceding year. From the neighborhood of Jaum he dispatched Mirza Rûstum, accompanied by Ameir Sounjek, at the head of two thousand horse, to join his elder brother Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, at Shirauz; with orders to proceed together from that place, with the troops of the province, towards Baghdâd. Teymûr then prosecuted his march by the route of Neyshapûr and Bostaum, or Bistaum, skirting the territory of Rey, to the village, or smaller town of Aywaunek; at which station he was joined by Shah Rokh, and the division with which, as we have already noticed, he had, according to his instructions, passed with so much difficulty through Mazanderaun.

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Rouzut-us-
suffa.

On the other hand, Ameir Sûliman Shah, who had proceeded towards Tebreiz, with the advanced division of the troops of Khoras-saun, received on his arrival at Rey, from the statements of Beyan Koutchein, sufficient confirmation with respect to the unfortunate malady which had attacked the brain of Meiran Shah. Conceiving therefore, that a continuation of his march to Tebreiz, and an interview with the Shahzâdah, in the present posture of affairs, would be extremely unadvisable, if not hazardous, he proceeded straight forward to Hamadaun; where he determined to remain until circumstances should further arise to govern his conduct. In the mean time, receiving intelligence of his approach, Mirza Aba Bukker, and Meiran Shah in person, or, according to others, the former on his own authority, with the advice of his father's Ameirs, dispatched a letter

* 9th September, 1399.

† Whether this be an additional appellative of Jaum, or a place in the neighborhood, is not yet clear.

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to Ameir Sûliman, inviting him to hasten to Tebreiz, without apprehension. With this invitation he was easily induced to comply; and from that place, two days after his arrival, he finally prevailed upon Meiran Shah to proceed, without further delay, to the camp of his father.

At this period Teymûr had left the territory of Rey considerably in his rear, and soon afterwards, Meiran Shah, with his retinue, entered the imperial encampment. On the first day, he was, however, forbidden to enter the presence of his father; and on the second day, although he was permitted to prostrate himself at the foot of the throne, with the presents which he had prepared for the purpose of abating the royal displeasure, his reception in other respects, in consequence of the heavy charges of delinquency conveyed against him, continued, nevertheless, extremely cold and discouraging. In the mean time, commissioners had been dispatched to Tebreiz, to inspect the accounts of the public treasury; from which it was sufficiently ascertained, that for several years, no less than two parts, out of three perhaps, of the revenues of the state, had been indiscriminately squandered away among his thoughtless favorites, by the infatuated prince, during the paroxysms of his folly. And since it appeared that in his licentious excesses, his frantic indulgence of an inordinate passion for wine and music, he had been chiefly encouraged by the excitements and example of the bards and minstrels, who composed the associates of his pleasures, some of them the most eminent in genius and skill of the age and country in which they lived, these were seized, and condemned to expiate, by an ignominious death on the gallows, their participation in the follies of an infatuated voluptuary; and the sentence was carried into execution, without the slightest regard to the tears of the muses, or to the acknowledged claims of genius and talents however distinguished. It is, at the same time, observed that, although the associates of his pleasures were thus condemned to suffer by the hands of the executioner, and the whole of his followers of every class forever banished his presence, the Shahzâdah was himself permitted, nevertheless, to retain his place at court, as usual, above all the princes of the blood; and during the succeeding expeditions into Syria and the dominions of the Sûltan of Egypt,

continued to receive, without variation, from all the individuals of his tribe and family, the same testimonies of respect and distinction as he had ever been accustomed to experience.

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Having remained some short time at Sûltauniah, Teymûr proceeded at length through the Kâraderrah, or black pass, by the city of Ardebeil, and over the plains of Moughan and Aktaun where he did not fail to indulge in his love of the chase, to the banks of the Aras, or Araxes; and having thrown a bridge across, he continued his march to the opposite bank of that river, where he placed his troops in winter quarters distributed along the verge of Fetour, or Koutûrkund, the territory or feudal tenure of Omar Taban.

It will be remembered that, after assisting the Georgians to raise the siege of Alanjek, Seidy, or Seyud Ally Erlat, prince of Shekky, had with his life already made atonement for his offences, in the battle with Mirza Aba Bukker. His son Seyud Ahmed had, however, possessed himself of the vacant government; and, at the period under consideration, he availed himself of the known influence of Ameir Ibrauhim, the prince of the adjoining province of Shirvaun, to intercede with Teymûr, lest the offences of the father might be visited on the unoffending son. He was accordingly introduced, through the medium of that chief, to the imperial presence, experienced a favorable reception, and had his fathers estates and dignities confirmed to him. The imperial court was, at the same time, sumptuously entertained by Ameir Ibrauhim; who laid before his august and powerful patron the ordinary magnificent display of presents, one article of which consisted of six thousand prime and valuable horses.

While the attention of Teymûr was yet engaged in these minor considerations, intelligence of higher importance, favorable to the prosperity of his government, reached him from different quarters of the empire. Among the earliest, it was announced that Teymûr Kût-lûgh Oghlan, who, on the subversion of the authority of Touktemesh Khaun, and under the sanction of Teymûr's name, had proceeded to take possession of the throne of Keptchauk, but, after assuming the government of his ancestors, had ungratefully violated his engagements with his benefactor, was recently dead, and that his country was become a prey to the most violent commotions. Next came advices from

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Syria and Egypt, which stated the dissensions which prevailed among the members of his court, the Maumlouk Beys, on the death of Melek Berkouk, and on the accession of Melek Feredje, or Faredje, the son of that prince, with a precarious and ill supported authority. In the third place, followed accounts from China, which announced that Bethghour, or Tangouz Khaun, the monarch of that vast country, after a protracted course of infidelity, had terminated his mortal existence; leaving his empire in a state of anarchy and confusion entirely favorable to the designs of the first invader. And last of all, though not in importance the least, was the information now received, of the demise of Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan, the monarch of Jettah, or interior Tartary; and of the contest which had arisen, for the succession, between his children Shumma Jahaun, Sheir Ally, and Shahjahaun Oghlan, in consequence of the violent and selfish counsels of the evil disposed.

As a sequel to this last piece of intelligence, it was at the same time, announced that a considerable force, taking advantage of the prevailing distractions, had proceeded from Andegaun, under the command of Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, to invade the territory of Jettah, and the adjoining country of the Moghûls; in which the aspiring ambition of the young prince, at this period not more than fifteen years of age, was successful in an eminent degree. But as it has contributed to throw some additional light upon the geography of these remote and unexplored regions, we shall venture to accompany the author in his sketch of the operations of this incidental expedition.

It would, therefore, appear, that when the young prince became apprized of the death of Khuzzer Khaujah, and of the disturbances which had ensued in the government of his country, he early determined to avail himself of such an opportunity; and having, accordingly, assembled a competent force at Andegaun, he seems to have marched directly to the eastward, accompanied by Peir Mahommed Toghâi Bouga, Yourek Berlas, Beyan Temûr the son of Begtchek, and other Ameirs attached to his court. On his arrival in the neighborhood of Kashghar, the Shahzâdah was further joined by Beirdy Beg Saurbougâ, Khodadaud [*Theodore*] the son of Hûsseyne, Shums-ud-dein

Abbas, and other chiefs, stationed on the frontiers of Jettah. With these he proceeded south-east, first to Yaurkent, which was given up to pillage; after which, overrunning the several districts of Saur k Kemmesh, Kelapein, Alligoule, and others, which it would be in vain to search for in a map, he came before a place of some strength, the name of which, if it were of any importance, is omitted in the manuscript. Probably it was the Aouje described, in De la Croix's work, as a province in Moghûlstaun. However, with considerable exertion, the prince finally made himself master of it.

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From this place, Eskunder next directed his march towards Auksû, described as consisting of three distinct fortresses closely communicating with each other; or, possibly, of three ramparts one within the other, and furnishing to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts a secure retreat under circumstances of distress and danger. However, after the Shahzâdah had in vain employed all the usual methods of attack for its reduction, during a period of nearly forty days, the inhabitants at last, with a suitable present, conveyed proposals of submission to their besiegers; at the same time, as a sacrifice to ensure the preservation of their own property, they barbarously expelled from the place a number of Khataïan, or Chinese merchants, who had possibly relied on the laws of hospitality for a protection against robbery and violence. These concessions on the part of the garrison proved satisfactory to the Shahzâdah, who immediately directed his troops to cease hostilities. It is, nevertheless, represented on the other hand with some variation by different historians, that when the besieged, at the expiration of about twelve days, had evinced a disposition to treat, and the Shahzâdah had consented to grant terms to the garrison, they suddenly retracted from their proposals, and recurred to hostilities. In consequence of which, enraged at their audacity, the young prince resumed the operations of the siege, with encreasing vigor and activity; and having finally obtained possession of the place by assault, put the whole of the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms to the sword, and made captives of the women and children.

When he had, at all events, made himself master of Auksû, Mirza Eskunder detached some squadrons of his army towards Bâey, or Paey, and Kowsen; two stations described by the author as the sum-

A. H. 802. mer and winter quarters of the Moghûl tribes of that part of Tartary.
 A. D. 1399. Of both these places the inhabitants were either destroyed or dis-
 Rouzut-us- persed; after which the troops proceeded to the district of Taurem,
 suffa. which they overran and pillaged, with the ordinary severity. The
 Shahzâdah then led his army towards Khoten.

From Khoten, the capital of the territory of the same name, we are here informed that to Khaunbâlegh, or Cambalu, or Pekin, eastward nearly under the same parallel of latitude, is a distance of one hundred and sixty-one munzuls, or stages, or perhaps days journey by caravan; all of which have been distinctly laid down, by geographers, through a habitable country furnishing the necessary supply of water and every article of subsistence for the traveller.* There is, however, a shorter route, by which the frontiers of China might be reached in forty days; but in this the traveller would find nothing for the support of existence, nothing but sand, light and moveable sand, during the whole of his perilous journey. With respect to the former route, we learn, from De la Croix's work more particularly, that they reckon from Khoten to Kara Khojah, five and thirty days' journey; from Kara Khojah to Tetcaoul, the frontier station of China, where there is a wall [the great wall] extending between two mountains, with a great gate, and several Yamkhaunahs, or courier stations calculated also for the accommodation of travellers, thirty days' journey; from thence to Ghenjanfou [Kingyanfou] one of the cities of China within the great wall, fifty-one days' journey; and from the latter place to Cambalec, or Khaunbâlegh, forty days. In all one hundred and fifty-seven days' journey; of which sixty-six without, and ninety-one within the wall. It is added that from Khoten to Kashghar, north-west-ward, is a distance of fifteen days journey, and from Kashghar to Samarkand, of five and twenty days; making from Samarkand to Pekin, altogether, a distance of one hundred and ninety seven days journey. We shall further remark, from the same author, that the stones of the two rivers of Khoten, the Oraccaush and

The longitudinal distance between Khoten and Pekin, according to the best maps, is at least 1840 miles, but this, in consequence of the extensive deviations to avoid the great deserts on either hand, will be easily encreased to one third more; at the smallest computation, that of 20 miles to a day's journey, it would, however, give 3220 miles—at 15, 2415 miles.

Kâracaush, both having their source in the western mountains of Karangoutâg, by which it is separated from little Tibet, furnish a quantity of jasper, which is an article of considerable exportation to various countries.

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From the inhabitants of Khoten, Mirza Eskunder appears to have experienced a reception every way favorable, and he is described, without difficulty, to have brought the whole of that country to submit to the authority of Teymûr; after which he returned to Kashghar, where he passed the succeeding winter. In the mean time, from among the most beautiful of the maidens of Khoten, he selected two toghûz, or lots of nine each, to be conveyed as part of a present to his imperial grandsire; and another lot of the same description of beauties, with nine of the finest horses, he dispatched for his couzin german Mahommed Sûltan, by whom the whole was, however, rejected with disdain. In this place it becomes necessary to explain that Mahommed Sûltan, who had been left by Teymûr to preside in chief over the territory eastward of the Oxus, had long since proceeded from Samarkand, with a view of joining in the expedition towards Jettah; but finding that Mirza Eskunder had thought fit to hasten his departure without awaiting the arrival of the superior authority, he now rejected the proffered presents with scorn, and returned in displeasure to the capital of his government.

Accordingly at the return of spring, when Mirza Eskunder commenced his journey towards the same capital of Samarkand, information was conveyed to him that his kinsman, extremely incensed at his conduct, had arranged measures for the seizure of his person. In consequence, becoming alarmed at the danger, the young prince returned upon his steps, and shut himself up in the fortress of Andegaun. This circumstance, which appears to have had no other object than personal security, was immediately construed by the Ameirs of the province, such as Peir Mahommed Toghâi Bouga, and Peir Hadjy Melesh, into an indication of determined hostility towards the imperial government; and having, with this impression, assembled their feodatories, they proceeded without further delay to surround the prince in the place which he had chosen for his asylum. After some previous communication with his besiegers, Eskunder having,

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however, been induced by some means or other to lay aside his fears, and to take up his abode in a garden enclosed and beautified by his father Omar Sheikh, without the fort, his person was seized without further difficulty, by the associated Ameirs; who immediately dispatched to Mahommed Sûltan a report of their proceedings, and a request for further instructions. Mirza Eskunder and his followers were soon afterwards conveyed to Samarkand, where the person of the young prince was soon placed under competent security; but his Atabek, or preceptor, Beyan Temûr the son of Begtchek, and six and twenty of his retainers were condemned to suffer death, for the errors in which they had engaged their principal.

In the mean time, the period during which he remained encamped at Kârabaugh, was employed by Teymûr in giving scope to, and bringing to maturity his projects of vengeance against the Georgians; for their audacious interruption of the siege of Alanjek, and their liberation of Sûltan Taher. When, therefore, his arrangements were complete, the Tcheghataïan monarch, having previously dismissed his vassals Ameir Ibrauhim prince of Shirvaun, and Seidy Ahmed of Shekky, to their respective governments, with a selection of three tenths taken from among the soldiers, and ten days' provisions, proceeded by forced marches across the Peninsula, to the banks of the Kûrr, leaving the main body of his army with the heavy baggage in their former encampment. A bridge was speedily thrown across the river; and the imperial troops having passed with equal facility and good order to the opposite bank, Teymûr was there rejoined by the Princes of Shirvaun and Shekky, with their respective contingents. Continuing his march, Teymûr proceeded by the town of Shekky, towards the pass of Khumsha, a post two days' journey within their impermeable forests, in which the Georgians had lodged themselves in great force, under a chief also of the same name of Khumsha. As this post was no otherwise accessible, the troops were employed without delay, with their saws and hatchets, to cut a passage through; which they finally accomplished, in spite of the heavy snow which fell for a period of six and twenty days without intermission. The Georgians were then attacked, and defeated with horrible slaughter; the whole surface of the mountain being steeped in the blood of the slain, to a

considerable distance round, and exhibiting no imperfect resemblance to a bed of tulips.

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Khumsha the prince of this tribe of Georgians contrived, however, to effect his escape from the scene of carnage, although closely pursued by the Teymûrians, to the entrance of another formidable pass, called the pass of Auksû—the Leucorhoas or white river perhaps. It being, however, notorious that the whole of the natives of the surrounding territory, were immoderately addicted to the use of wine; and, as if in contempt of one of the most obvious precepts of Mahomedan orthodoxy, that they made a practice of even bathing the bodies of their dead in the generous liquid, before they committed them to the grave, Teymûr gave immediate directions that every vine, and vineyard throughout the country, should be taken up by the roots, and utterly destroyed; and, moreover, as far as possible to abolish from the minds of the natives every trace of the religious system of their fathers, every church, and place of christian worship, was levelled to the ground, leaving in short, throughout the whole of this region, neither fruit-bearing tree, nor the vestige of any habitation which could indicate in any shape that it had ever been the abode of human beings. The destroyer was, nevertheless, compelled for the present, by the continued rigors of the season, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence for his troops, to suspend the work of devastation, and to return, however loaded with booty, across the Kûrr, to his cantonments near Kârabaugh.

It has been already noticed that, when in the neighborhood of Jaum, on his recent march towards Azerbâijaun, Teymûr had dispatched his grandson Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh, to join his brother Peir Mahommed at Shirauz, with further instructions to proceed, together with that prince, towards Baghdâd. Mirza Rûstum hastened accordingly to Shirauz, and, on his arrival at that place, was received by his brother with every demonstration of regard and distinction. Shortly afterwards, Ameir Sounjek, with his nephew Hussun Jandaur, and Hussun Joghdawul, both employed under Peir Mahommed, was sent in advance by the route of Tustur, towards Baghdâd; and he was followed at a convenient interval in the same direction, by the two Mirzas Peir Mahommed and Rûstum, the Ameirs.

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Sâeid Berlas, and Ally Beg Eissa, this latter akin to Ameir Abbas, being left, in conformity with the instructions of Teymûr, to provide for the security of Shirauz. Peir Mahommed had, however, proceeded no further than Noubendejaun, when he pretended sickness, and embraced the opportunity of returning to the capital of his government. Mirza Rûstum and the other Ameirs, notwithstanding this defection, continued their march by Dezhfûll, the village, or station of the bridge, on the river of Tustur, pillaging the country as they passed along, the whole way to Mundely; where they appear to have arrived in the former Jummaudy, of the year eight hundred and two.* At Mundely, which was then a town of some importance dependent on Baghdâd, the Teymûrians were opposed, however unsuccessfully, by Ameir Ally Kullunder, who commanded on the part of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir; and who was defeated with little difficulty, by the force under Mirza Rûstum, the latter permitting the place to be entirely plundered, and, in a great measure, destroyed by his followers.

Having as we have just seen returned to Shirauz, under the pretence of illness, and yielding further to the mischievous counsels of those unprincipled advisers who are too frequently permitted to haunt the society, and mar the best intentions of the great, Peir Mahommed proceeded to exhibit so many proofs of misgovernment and malignant depravity, as could not fail to render his character equally dangerous and detestable, since he did not scruple to avail himself of the nefarious acts of the poisoner, in order to remove those persons who appeared obnoxious to his views. These odious and disloyal practices were, however, promptly discovered by some of his own domestics, to Abû Sâeid Berlas, and the accusation being repeated to his face, when made the subject of public investigation before an assembly of the Ameirs, the Shahzâdah was confined, without further ceremony, to the castle of Kohendezh; Abû Sâeid himself taking up his residence in the same fortress, for the greater security of his person, and dispatching to the imperial head quarters, to announce the extremities to which he had been compelled to resort, under these untoward circumstances.

* January A. D. 1490.

In consequence of the receipt of these dispatches from Abû Sâeid, A. H. 802.
 Ameir Allahdaud was directed, by Teymûr, to proceed immediately A. D. 1400.
 to Shirauz; in order to bring to justice the seditious profligates who Rouzut-us-
 had been concerned in misleading the unfortunate Peir Mahommed, suffa.
 and to establish Mirza Rûstum in the government of the province,
 in the room of his misguided brother. On his arrival at Shirauz, in
 conformity with his instructions, Ameir Allahdaud instantly put to
 death three of the most notorious of the prince's evil counsellors,
 struck off the hands and feet of a fourth, and threw the remainder
 into bonds; dispatching, at the same time, to Mirza Rûstum, in the
 territory of Baghdâd, the letters patent of his appointment. These
 were delivered to Mirza Rûstum at Mundely, subsequent to the
 defeat of Ally Kullunder recently noticed; and the young prince
 did not the less hasten to return to Shirauz, because his advancement
 had arisen on the degradation of his brother. Ameir Sounjek pro-
 ceeded, at the same time, by the route of Jeijemaul, to join the imperial
 head quarters at this period at Kârabaugh.

On the other hand, on his discomfiture by Mirza Rûstum and
 the Teymûrian Ameirs at Mundely, Ally Kullunder had fled in
 dismay to Baghdâd; where, together with the circumstances of his
 disgrace, he communicated no small degree of alarm to Sûltan Ahmed,
 who directed the gates of the city to be immediately closed, lest the
 victorious Teymûrians might enter with the fugitives. At this crisis
 an event occurred, which, however in appearance, inauspicious at the
 outset, through the influence of that unerring destiny which seems
 to have governed his affairs, finally terminated, like all other contin-
 gencies, in promoting the prosperity and grandeur of Teymûr.

The government of Khûzistaun had, at a former period, been
 entrusted under the Teymûrian authority, to a certain Ameir Shirvaun,
 of whom little more is known further than what has brought his
 name in question, on the present occasion. In effect, resigning the
 whole of his faculties to the accumulation of wealth, this man, so
 undeservedly selected, did not scruple to exercise every species of
 violence and injustice, in order to gratify the ruling propensity of his
 mind; and putting to death many of the citizens of Haweizah, or Ahû-
 auz sometimes so called, and extorting immense property from Shums-

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ud-dein Dehdaur in particular, and other opulent inhabitants of the province, he finally completed the measure of his iniquities, by going over, accompanied by one thousand horse completely armed and equipped, to Sûltan Ahmed at Baghdâd, by whom he was most favorably received, and immediately raised to the highest distinctions under his government. Shortly afterwards, notwithstanding, as if equally regardless of present, and of former obligations, if it was not indeed as might very easily be conceived, the result of a preconcerted plan with his late sovereign, Shirwaun proceeded to tamper privately with the courtiers of the Sûltan of Baghdâd; some of whom he found means to purchase at the price of ten thousand, others at no less a sum than three hundred thousand dinaurs. Among those who were not able to resist the all subduing influence of gold on this occasion, was the princess Wuffa Khautûn, the aunt of the Sûltan, by whom he had been brought up from his cradle; and who, to this moment, had never ceased to manifest towards him, every proof of the fondest attachment. It so happened, however, that a memorandum of the sums thus distributed, and of the individuals to whom they were allotted, was accidentally dropped by a clerk in the service of Shirwaun; and falling into the hands of Kourah Bahauder, one of the Sûltan's officers, was by him delivered to his master, at the very crisis at which, in consequence of his apprehensions of the approach of the Teymûrian armies, he had given orders to secure the gates of the capital. The horrors of domestic treason were scarcely of a nature to diminish the alarm of foreign attack; and the sum of ten thousand dinaurs having been placed in this catalogue of corruption to the credit of Raffya, one of his ministers in whose attachment he possibly reposed with more than ordinary confidence, the Sûltan's apprehensions were aggravated a thousand fold. Him, therefore, he determined to make sure of, and immediately sending for him, on the spot cut his throat with his own hand.

At the period of this discovery Ameir Shirwaun had been detached, together with Kûttûb Heydery and some other commanders, on an expedition against the tribe of Aweyraut; and to these commanders, through the medium of Yadgaur the Sûltan's Akhtatchei, or grand equerry, instructions were now conveyed to take off the head

of this turbulent exile, and bring it to court. The instructions were carried into execution without demur ; and the Ameirs immediately repaired to Baghdâd, conveying with them the ghastly proof of their prompt obedience. Shortly after he had thus removed the principal object of his vengeance, Sûltan Ahmed proceeded furthermore to dispose of such of the members of his court, as he had reason to suspect of having corruptly abetted the design of subverting his authority. Accordingly, having directed each of these persons, composing in fact the most distinguished of his officers, to be brought separately to his closet, he introduced the subject by demanding whether it was to be tolerated that such a one, naming the individual to whom he referred, who had been raised to wealth and honor through the bounty of his government, should by any groundless, or unprovoked perversion of principle, be induced to espouse the cause of his enemies ; and he concluded by further demanding, in such a case of perfidy and ingratitude, what course seemed most advisable to pursue. The individual replied on his knees, in the usual language of adulation, that whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain, as founded on the dictates of unerring wisdom, would doubtless command the entire approbation of his faithful servants. The Sûltan further observed that if he were disposed to make choice of the person to whom his discourse was now directed, as the object of his regard and confidence, it would probably be to experience the same proofs of disloyalty and ingratitude ; and he was answered with the most solemn assurances of zeal and fidelity in the execution of whatever he might be pleased to command. Sûltan Ahmed then proceeded more explicitly to state that there was a certain individual by whom he had, in this respect, been most injuriously treated, and that if he would but do him justice on the ingrate, the family, the wealth, and every thing belonging to the traitor, would be his immediate recompence. The unfortunate man had, however, no sooner executed on his part the design for which he had been selected, than another was prevailed upon by the same inducements to be the executioner of a similar plan of vengeance on himself. And by this, or some other expedient of the kind, if any credit be due to the statement of the original, in one short week did Sûltan Ahmed contrive to cut off no less than two thousand individu-

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als, within the limits of his capital alone, exclusive of what might have been destroyed at a distance.

On this occasion, while the Sûltan was thus, like a maniac, engaged in the immolation of such a multitude of his unoffending subjects, one day descending the steps of his palace, he was not ashamed to tell over to a feraush, or common sweeper, the names of those unhappy persons, whom he had been just dispatching to their long account. "Excellent!" replied the man, "so long as you and I remain alive, it matters not what becomes of the rest of the world." The remark produced some impression upon the infatuated prince, who immediately threw away his sword, and smiling at its import, pardoned the man for the freedom of his expression. His jealous vengeance was, however, not extinguished until the nurse of his infancy, the princess Wuffa Khautûn already noticed, was smothered by a bolster at Wausset, and numbers of the ladies and female domestics of the haram had perished by his own hand. It is at the same time stated, with some variation, that Wuffa Khautûn, and the other females who had unfortunately excited the suspicions of the Sûltan, were by his orders embarked together in a boat on the Tigris, on the pretence of being conveyed to Wausset, and all drowned in the mid-channel of that river.

The tyrant had, by this time, rendered his palace a frightful solitude, none being suffered to approach but the purveyors of his kitchen; by whom, on a concerted signal, without entering the gate, the provisions necessary to his subsistence were consigned to the few miserable females, who were yet permitted to remain in attendance upon his person. At last, when he had become sufficiently weary of this life of seclusion and despair, he directed six of his domestics, on whom he still continued to repose some confidence, to convey seven of his fleetest horses to the opposite, or western bank of the Tigris; and having repaired to the same spot, during the obscurity of a dark night, he made the best of his way, accompanied by these six domestics only, to the camp of Kâra Yûssuf the Tûrkman; which without further accident he reached in perfect safety, his good subjects at Baghdâd continuing to suppose that he was still immured within the precincts of his palace.

The Sûltan, in the mean time, with a baseness not often paralleled, is said to have proposed to the Tûrkman, the pillage of his own forsaken capital; and with this design he immediately accompanied the predatory chief to the banks of the Tigris, opposite to the town; where having marked out a camp for his Tûrkman allies he proceeded himself across the river in a boat, in order to make such further arrangements as were necessary to ensure the final execution of his plan. Suddenly repenting, however, of the atrocious wickedness of such a design, he prudently receded on the very verge of execution; and availing himself of the opportunity to procure an adequate number of his finest horses, with these and such arms furniture and costly effects, as he conceived would answer his purpose, he returned to Kara Yûssuf, the rapacity of whose followers he thus contrived to appease, without exposing the devoted city to the enormities of a general pillage.

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In the midst of these scenes of domestic distraction, the Sûltan's apprehensions of the approach of the Teymûrian armies were, however, not suffered to subside; for, towards the close of the eight hundred and second of the hidjerah,* the emissaries whom he employed to watch the movements of his enemies conveyed intelligence to him, that the imperial standard was advancing in the direction of Sevauss; and it immediately occurred to him, that his retreat to that quarter would be extremely precarious, if not entirely cut off, should the Teymûrians once effect their entrance into Anatolia and Syria. Without further delay he determined, therefore, to quit Baghdâd altogether; and accordingly taking with him the whole of what remained of his family, and the most valuable part of his property, he proceeded in company with Kâra Yûssuf and his Tûrkman allies across the Euphrates, directing his course towards Aleppo. In the neighborhood of that city he found himself opposed by Teymûr Taush the governor, at the head of a numerous body of the troops of Egypt and Syria; whom, however, after an obstinate conflict, through the assistance of his Tûrkman allies, he finally defeated, the vanquished retiring in dismay within the walls of Aleppo. Being, at the same time, but little prepared for the operations of a siege, the Sûltan and his as-

* The summer of 1400.

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sociates continued their march, without further obstacle, into Anatolia. On their arrival at Bohsta, perhaps Bostan, on the confines of Karamania, a misunderstanding, after all, arose between Sûltan Ahmed and the Tûrkman chief; which being too successfully fomented by the intrigues of evil disposed persons, produced an immediate separation, the Sûltan proceeding directly towards the residence of Sûltan Bayezid, or Bajazet, who at this period swayed the sceptre of the house of Othman with hitherto singular splendor and success. He was most honorably received by the Turkish monarch, by whom the revenues of the city of Koutahiah* were bountifully assigned for the expences of his kitchen. Shortly afterwards, by particular invitation, he again visited the Turkish monarch at his capital of Byrsa, or Prusa, in Bithynia, where he experienced the same hospitable and distinguished reception as on the former occasion. He then returned to Koutahiah, and there took up his permanent abode. At no very distant period, Kâra Yûssuf† also presented himself at the court of the Turkish Sûltan, and experienced in an equal degree the protection and liberality of that monarch, the collections of Auksheher [the white city], being allotted for his support; and he continued to reside at that place, in perfect security, until again compelled to seek an asylum elsewhere, by the progress of those events which we are endeavouring to bring under the contemplation of our readers.

The spring of the year eight hundred and two had been employed by Teymûr in a variety of operations against the territory of Melek Gurguîn, or Gregory, prince of Georgia; who nobly persisted in affording protection to Sûltan Taher, in defiance of the dangers with which he was threatened by the superior force of his puissant adversary. But as the detail of these operations would protract the narrative beyond all reasonable limit, without contributing in any degree to the information of the reader, it will be sufficient briefly to state that, after the loss of Teflis, and of numerous other places of surpassing strength and vital importance, perceiving that resistance was no longer availing, and having previously secured to Sûltan Taher an opportunity of escaping into the territories of the house of

* Or Kotaieh.

† Called Josephus Niger king of Colchis, by Knolles.

Othman, the Georgian prince finally determined on dispatching to solicit an accommodation with Teymûr. This, through the intervention of a Mahomedan of the name of Ismâeil, who resided under his protection, he succeeded in obtaining with less difficulty than might have been expected, and the Tcheghatâian conqueror, in consequence, withdrew from the territory of the Georgians; not, however, before he had signalized afresh his aversion for christianity, by the destruction of every church that fell within the range of his fury, and the substitution, on its ruins, of a mosque for the triumphant rites of the Korân.

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The Teymûrian armies now proceeded to the plains of Menkoule, apparently in Armenia, where the emperor had already determined to fix his summer quarters; and here we find recorded an embassy from some european state, or potentate of the Franks, conducting to the presence of Teymûr, the son of Ameir Yadgaur, one of the Keyaussera, or Cæsars,* who by some accident or other had fallen into the hands of the Christians. The individuals who composed this embassy were, through the introduction of some Ameirs of the court, handsomely received by Teymûr, and permitted to express, to him in person, on the part of the sovereigns of their country, most likely some of the provinces on the Danube, the sincere zeal with which they were in general animated, for the prosperity and advancement of all his designs.

It will be recollected that the monarch who at this period wielded the sceptre of the house of Othman was Sûltan Bajazet,† by the orientals usually referred to under the designation of Eylderem Bayezzid Ghâzy—Bajazet the thunderbolt ever victorious; whom his distinguished renown, extensive dominions, and well disciplined and numerous armies appeared to indicate, among all the sovereigns of the East, as infinitely the best suited to arrest the progress of Teymûr's victorious career. Elated accordingly by a contemplation of his abundant resources, this prince, some time previous to the crisis in question, had ventured to dispatch by one of his agents, to Ameir

* According to De la Croix, it was a son of the late Sûltan Mûrad, or Amurath.

† He had succeeded to the monarchy on the demise of his father Murad the 1st, about the year 1390.

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Taberten, the prince of Erzenjaun and Erzeroum, and the acknowledged feudatory of Teymûr, an insolent demand that the tribute of those provinces should be immediately remitted to the treasury of the house of Othman. The agent during his interview with Ameir Taherten made use, at the same time, of language on the part of his master so derogatory to the exalted claims of the Tcheghataïan conqueror, as could not fail to produce on the report, the warmest feelings of resentment and indignation. Accordingly, when this demand, together with the circumstances of arrogance and unnecessary insult with which it was accompanied, was made known to the ministers of Teymûr, and by them communicated to their master, the latter very ingeniously affected to discover that, in the pride and insolence of power, his haughty rival had suffered himself to be transported beyond all just bounds of moderation; and yet a very ordinary share of reflection might have previously led him to suspect, that the exploits of Bajazet in his conflicts with the warlike and hardy nations on the Danube, were of a magnitude to be viewed without disadvantage, even on a comparison with his own in the remote regions of the north and east. In other respects, the services rendered to their common faith, by the victories of the house of Othman against the Christian states between the Hellespont and the Danube, do not appear to have escaped his notice; since the consideration of that circumstance is described to have produced, on this occasion, upon his mind a strong repugnance to expose the dominions of his rival, to the dreadful ravages of the undisciplined, and numberless host by which he was followed. He therefore resolved, in the first instance, to try whether the Turkish monarch might not yet be won over to a spirit of forbearance and moderation, by a written appeal to his cooler reason, and to the dictates of a more prudent policy. For this purpose he accordingly directed his secretary to arrange into the form of a letter the sentiments which compose the substance of the following dispatch; but how far they were calculated to produce, upon the haughty spirit of Bajazet, a disposition to harmonize, it would be perfectly unnecessary to discuss.

This piece then commences with an invocation of the divine favor in behalf of that man, who, sensible of the just limits of his own

claims, prudently forbore to transgress those limits, or to aspire beyond the point assigned to him in the scale of human grandeur. It next proceeds to express, on the part of Teymûr, what was better calculated to delineate the prodigious extent of his own power, than the just tribute of gratitude to the divine majesty, which he described, through the medium of a glorious and triumphant destiny, to have irrevocably fixed in the hands of the ministers of his court, the reins of supreme authority, both spiritual and temporal—which had compelled the monarchs of Persia and Tartary, and other sovereigns not less potent and renowned, to submit to his superior might, without the discretion of deviating the breadth of a hair from their obedience—and which, in short, had finally placed at his disposal, the wide extended surface of the habitable globe. At the same time, he desired it might be clearly understood, that he was no stranger to that particular in their history, which derived the origin of the race of Othman, from an obscure Tûrkman pilot, or boatman. He could not therefore omit to recommend to the offspring of such a stock, to confine himself quietly to his cabin of repentance, and to conduct his frail bark to an anchor in that harbour of peace, where alone security was to be found against that storm of vengeance, which was otherwise likely to burst upon him. Hitherto, indeed, from a just consideration that their arms and exertions were, for the greater part, employed in expeditions of meritorious zeal against the Franks, or nations of Europe, and in the extermination of those worthless Nazarenes without name or renown, the Teymûrian power had been withheld from extending its victorious operations, against the territories of the house of Othman; in order to avert, as long as possible, from the advocates of the true faith the desolation unavoidably incident to the movements of invading armies, and not less to discourage, in the common enemy, those presumptuous hopes derived from a contemplation of the distractions which prevailed among the votaries of the Korân. The letter concludes with a stern caution, to beware of forsaking the prudent maxims and example of his ancestors—of suffering the spirit of ambition to mislead him into the mazes of error and untried hostility—to bear in mind the adage, “trouble not the Tatar if the Tatar be at rest,”—to deliberate well and seriously, before he laid open, against himself, and his

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dominions, the barriers of that inundation of calamities and mischief, of which his experience could afford him but a very inadequate conception; and finally he bid him health and peace from the servant of the most high.

Such in substance was the dispatch, authenticated under the imperial seal and cypher, now forwarded, by a deputation of discreet and experienced individuals, to the court of Bajazet; in whose presence, a short time afterwards, they proceeded accordingly to discharge the object of their mission, with the punctuality and precision which appeared expedient, in an affair of such vital importance. The materials of revenge and ambition were by this time, however, too highly wrought, to be appeased by the counsels of moderation. The Turkish monarch on the contrary, highly incensed at the language of superiority assumed by his equally haughty adversary, instantly replied in terms of menace and proud defiance; avowing that a contest with the cruel spoiler of the oriental world, on fair and equal terms in the field of battle, had been long the object of his most ardent contemplation; and that, though he were now even of himself disposed to withdraw his boasted power, he was resolved to pursue him to the gates of Tebreiz—where, peradventure, it would be proved which of them the too often experienced instability of fortune might exalt to the summit of glory, and whom debase to the lowest point in the scale of human wretchedness.

In consequence of this reply on the part of Bajazet, Teymûr finally resolved on advancing towards Sevauss, and he proceeded accordingly to Aoneik, or Avanik; where Ameir Allahdaud, who had been employed to bring away the refractory Peir Mahommed from Shirauz, now conducted that prince in bonds, to the camp of his offended grandsire. An inquiry was immediately instituted into the circumstances recently alleged in accusation of the prince, and his conduct was found to have been sufficiently reprehensible. He was, however, finally set at large, although not before he had been subjected to the national discipline of the bastinado; whilst Sheikhzâdah Fereid, and Mûbaurek Khojah, who had been his instructors in his depraved practices, were put to death. The princesses of the imperial family were, in the mean time, sent back towards Sûltauniah, in charge of

Olûgh Beg, accompanied by Mirza Omar, with Khodadaud ul Hûs-
seynty the elder brother of Allahdaud, and Moulana Kûtbuddein of
Koum. The army then moved in great force towards Erzeroum;
where it was immediately joined by Ameir Taherten, at the head of
a respectable body of troops. Two days afterwards, Teymûr advanced
his standard beyond Erzenjaun; where he must have crossed the
higher Euphrates, about one hundred and thirty miles from Sevauss,
anciently Sebastia, in Cappadocia.

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On the first day of Mohurrim, of the eight hundred and third of
the hidjerah,* Teymûr accelerated his march for Sevauss; in the pro-
secution of which intelligence was conveyed to him, that the advanced
guard of Bajazet's troops, under the command of his son Kereshtchei,
Mahommed Tcheleby so called, and Teymûr Taush one of his most
distinguished generals, apprized of the approach of the Teymûrian
armies, had withdrawn from that city, and retreated upon their main
body. In consequence of this information, the Ameirs Jahaun Shah,
Sûliman Shah, Sheikh Nur-ud-dein, Sounjek Bahauder, Seyud Khau-
jah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and Dauneh Khaujah,† were immediately
dispatched by the Tcheghatâian monarch, in pursuit of the Turks;
whom they are said to have overtaken and dispersed in the neighbor-
hood of Kayserieiah, considerably to the westward of Sevauss. After
which, and having laid waste the country far and wide, they returned
with a considerable booty, to rejoin the imperial standard, under the
walls of that city.

At the period under consideration, the city of Sevauss is described
to have been surrounded by a strong wall, constructed from the
foundation to the crest of the battlements, of hewn stone, each separ-
ate block of which being of the dimensions of two and three cubits
long, by one cubit thick; the wall itself being twenty cubits high,
ten cubits thick at the bottom, and six at the top. On three sides
it was further defended by a broad and deep ditch, by which it was
rendered more completely unassailable, on these sides; it being already
in a great measure so from the nature of the soil, because on striking

* 21st of August 1400.

† Among these we have not yet been able to recognize the Axalla, described by
Knolles, as a Genoese captain, high in the confidence of Teymûr.

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a cubit deep, the sappers and miners would find their operations prevented by the gush of water. The only part on which it was open to the usual methods of attack was that to the eastward, on which side the imperial army took its station on the present occasion. These defences are by historians ascribed to Sûltan Alla-ud-dein Key Kobaud, of the Rûmian, or Anatolian branch of the race of Seljûk; and a garrison of four thousand veteran soldiers under Mûstafîa, their governor on the part of Bajazet, seemed prepared in every respect to make the most determined and vigorous resistance.

On that part of the town where alone it was practicable,* the miners proceeded, however, to work without delay; while the engineers hastened to plant their Araudahs and Manjeneiks, the former for the discharge of fireworks, the latter for stones, with every other instrument of annoyance and destruction against the defences of the besieged. At the expiration of eighteen days, the fortifications appeared to have been considerably injured from the effect of the machines; and the miners having succeeded in carrying their galleries under the foundation of some of the principal towers, orders were issued to set fire to the wooden props and rafters, by which they were sustained; on which the walls and revetements fell in, to the unspeakable astonishment and terror of the garrison. In these circumstances, the besiegers being on the point of entering by the breaches, Mûstafîa, the Turkish governor, hastened out of the town; and through the intercession of the Seyuds and ministers of religion, in the most humble terms ventured to implore the mercy of the conqueror. All that could be obtained, however, was an exemption from slaughter on the payment of a stipulated ransom, in behalf of the Mûssulmans; the Christian and other infidels being indiscriminately consigned over to be plundered, and driven into captivity, by the rapacious soldiery. At the same time, four thousand of the troops of Bajazet, the greater part of them strangers to the pure faith of Mahommed, and who had been most active in the defence of the place, were inhumanly cast into pits in the earth, and buried alive, as an awful and seasonable example to deter others of their nation, who might be similarly disposed, from signalizing themselves by a contumacious

* The Western according to De la Croix.

resistance against the Teymûrian armies. The walls of Sevauss were then levelled with the ground, and, of all its magnificent and lofty structures, not a vestige was left standing to denote that such had ever been in existence.

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At this crisis it was announced to Teymûr that Sûltan Ahmed, on his flight from Baghdâd towards the court of the Turkish monarch, was now passing at no great distance in the neighborhood; and a detachment of the imperial troops was immediately put in motion to pursue, and endeavor to cut off his retreat. Marching with great celerity these troops came up with the baggage of the Sûltan, whose eldest sister, Sûltan Dilshaud, one of his daughters, and several of his wives, or women, they captured; although the prince himself succeeded in effecting his escape from the danger, and in making good his retreat to the court of Bajazet, as recently shewn in a former page.

While engaged in the siege of Sevauss, Teymûr had sustained considerable annoyance from the robbers of Aublestaun, or Zûlkau-dria;* who had repeatedly stolen into his camp, and, with singular audacity and address, carried off many of the horses of the cavalry. In consequence of this, when the reduction of Sevauss had been accomplished in the manner just related, and Ameir Taherten had been already directed to return towards Erzenjaun, in order to protect the frontiers in that quarter, a division of the imperial troops under the orders of Shah Rokh, accompanied by Sûliman Shah, and other commanders, was dispatched to chastize these midnight marauders; who apparently occupied some of the recesses of Mt. Taurus, between Armenia and the country of Diaurbekir. On his arrival in the territory of Aublestaun, however, the Shahzâdah found that the Tûrkmen had abandoned their chief place of residence, and fled the country; but proceeding without delay in pursuit of them, he finally overtook, and after some resistance entirely dispersed them. After which he rejoined the imperial encampment with a considerable booty taken from these Tûrkmauns.

In the mean time, a message had been dispatched from Teymûr to demand the surrender of Melautyah, a city of considerable impor-

* A Tûrkman tribe of that name, according to De la Croix.

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tance south of Sevauss, on the route into Syria; the governor of which, being the son of Mûstaffa who recently commanded at Sevauss, had the audacity to imprison the messenger. In consequence of this act of insolent defiance, instead of proceeding further into Anatolia, Teymûr instantly changed the direction of his march to the left, in order to inflict his speedy vengeance on the author of it. But the governor of Melautyah was no sooner apprized of the approach of the imperial standard than he fled in consternation; and the Teymûrians became masters of the place on the very day of their arrival. The Georgians and other infidels, or Christians, who composed the garrison, were made slaves, and a ransom was exacted on the Mûsulman inhabitants, for the security of their lives and property. Ameir Jahaun Shah and other commanders were then employed, to extend the terror of the Teymûrian name through the neighboring districts; and they hastened accordingly to spread the ravages of fire and sword, westward to the fortress of Kaukhtah; laid down by De la Croix, at the distance of about thirty leagues W. N. W. of Melautyah. They then rejoined the imperial encampment at the latter place; after having previously reduced a great variety of castles, and other places of strength, that lay in the direction of their march. The government of Melautyah and its dependencies was, on this occasion, conferred by Teymûr upon Kâra Othmaun the Tûrkman chief; who had long faithfully attached himself to the interests of the Tcheghataian conqueror.

Some time during the seven hundred and ninety-fifth of the hidjerah, soon after he had taken transient possession of Irâk Arab, Teymûr had dispatched a certain Khaujah Sheikh Sawah, equally distinguished for his birth and talents, on an embassy to the court of Melek Barkouk, the Maumlouk Sûltan of Egypt and Syria; and that monarch, in defiance of the most generally received laws of civilized society, had suffered himself to be persuaded by the malignant importunities of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, when a fugitive under his protection, to put the ambassador to death, at the town of Rahabah, situated on the frontier between Syria and Irâk, while he innocently awaited the usual permission to proceed to the Egyptian court; although, according to our author, this prince could not have been otherwise

than sufficiently aware of the awful example of vengeance inflicted upon Mahommed the Khaurezmian, by the immortal Jengueiz, for the assassination of his ambassadors and the Moghûl merchants at Otraur. Again, when subsequent to the conquest of Azerbâijaun, the Tcheghatâian monarch was drawn to the provinces on the Volga, in order to oppose the ambitious designs of Touktemesh the Khaun of Keptchauk, and Ettelmesh Koutchin, who had been left in the government of Aoneik, or Avaneik, after having been defeated and taken prisoner by Kâra Yûssuf the Tûrkman, was by that chieftain conveyed in irons to the same Sûltan of Egypt, he did not hesitate to add to his offences by persisting in the detention of that officer. On the present occasion, when the territory of Aublestaun and the city of Melautyah, had submitted to the power of Teymûr, he determined by another embassy to ascertain, whether Melek Faredje the son, who had now succeeded to the government of Egypt and Syria, might not be animated by a more equitable spirit than the father, and induced to comply with the demand now conveyed to him, for the enlargement of Ettelmesh. However, when the members of this embassy reached Aleppo, and were detained at that place according to custom, until instructions should be received from Kaherah, or Cairo, for their further disposal, Melek Faredje, unfortunately inheriting the hostile and unaccommodating disposition of his father, instantly gave orders that they should be rigorously confined to the castle of Aleppo, where they were exposed to every species of injury and ill usage.

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This proof of persevering and contumacious hostility, on the part of the Egyptian Sûltan, produced its full effect upon the haughty and indignant spirit of Teymûr; and he immediately resolved to abandon, for the present at least, all further designs against Bajazet, and to direct his whole force and attention to the subjugation of Syria and Egypt; more especially since the Turkish monarch, notwithstanding his recent menaces, had entirely abstained from offering to molest or interrupt his proceedings, while engaged in the reduction of Sevauss and Melautyah. In the mean time, remonstrances were not wanting on the part of his Ameirs and principal generals, against the design of engaging in the invasion of Syria, before his armies were yet suf-

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ficiently recovered from the labors and fatigues of the expeditions into India and Georgia, and the more recent operations against Sevauss and Melautyah; but their sovereign was not to be dissuaded from his purpose by any considerations of ordinary prudence, or regard to the personal convenience of those whom he conceived bound to sacrifice all things, in support of their allegiance to his authority.

Adhering therefore to the dictates of his own judgment, Teymûr again put his armies in motion; his son Shah Rokh, at the head of an advanced division, proceeding towards Behesny, or Behesna, in some maps laid down about eighteen or twenty miles to the southwest of Semisaut, and here described as a fortress of singular strength, situated among converging passes on the summit of an exceeding lofty ridge, rendered still more difficult of access by the neighboring mountain torrents, and almost impregnable by the height and solidity of its walls and towers. This place had been, for some time, invested by the Shahzâdah, when Teymûr in person with the main body of the army also arrived before it; and from the top of a neighboring hill proceeded to take an attentive survey of the fortifications. In the mean time, the suburbs, or inferior town, had been carried at the first onset, and pillaged by the Teymûrians, with the entire slaughter of all the inhabitants. An officer of the name of Mûkbel commanded in the fortress on the part of the government of Syria, and he seemed perfectly disposed to discharge the duties of his trust with fidelity and resolution. Among other implements of annoyance is here stated to have been constructed, on some central spot in the interior of the works, a Manjeneik, or catapulta, in such a way as to admit of being traversed in all directions; and it so happened that, at the very moment at which Teymûr was engaged in viewing the defences of the place, a large stone, impelled by this same machine, should strike the ground almost at his feet, and roll into his tent. This circumstance operated as a fresh stimulus upon the irritable feelings of the haughty Teymûr, and the siege was instantly commenced with all imaginable vigor and activity; the whole circumference of the works being assigned, as usual, in regulated allotments to the principal generals of the imperial army.

Twenty Manjeneiks were now planted on as many different points, in order to batter down the defences of the place, and one of them on the exact spot where the stone had fallen, near the tent of Teymûr; and it might be considered not less a proof of the unabating ascendancy of their master's fortune than of the singular skill of his artillerists, that the traversing catapulta in the interior of the fort, by which that stone was thrown, should have been disabled by the very first cast of the machine thus just erected to reply to it. It was at all events accepted as an omen auspicious to the hopes of the besiegers. In the mean time, the imperial armies were further reinforced by the arrival of Mirza Rûstum, with the troops from Shirauz; and the sappers and miners continued to carry on their approaches with such unceasing diligence and activity, that, notwithstanding the great extent of the works, and we should suppose the difficulty of access, they finally succeeded in completing their galleries under the foundations of great part of the walls, and most of the towers; which being now supported merely by the woodwork in the mines of the assailants, it only remained to set fire to the substructure in order to bring the whole in fragments to the ground. Alarmed at the idea of the approaching catastrophe, the governor dispatched repeated messages to solicit the mercy of Teymûr; protesting that he was only deterred from coming in person to cast himself at his feet, by the awful majesty of the imperial umbrella. That he would, however, appeal with confidence to the clemency of so august a monarch, to avert from so humble and defenceless an individual as himself, that fearful storm of vengeance which seemed directed against his head. In reply to this, Teymûr desired he might be informed, that when he had sufficiently evinced his power by gaining forcible possession of the place, he might peradventure feel disposed to overlook his offences, and treat him as an object of compassion: but, the fortress of Behesna had acquired among the natives, such a reputation for impregnable strength, that should he consent to withdraw his troops, or to give him terms on any consideration, before that object was accomplished, it might, by men of depraved intellects, or unreflecting minds, be ascribed to a conscious defect of courage and skill on the part of his victorious armies, rather than to a generous spirit of compassion for the van-

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quished. Accordingly, on thursday the seventh of Suffur, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,* orders were issued to set fire to the woodwork which supported the galleries of the mines, and the walls and towers immediately began to give way in every direction. This alarming spectacle was not calculated to diminish the apprehensions of the governor and his affrighted garrison; and he proceeded to make a hasty selection of every thing the place afforded that was either precious or rare; which he dispatched without further delay, to the presence of Teymûr, through the medium of the Seyuds and ûlema, who resided under his protection, and whom he charged once more most humbly to intercede for mercy with his stern besieger.

The intermediation of Shah Rokh having, by some means or other, been also secured on the occasion, this last application proved successful; and Teymûr, after acceptance of the presents in behalf of the governor and inhabitants, finally consented to spare the lives of the whole. From Behesna Teymûr then directed his march for Ayntaub, another fortress on the same frontier, about fifty miles north of Aleppo; the walls and towers of which were also of compact and solid masonry, with a tremendous ditch thirty cubits deep, and seventy cubits wide; and, what added greatly to its strength, a fausse bray of masonry embracing the whole of the works, and containing a vaulted passage beneath, sufficiently capacious to admit of soldiers on horseback, but more immediately designed for the lodgment of archers in order to scour and defend the ditch. Here, on their arrival, the imperial troops found themselves where the most abundant supplies of grain, and every species of luxury, seemed to court their acceptance; for the magistrates and principal inhabitants having pusillanimously abandoned the place, the artizans and mechanics, who remained behind, had merely closed the gates, for the purpose of throwing them formally open at the approach of the Teymûrians.†

* 26th September.

† De la Croix in a note to his history, said to be extracted from Arab Shah, an author who is stated to have availed himself of every opportunity to detract from the merits of Teymûr, alleges that that monarch had avoided Kellaut-er-room, without risking the reputation of his arms, by an attack upon a place of such superior strength; although Nausser Mahommed had made several successful sallies from it, and very much molested his army.

In the mean time, the appearance of the Teymûrian armies at Be-
 hesna, and subsequently at Ayntaub, is said to have filled the mind
 of Teymûr Taush, the governor of Aleppo under the authority of the
 Sûltan of Egypt, with alarm and consternation; and he dispatched
 without delay to demand immediate succours from his master. In
 consequence of this demand, Shedoun, the lieutenant general of Da-
 mascus, with the whole force of the province of Syria formidably
 equipped and appointed, proceeded towards Aleppo, with orders to
 support the governor of that place to the utmost of his power.
 When the whole were assembled in the neighborhood of Aleppo, Tey-
 mûr Taush, here also designated as Ameir, prince, or ruler, of Arabia,
 and described as pre-eminently endowed in point of talents and un-
 derstanding, proceeded to enumerate the renowned achievements and
 exalted qualities of the Tcheghataïan monarch, and to profess his
 entire conviction that he was acting under the peculiar care and
 direction of omnipotence; since armies the most numerous and for-
 midable had been discomfited by his prowess, and fortresses, which
 all the resources of nature and art had contributed to render impreg-
 nable, had been subjugated by his consummate skill, and the superior
 discipline of his armies. In short, he stated, what was sufficiently
 notorious, that he had, at the point of the sword, made himself undis-
 puted master of the greater part of the habitable globe; and he should
 therefore, without further reserve, provided such a step appeared
 equally advisable to those who heard him, propose to dispatch to
 the presence of Teymûr, a deputation of Seyuds and others learned in
 the law, whose influence with the conqueror was universally under-
 stood, with suitable presents, and offers of unconditional submission.
 In which case it was just possible that he might beprevailed upon to
 permit them to remain unmolested in their persons and possessions,
 and to direct the course of his victories to some other quarter. These
 suggestions, on the part of the governor of Aleppo, might probably
 furnish those writers who are hostile to the memory of Teymûr,
 with grounds for the accusation, that he had entered into engage-
 ment. Upon this it might be observed, that with us it might be rather looked upon as an impeach-
 ment of his prudence, had he suffered his attention to be any further withdrawn, by these
 minor objects, from the more important one of the invasion of Syria.

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A. H. 803. ments with that monarch to betray the cause of his superior, the Sûltan
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To such as were of a sounder judgment, at least in the eyes of our author, the proposal of Teymûr Taush appeared equally prudent and discreet; while others less provident and more fool-hardy, and among these the lowminded Shedoun, a bold spirited and intractable Maumlouk, peradventure, peremptorily rejected every idea of compromise. It required, they said, no argument to prove that those who yielded so easily to the suggestions of their fears, could have no just grounds to hope for success in any speculation. For their part, they considered that the country, which by interest and inclination they were equally bound to defend, bore but little resemblance to the regions hitherto subjugated by these restless invaders. Neither were the cities and fortresses, of mud and clay and sun-dried brick, of which they so proudly boasted the reduction, to be compared with those stupendous bulwarks of solid masonry, some of them hewn from the rock, which protected the towns and fortresses of the noble province of Syria, many of which it would, at least, require the labour of years to subdue. If, at the same time the apprehensions of Teymûr Taush and of those that thought with him, arose from a contemplation of the superior numbers, arms, or equipment of the enemy, they could not be sufficiently grateful to heaven, that, in this respect also, the advantage was clearly on the side of the Syrians and Egyptians. For what, of a similar description, could be brought into a comparison with their bows of Damascus, their swords of Egyptian manufacture, their lances of Arabia, and their bucklers of Aleppo! With respect to numerical force, it was to be remembered that in Syria and its dependencies there were not less than sixty thousand towns and villages, and if but a few armed soldiers were drawn from each of these, it was scarcely too much to say that the whole world might be covered with warriors. Their enemies, moreover, relied for protection against the elements, the inclemencies of the weather, on perishable fabrics of silk, and gold, and linen; whereas the shelter of the Syrians consisted in their massive bulwarks, as durable in the solidity of their foundations, as the firmament of the heavens on its base. It, therefore, behoved them to discard these ignoble apprehensions, these

unmanly fears, and to exert themselves with a courage and resolution worthy of the noble objects which they had at stake; and, finally, to repose their confidence in the aid of a beneficent creator.

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In the crisis of the debate several natives of the Persian empire, who had, for some time, resided among the inhabitants of Aleppo, and who were universally respected for the exemplary integrity of their lives, and for their good sense and discretion, ventured to interfere; and to intreat that the resolution of irrevocable hostility might not be too inconsiderately entered upon by their adopted fellow citizens, which they professed to have had the most powerful reasons to deprecate, from their recent too fatal experience of the character, and singular energies, of the adversary with whom they were so precipitately about to engage. Instead, however, of producing the effect they proposed, these remonstrances immediately drew upon them the jealousy of the Arabian chiefs, in particular, who charged them, on the spot, with being emissaries on the part of the Tcheghataïan monarch, and with a disposition to favor the subjugation of the country to the arms of the Moghûls. After tedious discussion and considerable warmth of altercation, it was, nevertheless, finally determined to adopt a middle course, and to act entirely on the defensive, avoiding to the utmost the hazard of committing themselves beyond the protection of their fortified towns; and our author is constrained to acknowledge that, if they had prudently adhered to this cautious plan of operations, the fate of Syria might have been protracted to a period far beyond the limits of ordinary calculation.

On the other hand, after having made a march or two from Ayntaub, with his usual celerity of movement, Teymûr, by some means or other, became acquainted with the resolution recently adopted by the Syrians; and, instructed by that inspiration which seemed to guide him in all his actions, suddenly slackened his progress, which was now restricted to the distance of half a farsang a day; his troops, at the same time, receiving orders when they encamped for the night, to entrench themselves, and to observe all those extraordinary precautions of the art of war, usually resorted to in the presence of the most formidable and enterprising enemy. The Syrians, incapable of comprehending the subtile designs of such a genius as Teymûr's, fondly

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conceived that the Tcheghatâian troops were in awe of them, and that their present circumspect proceedings were to be ascribed to that impression alone. This conclusion once drawn, their confidence rose in proportion; the prudent defensive system, which seemed to correspond so well with their means of resistance, was at once abandoned; and they rashly drew out from the walls of Aleppo, to the neighboring plains, with the avowed design of committing their fate to the hazards of a general action, in the open field.

On Thursday the ninth of the former Rebbeia, at all events, corresponding with the twenty seventh of October, A. D. 1400, the standard of Teymûr was displayed in the vicinity of Aleppo. In approaching the place, on this occasion, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, very slenderly accompanied, fell in with an advanced guard of the enemy; which, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, he attacked without hesitation, and having with the point of his lance unhorsed one of the troopers, he brought him a prisoner to the imperial head quarters. His followers, at the same time, acquitting themselves with distinguished zeal and resolution, also brought off two of their adversaries; the remainder of whom thereupon fled in dismay, expressing their utmost astonishment at the singular boldness and address, with which they had been attacked. The same day, Mirza Aba Bukker, another of Teymûr's grandsons being in advance of the main body, with about sixty of his bravest cavaliers, was attacked by the Syrians in great force; whom he resisted with such intrepidity and skill, that after a very severe conflict, both parties finally separated, without either claiming the advantage. On the day following, a more considerable division of the Tcheghatâian troops drew up in presence of the Syrians; both parties on this occasion, however, withdrawing to their respective encampments, at the close of the day, without a blow having been struck on either side. But, on the third day, at sunrise, the whole army received the commands of Teymûr, to form in order of battle; the right wing under the direction of Meiran Shah, (who must, by this time, have been sufficiently recovered from the unhappy effects of his fall), with his brother Shah Rokh, the Ameir Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders. The advanced guard of this wing was placed under the orders of Mirza

Aba Bukker, the son of Meiran Shah. The left wing was committed to the discretion of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of the Tcheghatâian dominions, assisted by Ameir Jahaun Shah and other experienced veterans; the advanced guard of this wing being conducted by Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne. Teymûr, in person, took post as usual, with the centre division; and, on this occasion, to the equal surprise and terror of his adversaries, he displayed in tremendous order his line of elephants, part of those taken in his Indian expedition, formidably armed and caparisoned. At the same time, a chosen division of ten thousand horse, was directed to take post on a rising ground, which overlooked the intended field of battle; with orders not to quit their station, whatever appearances of discomfiture they might have occasion to observe, on the part of the enemy. Neither were the Syro-Egyptians, on their part, in any respect less forward in their preparations for battle, for which they also drew out in formidable array. In the mean time, the horrific din of the various warlike instruments of music, nuggârahs, horns, and kettle-drums, seemed to shake the ebon vault of heaven.

The obstinacy of resistance did not, however, by any means correspond with this awful note of preparation. The left of the Syrians was successfully assailed, and thrown into disorder, by Mirza Aba Bukker, and his division; while Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, with the advanced guard of the left wing of the Teymûrians, fell upon the opposite wing of the enemy, which they entirely broke and dispersed, in every direction. In the mean time, the troops of the centre remained immovable at their posts, the line of elephants alone advancing upon the enemy in their front, who were also driven from their ground, with little apparent difficulty; neither does any further effort appear to have been made, on the part of the Syrians, to retrieve the discomfitures of the day. In these appalling circumstances, perceiving that all was lost, both Shedoun and Teymûr Taush abandoned the field of battle in great dismay, retiring into the city of Aleppo through the gate of Menkoussa; while the greater part of the other fugitives directed their flight for Damascus, closely pursued by the victorious Teymûrians, by whom they were slaughtered without mercy; a single horseman, indeed, alone escaping the carnage of the

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battle and pursuit, to announce to the inhabitants of Damascus, the circumstances of the dreadful discomfiture. The troops belonging more immediately to Aleppo, on the other hand, made directly for the town, in the hope of finding shelter behind its walls against the fury of their enemies; but, as all the avenues in that direction were soon rendered impassable, by the disorderly throng which crowded to escape, the unhappy fugitives were here also butchered, with unsparing execution, by their sanguinary pursuers. Such, at the same time, appears to have been the fearful distraction which had seized upon them, that the Syrians precipitating themselves, one upon another, into the town ditch, and perishing in prodigious heaps, the interval was filled to an entire level with the glaciis, and thus afforded, over the bodies of the suffocated, an easy passage to the Teymûrian soldiery, who immediately mounted to the assault; and thus, on the eleventh day of the former Rebbeia, without the formality of a siege, was the city of Aleppo laid at the mercy of Teymûr.

In their flight from the field of battle, Shedoun and Teymûr Taush appear to have concerned themselves but very little with the fate of the town, passing through without a moment's delay to the citadel; which is here described as a stupendous fabric erected, with blocks of granite, on a lofty elevation, and enclosed by a ditch thirty cubits broad, and of such a depth, as to communicate with the waters below. Between this ditch, which obviously surrounded the base of the hill, and the rampart, it was moreover protected by a capacious *fausse braye*, not less than one hundred cubits wide, so steep and smoothly scarped, as to be almost impracticable of ascent. The strength of the place, either natural or artificial,* was such, however, as to inspire Teymûr Taush, and his colleague, with the utmost confidence; and they accordingly prepared, with arrogance unsubdued, and unbending obstinacy, to resist afresh the progress of the conqueror; the garrison proceeding with loud shouts to man the defences, and the slingers of Naptha commencing a most gallant discharge of fire-works, in order to retard the approaches of the besieging army.

* According to De la Croix, the citadel of Aleppo was erected on an artificial mount of earth, the scarp of which was entirely overlaid with free stone.

In the mean time, having entered the city in person, Teymûr caused the imperial pavilion to be set up directly in front of the castle; and his archers proceeded to ply their bows, with such indefatigable activity and skill, that the soldiers of the garrison no longer ventured to show their heads, above the parapets of the walls and towers. The Teymûrian troops then drew up on the very counter-scarp, or verge of the ditch, already mentioned; and this, being in a short time perforated like a riddle in a thousand parts, by the sappers and miners, was soon completely drained to the bottom. On the day following, they mounted the *fausse braye*, and gained the foot of the wall; which, although composed of enormous blocks of granite, or other masses of rock, they proceeded, without delay, to undermine—or possibly to unsettle and displace the enormous materials, with their bars and pickaxes.

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In his account of the principal events of the life of Teymûr, or possibly of this his Syrian expedition in particular, a certain Moulana Nizam-ud-dein of Damascus, who was, at this period, actually resident at Aleppo, is alleged to describe, that while he stood one day, on a tower which commanded a full view of the works, and was making his observations on the progress of the miners, and on the surprising intrepidity displayed by the Teymûrian troops in general, he beheld one of the gates of the citadel suddenly thrown open, and five warriors, cased in steel from head to foot, issuing from the place. Each of these fastening round his waist a rope, one end of which was held by some of the garrison on the ramparts, in order to facilitate their ascent and descent along the steep and slippery scarp of the *fausse braye*, immediately proceeded sword in hand, to the entrance of the galleries, in which the imperial miners were employed against the foundation of a particular part of the wall; and having cut to pieces the whole of these, together with the guards stationed for their protection, were then every one of them drawn up to the works, although it could never be ascertained whether they were dead or alive.* At the conclusion of the siege, the narrator of this incident was introduced to the presence of Teymûr, through the medium of Jullaul-ul-islam, and liberally provided for by the conqueror.

* The statement in De la Croix represents that they were all five killed by the Teymûrian archers, and their dead bodies thus drawn up.

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Subsequent to this slight sally, the garrison was, however, so completely kept in check, by the indefatigable activity of the besiegers in the discharge of their missiles, that not one of them any longer dared to trust himself even at a loop hole, much less to appear without the walls. In these circumstances, a messenger from Teymûr obtained admission to the castle, with letters to the two commanding chiefs—urging the total inutility of resistance against that power, which had already subjugated the greater part of the oriental world, and to restrain the progress of which, the strongest bulwarks, and the most formidable armaments, had proved equally unavailing. If, therefore, they yet retained any regard for their lives and property, they would immediately comply with the summons now communicated to them, to abandon their useless fortifications, and lay themselves at the mercy of a magnanimous conqueror, without persevering further in a defence, which must inevitably terminate in the total disgrace, and destruction, of themselves and all belonging to them. The troops who composed the garrison, as well as their officers, had become, by this time, also sufficiently instructed that, however, a persevering resistance might protract, it could not possibly avert the most direful calamities, in the issue. Hence, a resolution was speedily adopted to atone for the past, by an immediate and voluntary submission; and, accordingly, Shedoun and Teymûr Taush, followed by all the Seyuds, âlema, and principal inhabitants, passed out without further delay, and hastened to lay themselves at the feet of the Tcheghatâian monarch, to whose ministers, they now delivered the keys of the citadel, and of its rich and accumulated treasures. The two commanders, with one thousand of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, were however, notwithstanding the delusive hopes held out in the letters of Teymûr, immediately consigned, by his orders, in separate small bodies, to the different tomauns of the army, to be detained in safe custody; until it should be further determined in what manner to dispose of them.

With his usual princely liberality, Teymûr caused the whole of the treasure found in the castle of Aleppo, as well the deposit of former ages as of modern times, to be distributed among the Ameirs of his court and armies; after which he gave directions that the

battlements, which crowned the ramparts and lofty towers of this noble fortress, should be dismantled and thrown to the ground, leaving the remainder of the works, for the present, undemolished. It now occurred to him to make one more experiment on the feelings of the Sûltan of Egypt, by dispatching to Kâherah, or Cairo, Essen Boughâi Dowatdaur, one of that prince's secretaries of state, for so the appellation implies, who had fallen into the hands of the imperial troops, on the capture of the town, in order to announce to his master, that She-doun and Teymûr Taush, were now both prisoners in the imperial camp; and that they only awaited the enlargement of Ettelmesh, so long and unjustly detained in Egypt, to be set at liberty, without further inconvenience. With this message, and an engagement to return without failure, by a certain limited period, Essen Boughâi, with all the expedition of which he was capable, proceeded to the court, or camp, of the Maumlouk sovereign. In the mean time, after lodging his heavy baggage and more ponderous equipments in the citadel of Aleppo, which he placed in charge of Seyud Budder-ud-dein Hazarguzzi, Shahshâhan prince of Seiestaun, and Moussa Bougha, and after having remained there altogether fifteen days, Teymûr quitted that place, and bent his course for another quarter of the province of Syria.

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While he was yet detained in his camp before Aleppo, Teymûr had previously detached a competent force under Mirza Peir Mahommed Sûltan the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by Mirza Aba Bukker, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Sounjek Bahauder, and other distinguished captains, to form the siege of Hamy, or Hama; and, although these commanders had succeeded in making themselves masters of the town, the castle, or interior fort, in consequence of its greater strength, still continued to hold out against their attacks. Being, therefore, at leisure from the reduction of Aleppo, Teymûr proceeded directly towards Hama; in order to complete the subjugation of that place by the capture of the citadel. But, he had no sooner made his appearance before it, than the garrison, intimidated by the stupendous force by which they now perceived themselves on all sides surrounded, at once repented of their ill-advised hostility; and, as their only resource, determined on immediate submission. They

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issued from their gates accordingly, with such an assortment of valuables as they could collect together for their purpose, and through the intercession of the Shahzâdah already employed against the town, they succeeded in obtaining from Teymûr, what they possibly rejoiced to receive, indemnity for their lives.

Although the booty acquired at the reduction of Hama had been added, by Teymûr, to the distribution already made among the princes of the blood, and the principal officers of his court and armies, all these together, twenty days subsequent to that event, united in representing to him again, nevertheless, the fatigue and hardships to which, for a period of almost two years, they had been exposed in distant and laborious expeditions, and by which their cattle, of every description, were at last reduced to mere skeletons, totally incapable of active service or exertion in any shape; while their enemies, unimpaired in force and equipment, sat quietly at their doors with all their resources at hand, in perfect readiness for action. It was, they alleged, on these considerations that they now proposed to their sovereign, provided he could bring himself to concur in opinion, to proceed without further delay to the plains of Terabolis, or Tripoly, there to pass the approaching winter; and that they would be then enabled at the return of spring, with recruited vigor and renovated equipments, to resume his designs of extermination against the enemy.

These remonstrances, however consistent in appearance with the dictates of ordinary prudence, produced but little impression upon the inflexible temper of Teymûr; whose plan was already concerted, by an active and rapid course of operations, to harrass and distress the enemy, without affording him a moment's repose. In concurrence with this he put his troops in motion next for Hames, Hems, or Emesa, at the distance of about four and twenty miles, perhaps, from his last position at Hama. At the suggestion of some of the lords of his court favorably disposed to their interests, and who had preceded the main body in that direction, the inhabitants of Hems prudently resolved on immediate submission; and, on the appearance of the imperial standard in the neighborhood, proceeded accordingly to attest, by the most prompt and acceptable services, their zeal, and obedience to the authority of the conqueror. In consequence of thus prudent-

ly yielding to the storm, they remained, for the present at least, secure against the depredations and excesses of the ferocious, and hostile myriads by whom they were encompassed; and Teymûr directed his march, from Hems, towards the ancient and celebrated city of Baalbek.

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Having continued his progress in that direction for several farsangs, [for a day's journey according to De la Croix], he found it convenient to encamp in the neighborhood of a Nimekzaur, or saltmarsh; from whence he took the opportunity of detaching a division of his armies to over-run the country towards Seydah and Beirout—the Sidon and Berytus of the ancients, as it is almost unnecessary to explain. Resuming his march, he arrived before Baalbek;* and the whole army became astonished to the last degree, at the singular strength and solidity of the walls of that place, some of the stones which formed the angles being found, on admeasurement, of the enormous dimensions of eight and twenty cubits in length by sixteen cubits in breadth; and, it is added from De la Croix, that they were seven cubits, or at least twelve feet ten inches thick. According to the tradition of the country prevailing among all classes of the natives, they were erected by supernatural powers—by the genii under the instructions of Solomon. Be this, however, as it may, the imperial troops made themselves masters of this celebrated city, the Syrian Heliopolis of former ages, without the smallest difficulty; and an immense supply of fruit, and all kinds of grain, rendered them abundantly thankful for the spontaneous bounty of that almighty power, which thus never ceased to promote and prosper all their undertakings. From Baalbek, a body of thirty thousand horse, under the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and Sounjek Bahauder, was now dispatched towards Damascus.

As the winter† was by this time considerably advanced, and the rigors of the season prevailing with more intense severity at Baalbek, in consequence of its situation at the foot of Mount Libanus, Teymûr proceeded also, without further delay, to the fertile and genial territory adjoining to Damascus. In the mean time, the commanders whom

* By the best maps, it appears to be situated about 34 miles, N. N. W. of Damascus.

† The first of the fifteenth century.

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he had employed to overrun the country towards Seydah and Beirout, and to scour the coast of Phœnicia, joined him on the march, loaded with booty. While, on the other hand, the chiefs who presided at Damascus, having ascertained the approach of Teymûr, dispatched by fresh, and repeated messages, to announce their danger to Melek Far-edge, and to urge the necessity of his immediate presence on the spot, in order to resist the progress of the Tcheghatâian armies. Roused by these urgent solicitations, the Sûltan of Egypt at last set out for Damascus, at the head of a puissant force, armed and equipped with extraordinary splendor. On his arrival, however, in his Syran capital, after exerting himself with indefatigable activity to complete his arrangements for the defence of the city, the author of mischief suggested to the Sûltan the idea of employing the perfidious expedient of assassination, in order to cut off his illustrious adversary.

For this purpose, having selected a desperate ruffian who, under the garb of a religious mendicant, was possessed of the most fascinating address, and powers of language uncommonly seductive, the Egyptian Sûltan dispatched him as his envoy, or confidential agent, to the presence of Teymûr; with instructions to remain about the person of that monarch, until he should have found an opportunity to stab him with a poisoned dagger. This ruffian was accompanied, at the same time, by two others of the same character with himself, also furnished with similar poisoned weapons, which they concealed in their boots. The perfidious deputation obtained admission, without difficulty, to the presence of Teymur; but, although frequently permitted to approach his person, they could never find the opportunity for which they sought. At length, through that singular felicity which seemed on all occasions to watch over the destiny of Teymûr, some circumstance in the behavior of these men awakened the suspicions of Khaujah Mûssâoud, the Semnaunian, at this period one of the secretaries of the council; and their persons being immediately subjected to examination, the poisoned weapons were discovered in their boots. A full disclosure of the base design was now drawn from the principal; and, although Teymûr conceived it necessary to express his full sense of the regard, which was always due to the sacred character of an ambassador, with which he was invested, yet as an example to all mankind, that it

was not to be prostituted with impunity to the purposes of treason and assassination, he caused him to be instantly hacked to death with his own dagger, and his carcase burnt to ashes. His accomplices were, however, dismissed with the loss of their ears and noses, and with a letter which they were charged to deliver to their unworthy employer, the Sûltan of Egypt.

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The imperial armies now advanced in full force, straight to Damascus, before which they presently encamped near the kubbah Seyaur, or cupola of the winepress, or perhaps of the planets, immediately surrounding their camp with a trench, and parapet, or breastwork, of hurdles and fascines, [tchupper & manduah]. Teymûr, in person, proceeded to the summit of a neighboring eminence, in order to take a distinct and careful survey of the works of the place ; at the same time, directing the advanced parties of the army to move on, without delay, to attack the enemy who appeared without the town. Ameir Sounjek, and other distinguished commanders, hastened accordingly to give to their adversaries further proofs of superior gallantry and skill. The attack was led on in particular by Sâeine Teymûr Bahauder, Daunah Khaujah, and Towukkel Bawertchei, and these were, in a short time, bravely supported by the Ameirs Seyud Khaujah, and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, from the right, and by Mirza Rûstum, from the left wing of the main body. In the issue, however, the Syrians were driven with great slaughter into the town, or its environs ; and a number of prisoners having fallen into the hands of the Teymûrians, they were conducted to the imperial tents, and there immediately put to death, together with Shedoun, and the captives who had been brought from Aleppo, in retaliation, possibly, for the recent perfidious attempt of Melek Faredje. In the mean time, since the name of Teymûr Taush is not expressly mentioned among these who suffered on the occasion, there may have been some grounds for the accusation that he had betrayed the cause of his master, and for the conclusion that he was now spared on that account.

That very night, however, an event occurred in the imperial camp, so singular and unexpected as to excite universal surprise and astonishment. This was the desertion, to the enemy, of no less distinguished a personage than Mirza, or Ameirzadah, Sûltan Hûsseyne,

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the grandson of Teymûr by his daughter Taujia Beggy espoused, at an early period, to Mahommed Beg the son of Ameir Moussa. The otherwise unaccountable defection, of a prince who had so frequently signalized his courage and zeal under the standard of his grandfather, is ascribed to the effect of a drunken debauch, and to the depraved and malevolent suggestions of some turbulent individuals, with whom he had the misfortune to associate. But, whatever were his motives, he made directly for the city, and was there received by the Syrians as the harbinger of success and victory; and he was accordingly conducted into the town, with a pomp and splendor which bespoke their satisfaction in a very eminent degree. The circumstance was, however, instantly made known to Ameir Shah Melek, by two of the Mirza's domestics, and by that chief reported without delay to Teymûr.

In consequence of this untoward proceeding, the Tcheghatâian monarch early the following day, conceived it expedient to change the position of his army; and to withdraw to the distance of about a farsang, to the south west of Damascus—to the plains on the road to Kanaan and Egypt, where he again encamped, directing his troops, on this occasion, to encircle the whole of the position with a breast work of stone, protected by a ditch in front. Light troops were, at the same time, dispatched to every quarter, and strong guards posted in all directions; in order to prevent surprise, and to give the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements. Two days had been suffered to expire in this state of suspense and inactivity, when Teymûr, in all probability, with a view to encourage the confidence and augment the fancied security of the Egyptians, determined to dispatch an officer, of the name of Padshah Bouran, to the court of Melek Faredje, in order to demand, once more, the enlargement of his servant Ettelmesh; and further, if he were wisely disposed to avert the calamities by which the desolation of his country was about to be completed, to require that the coinage might be struck, and the Khotbah, or prayer for the sovereign, pronounced in his name.

Contrary to former practice, the ambassador was now received, on his entrance into Damascus, with all the respect that was due to his character, by Melek Faredje; every attention being shewn to him that could either conciliate his good opinion or gratify his wishes.

To accomplish this, and not less to display their superior skill in the management of artificial fireworks, and the artillery of that age, [raud-andauz—literally thunder casting, and probably adverting to the discharge of greek fire, which is described to have made a frightful roaring noise in its passage through the air], all who excelled in that branch of the art of war, and these were retained in extraordinary numbers in the service of the Sûltan, were now summoned to exhibit, in all their perfection, their boasted powers in that formidable species of annoyance; the Syrians, observes our author, fondly flattering themselves that these must be proofs, to conviction, of their surpassing strength and multiplied resources—little reflecting that when once the torrent of vengeance was let loose, neither the fire-worker nor his inventions, the engineer nor his boasted machinery, would be able for a moment to arrest its awful course.

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With every reason to be rejoiced at the result of his mission, the envoy returned to the camp of his sovereign, and was immediately followed by a deputation, from the town, with instructions to repair to the presence of Teymûr. At the interview with that monarch, to which they were without difficulty admitted, they humbly stated on the part of the Egyptian and Syrian chiefs, that they were not less disposed to give him the last proofs of submission and obedience, than to evince their entire repugnance to the commission of any act, that might appear hostile to his authority; and in the confidence that this would entitle them to the compassionate forbearance of the Tcheghataïan monarch, that his lieutenant Ettelmesh, in the course of a few days, would be restored to liberty, and to the presence of his sovereign; after which, and encouraged by their hopes of the further extension of imperial favor, that they would be found, through life, stedfast and undeviating in the path of duty and allegiance. The deputies were upon this honorably dismissed with presents of money and Khelauts, and every other mark of royal consideration.

When, however, the main body of the imperial armies had continued, for about ten days, thus encamped to the south-westward of Damascus, and every vestige of forage, and subsistence for his cattle, had disappeared from that part of the country, Teymûr dispatched his quartermasters to examine the state of the district about Ghoutah,

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which lay to the eastward of the city; and, as these returned with a favorable report of that rich and fertile region, the whole of the troops were immediately set in motion to encamp in that quarter. Hence, on perceiving the movement, the inhabitants of Damascus rashly concluded that it must have been occasioned by some circumstances of alarming sedition, some disastrous failure of means, or defection of force; and that the Tcheghataïan armies, by the direction of their march, were in full retreat towards the Euphrates. Under such an impression, they proceeded to animate each other to embrace this golden opportunity of attacking, with superior and united force, the rear of the Teymûrians; whose resistance, even under the ordinary disadvantages of a retreat would be but feeble, and the least confusion might be easily improved into all the horrors of a tumultuous and disorderly flight. With these absurd and ill grounded speculations, all, that were capable of bearing arms, now hastened to buckle on their cuirasses and coats of mail; and, sword and spear in hand, on horseback and on foot, with every species of weapon they could procure at the moment, issued from the gates of Damascus in such prodigious multitudes, that they covered the surrounding plains as far as the eye could reach.

The appearance of this promiscuous multitude was soon announced to Teymûr, by the light cavalry employed to scour the country, and convey intelligence of the enemy's designs; and he immediately prognosticated, that the power of the Sûltan of Egypt was approaching to the verge of decline, and that it was, probably, about to set forever. With confidence unimpaired he, therefore, hastened in person to the rear, in order to make head against this hostile throng; at the same time giving directions that his tents might be pitched, and that the army should immediately encamp, covering themselves with a barricade of stones, and articles of baggage, or whatever else they found nearest at hand.

In the mean time, accompanied by fifty of his guards and attendants, Teymûr ascended a hill in the neighborhood, where he proceeded, in the first instance, to the performance of his devotions; and, having earnestly implored the aid of that unpartnered being who rules the universe, to aid him in the conflict in which he was about to engage,

he, with the steadiness of a mind at ease, remounted his horse to prepare for battle. The troops of the left wing had now all returned, and were at their allotted stations, when orders were given that the Mirzas Meiran Shah, Shah Rokh, and Abû Bukker, with the Ameir Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders from the right wing, should advance without delay to repulse the enemy; a corresponding attack being made, nearly at the same moment, from the left, by the tomauns and koushûns under Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, and Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, with the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, Towukkel Yadgaur Berlas, Sheikh Arslan, Toglûgh Khaujah Berlas, [this is his first appearance], Peir Ally Seldûz, and many other gallant chiefs. A third attack was carried on, at the same time, by the advanced guard of the centre, under the direction of the Ameirs Sounjek, Shah Melek, Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, together with Sâeine Temûr [Saint Maur], Mahommed Azaud, Towukkel Bawertchei, and other leaders of Koushûns.

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Thus assailed on every side, the Syrians and Egyptians were soon awakened from their illusive dream of triumph, and finally repelled, with tremendous slaughter, to the gates of Damascus; the carnage being only put a stop to by the walls of the town. During the conflict, the misguided Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, who had been entrusted with the command of the left wing of the enemy, and who was opposed in the battle to the Mirzas Meiran Shah and Shah Rokh, was taken prisoner by Kûilek, or, perhaps, Toublek Koutchin, one of the retainers of the latter prince, who seized his horse by the bridle, and conducted him to the presence of his chief. The circumstance was reported without delay to Teymûr, by whose commands he was immediately placed under close and rigorous restraint. From this, at the expiration of a few days, he was, released, nevertheless, at the intercession of Shah Rokh, but not before he had been subjected to the discipline of the bastinado; neither was he, for a long time afterwards, permitted to enter the imperial presence.

The battle which, on this occasion, decided the fate of Damascus, is recorded to have taken place on the nineteenth of the latter Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah.* On the day

* 3d of February 1401.

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following, Teymûr removed his camp to the foot of one of the hills in the neighborhood, at a short distance from the town. On the twenty first, having directed the whole army to array and arm themselves with more than ordinary attention, and posting his line of elephants in the front, their trunks tremendously furnished with the implements of destruction in various forms, he proceeded in magnificent order of battle towards the city; and, on a rising ground which overlooked the place, drew up the whole in fair and formidable display, to the equal astonishment and terror of the inhabitants, who had not, before, had an opportunity of contemplating the stupendous force of the enemy, now, on the acclivity of the hill, completely in their view. Their terrors were not at all abated by the frightful din of the horns and kettle-drums, and the savage and appalling shouts of the Teymûrians; and it was, therefore, with confusion in their minds and trepidation in their limbs, that they prepared to oppose a destiny which appeared no longer resistible. The victorious Teymûrians advanced, on the other hand, altogether to the side of a deep ravine, or water course, on the edge of which they now encamped; the ravine answering the purpose of a ditch to the rampart of hurdles and earth, with which they, as usual, fortified their camp, further protected on this occasion by chevaux de frise.*

When all these precautions had been attended to, the cavalry of the army, or a part of them, were ordered to cross the watercourse in their front, and to present themselves in order of battle to the enemy; but, as the latter, however in competent force and equipment, were yet smarting under the experience of recent discomfiture, they were not to be provoked into the hazard of a second conflict in the open field; and they accordingly remained immoveable at their posts. In these circumstances, the Sûltan of Egypt held a council of war with his principal officers; of whom he demanded to know in what manner, in their judgment, it appeared most advisable next to proceed, in order to avert the awful calamities which seemed so near at hand. Several of the chiefs contended, on the occasion, that although they had suffered very considerably in the late unfortunate sally, yet that the loss had fallen principally upon the Syrian troops, and the inhabitants

* Seh-pâyah—crowsfeet.

of Damascus. The town, however, and its defences, heaven bepraised, were still they alleged in perfect condition, and there yet remained a numerous and disciplined force, well equipped and superbly armed, to maintain them against every species of attack. They therefore proposed to abide the issue within the walls of Damascus. Others, distinguished for their superior sagacity and more extensive experience, objected to this proposal, as equally absurd and preposterous, since in their view, it was inconsistent with common sense, to put their safety to hazard upon the success of such a plan. That the disastrous result of the experiment which they had recently tried upon the Teymûrians, under all the disadvantages of surprise, and a negligent retreat, ought to be a sufficient lesson to guard them against presuming too far upon the confidence of superior numbers, and strength of position. That which they should recommend, on the contrary, was to endeavor, this very day, to open a further correspondence with their adversaries, in order by conciliatory language, to lay their vengeance asleep for a few hours; and, as soon as night should spread her sable mantle over the earth, to avail themselves of the opportunity, to make the best of their way into Egypt. With respect to the Syrians in Damascus, the fighting men and inhabitants composed together, they further alleged, an incalculable multitude, and, if inclined to continue hostilities in the defence of their women and children, they were in possession of ample means to gratify their zeal; and as a last resource, they had the protection of a well fortified citadel to retire to, while their fellow subjects would be thus better enabled to effect a secure retreat into Egypt.

The majority, if not the whole, of the council having finally acceded to this latter plan of proceeding, the Egyptian Sûltan instantly dispatched his agent to the presence of Teymûr, instructed to disavow, on his part, any share in the late attack upon the Tcheghatâian army on its march, which he expressly ascribed to the indiscreet violence of an undisciplined multitude; to declare, moreover, that he implicitly adhered to the terms already proposed on his part; and, that if it did not materially interfere with the views of Teymûr to suspend all further hostilities for the present, the Sûltan would not fail, the very next day, to fulfil every article of his engagements, with the most

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scrupulous and conscientious fidelity. The agent was admitted, as before, without difficulty, to a conference with Teymûr, and having delivered his presents, and discharged the object of his mission, the imperial troops were immediately directed to cease hostilities, and, shortly afterwards, peaceably withdrew to their encampment.

Upon this, having already made every previous arrangement for his design, Melek Faredje, accompanied by the greater part of his court and army, quitted Damascus in the middle of the same night, and fled with his utmost expedition towards the frontiers of Egypt. His flight, however, did not remain long undiscovered. A certain Tchekmauk, afterwards well known among the Persians, by the name of Tchekmauk the Syrian, early deserted the fugitives, and hastened to make known the circumstance to Shah Rokh; by whom he was immediately dispatched to communicate the intelligence to Teymûr. The first care of the latter was to preclude all further escape from the town; every avenue to which was now closely blocked up, by Mirza Aba Bukker, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, from the right wing of the army, while a formidable division of the most active troops, under the Ameirs Sounjek, Allahdaud, Berendek, and Ally Sûltan, with other commanders, proceeded to pursue, and harass the retreat of the enemy; many of whom were accordingly overtaken and cut to pieces, although the greater part, by disencumbering themselves of every article of baggage and other property, through a thousand difficulties, finally effected their escape into Egypt.

On the day following at sunrise, the main body of the Teymûrian army was put in motion, in order to pass the gardens by which the city was encircled, and to form a closer investiture of the town. This operation was executed with little difficulty; and the Tcheghatâian conqueror now took up his abode in the Kusser-e-eblek, the mottled, or marble palace, erected by Melek Zauher, one of the former Sûltans of Egypt, in front of the castle of Damascus. The Shahzâdahs, and principal generals, took up their quarters at the same time, in view of the fortifications of the city; the whole of the exterior town, or suburbs, comprising in effect the best part of Damascus, with an incredible booty in rich merchandize, and other valuable property, as also a vast assortment of arms and defensive armour of the finest

temper and most elaborate workmanship, thus falling into the hands of the Teymûrians, without further resistance. With his usual demonstration of zeal, Teymûr immediately proceeded to visit and perform his devotions, before the tombs of Omm-e-Selmah, and Omm-e-Habeibah, the mothers of Selmah and Habeibah, [two of the prophets wives, so called], as well as that of Bellaul, the Abyssinian, the herald, and who possessed a distinguished share in the confidence of the prophet.

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In the mean time, completely subdued by the terrors which had now taken possession of all hearts, the principal inhabitants of the city, Seyuds, ûlema, and Sheikhs, descendants of the prophet, men of letters, elders, magistrates, hastened out of the gates to implore the mercy of Teymûr; by whom, after having arranged a composition for their lives and property, they were permitted to return in safety to their affrighted fellow citizens. Shortly afterwards, the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek and Allahdaud, with the secretaries of the treasury, Khaujah Mûssâoud the Semnaunian, and Jullaul-ul-isslaum, were dispatched into the city to receive the stipulated ransom, and to regulate the government; and on the succeeding friday, the awful name and titles of the Tcheghataïan conqueror, as supreme monarch of the habitable earth, was announced from the tribune of the superb mosque of the Benni Ommeyah.

Although the city of Damascus had thus, on the flight of Melek Faredje, submitted to the arms of Teymûr, without the labour of a regular siege, or the hazards of an assault, Yezdaur Kôtwaul, the governor of the castle, a man, according to our author, of violent spirit and desperate designs, with a garrison of veteran soldiers, manifested a determined resolution, to defend his post to the last extremity. In this, he appears to have been justified by the uncommon, strength of the place; which is described to have been constructed, from the foundation to the crown of the parapets, of stones of the largest size and of the most compact masonry. The walls and towers were, at the same time, of extraordinary height, and it was moreover furnished with provisions and stores of every description, in such abundance, as to bid defiance to a siege of many years; and such was the activity and skill, with which the numerous garrison plied their

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warlike machines and fire works, that, for some time at least, it was found scarcely possible to approach the walls in any direction.

Teymûr however, on the other hand, equally resolved on its reduction, proceeded to put in practice, without delay, all those expedients which he conceived calculated for the speedy accomplishment of his object. In the first place, he directed the princes of his blood, and principal generals, to invest the works as closely as possible on every side; dividing the whole circumference, as usual, in regular allotments betwixt themselves, and planting their machines of annoyance, balistæ and catapultæ, on such spots as might best contribute to expedite, and assist, the operations of the siege. At the same time, three meljouns, or mounts, or cavaliers, were raised by the troops, of a height sufficient to overlook the works of the citadel; and the sappers having entirely drained the ditch, the miners now descended with their tents, or screens, and proceeded to shake and displace the stones from the foot of the walls, in defiance of every species of annoyance hurled upon them from above.

While the siege was thus carrying on with all possible vigor, the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Jahaun Shah, were directed to move with the whole of the cattle of the army, towards Kanaan, to the south-east-ward* of Damascus; there to take up their quarters for the convenience of forage. In the mean time, the imperial miners continued their operations at the foot of the rampart, first heating the large stones with fire, after that pouring vinegar upon them; then breaking them to pieces with the hammers and pickaxes, and so gradually displacing them, the walls and towers were by these means soon reduced to a tottering condition. The tower of Tarmah, possibly Taurem, the firmament, the loftiest in the place, and which, in the disposition for the attack, had been assigned to the lot of Altûn Bukhshy, was the first that gave way before the skill of the miners: for the foundation having been at length completely under-wrought, and the foot of the wall, or plinth, being made to rest alone for support on the rafters and uprights of wood, which had been successively driven beneath, by the workmen as they proceeded, orders were finally given to set fire to the sustain-

* About 20 leagues according to one of De la Croix's sketches.

ing frame ; and the entire front of the tower, soon afterwards, sunk into the excavation, presenting a wide and practicable breach to the Teymûrians, who, with their targets over their heads, immediately rushed to take possession. As it happened, however, an adjoining part of the wall also coming down unexpectedly, with a tremendous crash, nearly eighty of the assailants were overwhelmed, and perished under the ruins ; and this alarming accident causing the remainder of the division, which was hastening to the assault, to draw back, afforded to the garrison an opportunity, of which they instantly availed themselves, to repair the breach.

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Although the language of insolent defiance, in which they had, on different occasions, presumed to indulge themselves, had withheld them from immediately throwing open the gates, and suing for mercy, the terror produced by this alarm left the most discouraging impression upon the minds of the whole garrison ; and fire having been, at the same time, applied to the different galleries, which had been finished under the defences on other sides of the tower, these also gave way in a variety of places, and presented extensive breaches in all directions. The horrors of an impending general assault, to which they now lay open on every side, however, soon brought them to a decision ; and they accordingly hastened, without further delay, to deliver up the keys of the citadel, with all its magazines and treasures, to the Teymûrian generals. Yezdaur, the unfortunate governor, was without much ceremony, immediately put to death ; and enormous wealth was again taken possession of by the imperial treasurers. There was, at the same time, found in the place, a very considerable depot of grain, collected for the supply of the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeina. Of this, as soon as he became apprized of the objects for which it was destined, Teymûr forbade his officers, under the severest penalties, to appropriate the smallest quantity ; and Hurry Melek, one of the imperial Towatcheis, who had, through implied ignorance, presumed to take away about one hundred maunns of barley, was not only compelled to refund the value of the embezzlement, but to suffer the discipline of the bastinado, both before and behind, in punishment for his offence.

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It was now about the close of the year, and the country being moreover exhausted by the ravages of war, by which it had been laid desolate in every direction, the means of subsistence had become extremely scarce, if not totally unattainable. In such circumstances, therefore, after all, Teymûr was compelled without alternative, to avail himself of the supply placed at his disposal in this otherwise sacred deposit; and he accordingly authorized certain officers, on whose prudence and integrity he could rely, to expose the whole to sale, at the rate of three Kopek dinaurs to the Maunn; an immense sum of money being thus realized, which was immediately and scrupulously paid into the hands of the agents of the two cities, without the slightest deduction. In the mean time, the garrison, which was entirely composed of slaves and Maumlouks, some from Circassia, and others from countries more remote, was distributed in separate lots among the shahzâdahs and principal Ameirs; and the remainder of those captured in the place, of every sex, age, and condition, were also condemned to slavery—the artizans and manufacturers, being, however, set apart, and destined with their families to be transported to Samarkand. Among other ingenious individuals conveyed on this occasion to that renowned metropolis, are particularly mentioned, Moulana Jummaul-ud-dein, and Sûliman Shah, both celebrated physicians, of the highest reputed skill in their profession.

While these transactions were in progress, Teymûr removed from the mottled palace, to a mansion that belonged to Betkhaush, or Betkaush, a distinguished and opulent Syrian Ameir of that name; where the extraordinary beauty and elegance of his accommodations, unfortunately produced, in his mind, sentiments extremely unfavorable to the zeal and orthodoxy, of the people of Damascus. These, it is alleged, were particularly awakened by a comparison of the dilapidated state, in which they suffered the tombs of the widows of their prophet, to be exposed to the rude attacks of time and the elements; while they could find means to raise such splendid specimens of architecture and taste, for the wretched gratification of a weak and ostentatious vanity. Such considerations, at all events, seem to have quickened in the conqueror, his determination to erect without delay, over the graves of the venerated females, recently mentioned, two

magnificent Kubbahs, alcoves, or porticos; of which the immediate execution was committed to the superintendence of the Mirzas Abû Bukker, and Khaleil Sûltan, and of the loyal Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Ally Sûltan, and Monghûly Khanjah; and such was the diligence with which the work was carried on, that in the short space of five and twenty days, two noble domes with their appendages, of the purest white and polished marble, were entirely completed, which, according to the amplified language of the original, in loftiness, beauty, and solidity, might be said to indicate the time and labour necessary to the construction of the pyramids of the Nile.

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The attention of Teymûr was next directed to ameliorate the current coin of the province, which was of silver, but of the basest alloy; and a mandate being accordingly issued that all the gold and silver might be brought to the mint, after passing through the regular assay, should be struck into pieces of one hundred, of fifty, and ten Methkauls and under, with the imperial name and titles, such was the abundance of the precious metals, in the hands of the soldiers, that the profits of the mint actually lodged in the imperial treasury, amounted, in a very short time, to the sum of six hundred thousand Kopek dinaurs.* There were, also, struck on this occasion, a number of silver medals, which, together with the letters announcing his recent triumphs, Teymûr dispatched to every quarter of the empire; in order to be distributed to the ladies of his family, the princes of his blood, and in short, to all the distinguished classes of inhabitants throughout the wide extent of his dominions.

About the same time, orders were conveyed to Shah Rokh, by which he was instructed to detach the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Jahaun Shah, with a division of the army under his command, to scour the coast of the Mediterranean, or sea of the Franks, all the way to Akkah, or Ptolemais; a service which was executed with the ordinary circumstances of pillage and devastation, the two Ameirs, at the conclusion, rejoining the camp of the princes, at Kanaan, loaded with booty.

Matters were in this state, when a troublesome and painful tu-

* At the lowest of the computation to which we have usually adhered, of nine shillings and two pence to the dinaur of gold, this would amount to about £275000 sterling.

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mour, or ulcer, broke out on the back of Teymûr, which at first threatened to terminate in serious consequences ; and Aratemûr, one of the principal officers of the household was, therefore, dispatched to require the presence of the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, with the Ameirs under their orders in Kanaan, at Damascus. The malady was, however, in a great measure, removed, while they were on their march, and Teymûr once more restored to health. Shortly after this, at a royal council, which was numerously attended by the Seyuds, and ûlema, and the principal Ameirs of his court, Teymûr proceeded to state, that some circumstance or other was perpetually occurring to remind him of the base and ungrateful conduct of the house of Merwaun, towards the sacred family of the prophet ; and particularly of Mauweiah and Yezid, in their treatment of his cousin german, son-in-law, and rightful successor, Ally, and of the oppressed and much injured Imaum Hûsseyne ; in all which it was but too notorious, that they had been uniformly supported, and emulated, by the inhabitants of this same city of Damascus. And yet, he added, to a rational mind it seemed unaccountable, if not altogether inconceivable, that a people who were indebted for their instruction in the truths of eternal salvation, and for their emancipation from the snares of infidelity, to the advice of the inspired prophet himself, should have so perversely united themselves to the inveterate enemies of his house ; and associated in the multiplied, and cruel injuries, inflicted on the descendants of his pure blood of every age and sex. That such, however, had been the case there existed, unhappily, too many proofs to admit of a doubt—Otherwise, to what cause was it to be ascribed that that almighty being, whose will it was the glory of all earthly monarchs to obey, should have directed such dreadful retribution upon their posterity. But, that they inherited in every respect the perverse and profligate spirit of their ancestors, no further proof was necessary than that, in a period of seven centuries, during which the tombs of their prophet's wives, had been suffered to moulder into ruin, among such a multitude of opulent individuals, wallowing in all the luxury of wealth and abundance, not one was to be found, whom a miserable and contracted soul did not withhold

from raising a simple enclosure of four walls, to protect these sacred monuments from the injuries of the weather.

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These remarks, at the same time that they are recorded as ample proofs of the attachment of Teymûr to the principles of the Sheiahs, and of his veneration either sincere or affected, for the family of the prophet, furnished to his troops indications, which were too clearly understood, of the vindictive designs of their sovereign. Accordingly, on wednesday the first of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,* they entered the city on all sides, for the undisguised purposes of pillage and depredation; proceeding, without either remorse or restraint, to exhibit the usual scenes of robbery and outrage. In these, however, and it is rather a singular incident in this history of atrocity, the inhabitants, by some happy chance or other, escaped the horrors of massacre, although the whole of them, of every sex, age, and condition, were driven into slavery; and in one short hour, the treasure of years, accumulated from the bowels of the earth, and bosom of the ocean, became the prey of a rapacious soldiery. Such, indeed, is described to have been the richness of the spoil which fell to the lot of the Teymûrian pillagers, on this occasion, that they are alleged on unquestionable authority, to have thrown away their former booty, consisting of woollens of Cyprus, linens of Russia,† of beautiful scarlets, and other pieces of the manufacture of Alexandria and Cairo, in order to load themselves with money, the object in general of the most needy and sordid of mankind, with utensils of gold and silver, and with gold enriched with precious stones, wrought into girdles and into fillets for the head, or diadems.

While the city of Damascus was thus agonizing under her afflictions, either by accident or design, the unhappy town was set on fire; and as the houses were composed, in general, on a ground floor of stone, of one or two stories of wood finely varnished, or lacquered, in different colours, it was, in the course of a few hours, entirely consumed to ashes. It had, on former occasions, frequently taken fire, which had seldom been extinguished until one or two of its quarters had

* 15th of March 1401.

† By mistake possibly taken for Rûme—Asia minor.

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been destroyed, in spite of the united exertions of the whole of the inhabitants; but now that they were dispersed, and exposed to every gradation of wretchedness, not a single hand was raised to check the progress of the devouring flames. In the midst of the conflagration, intelligence of the calamity was conveyed to Teymûr; and Ameir Shah Melek hastened by his orders, with a division of troops, to preserve, if possible, the superb mosque of the Ommeyades from the general destruction. The roof of this magnificent and costly edifice being, however, also of wood, all the exertions of that respectable chief, to rescue it from the raging element, were unavailing. Such was the fury with which the conflagration raged, that the eastern minaret of the mosque, which was built of solid masonry, was reduced to ashes; and yet the opposite minaret, called the minaur-e-orouss, or column of the festivals, on which, according to a prediction of the prophet, at the consummation of all things, the Messiah is to descend from heaven, and to which he therefore gave the name of the minaur-e-beyza, or column of light, escaped without injury, although constructed of wood merely plastered over, or stuccoed with lime.*

Having satiated his vindictive zeal in the entire destruction of Damascus, thus pillaged and burnt to the ground, and extended the horrors of plunder and conflagration throughout the whole of Syria, Teymûr prepared for his return to the east. Previous, however, to his departure, he thought fit to give orders that the whole of the captives of Damascus should be restored to liberty; in consequence of which being all assembled on the spot, under the direction of Jullaul-ul-isslaum, they were by him conducted to re-establish their abode, amidst the smoking embers of their once beautiful and flourishing city.

On the fourth of Shabaun* this stern destroyer quitted the station of Kobeibat westward, and proceeded to that of Ghoutah, to the eastward of Damascus, where he encamped. From this favored spot, which in beauty and amenity is described as the very model of the terrestrial paradise, he dispatched instructions to his grandson, Mir-

* It was possibly a part of the church, on the foundation of which the mosque might have been erected; although not for a long time after the death of the prophet, who possibly applied the prediction to the tower of the church, if at all.

† 18th of March.

za Mahommed Sûltan, who commanded on the frontiers of Moghûlstaun, to leave the stations in that quarter in charge of Khodadaud ul Hûsseyny, and Beirdy Beg Saur Bougha, and to repair, himself, to court without delay; the throne and territory of Hûllaukû Khaun, Tebreiz and the province of Azerbâijaun so called, being destined for his government, on the supersession of Meiran Shah. Another dispatch was forwarded, at the same time, requiring the presence with the army, of the imperial consort Tomaun Aga, together with the younger branches of the imperial family; both dispatches being entrusted to the conveyance of Daunah Khaujah.

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Teymûr now proceeded on his march, and, in three stages, appeared again in the neighborhood of Hems; the inhabitants of which having continued faithful to their engagements, during the absence of the imperial armies, thus escaped the depredations and exactions to which they would have been otherwise exposed. Hence, after deliberating with his generals on his future plan of operations, it was resolved to detach the Mirzas Rûstum, and Aba Bukker, together with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, at the head of ten thousand horse, towards the celebrated city of Tedmer, Tadmor, or Palmyra, in the desert, about a degree to the east of Hems, towards the Euphrates; the building of which, like most other stupendous undertakings among the orientals, is here also ascribed to Solomon and his subordinate genii. The object of this detachment was to attack, and expel, the fugitive tribe of Zûl Kauder, which had here sought an abode when recently compelled to withdraw from the vallies of Mt. Taurus, by the Teymûrians on their march from Syria. Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, whom we should not have suspected to be so early restored to employment, with Ameir Berendek and another detachment of five thousand horse, was ordered at the same time, in a northern direction, towards Antioch; while Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, Teymûr Khaujah Aukbouga, and Ally Sûltan Towatchei, with a third division of fifteen thousand horse, proceeded against the Kounek Tûrkmauns, who had established themselves immediately along the banks of the Euphrates.

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The Mirzas Aba Bukker and Rûstum, with the troops of the right wing under their orders, hastened in concurrence with their instructions to Palmyra; from whence, with immense flocks of sheep the property of the Zûl Kaudrians, who had further fled for safety into the territory of Mekkah, or Arabia, they continued their march through the remaining part of the desert, to the western bank of the Euphrates, subsequently directing their course to the left, and along that river upwards. Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, on the other hand, with his division of the troops of the left wing, having reached the neighborhood of Antioch, immediately proceeded to plunder and lay waste the surrounding territory; after which, turning off towards Aleppo, and being joined on the way towards that place, by the column from the centre under Mirza Khaleil, the whole now marched together towards Kellaut-er-roum, situated to the north-east, in the vicinity of the river Euphrates. Not far from that place, they fell in with a body of Tûrkmans, prepared at all points to give them battle; but whom, notwithstanding, after a conflict of considerable obstinacy, they defeated with great slaughter; their commander Sheikh Hûseyne the son of Kounek, or perhaps Koubek, the head of the tribe, being killed in the action. Much booty, including more than eight hundred thousand sheep captured on this occasion, became the reward of the Teymûrians.

From Emesa, Teymûr conducted the main body of his army to Hama; where on his arrival, finding that the inhabitants had been led on by their evil destiny to betray their hostile spirit, by pulling up and demolishing the cantonments which had been erected by the imperial troops, on their advance into Syria, the place was instantly delivered over to the rage of the soldiery—the whole population driven into slavery—and the city burnt to the ground. From the burning embers of Hama, Teymûr prosecuted his march to Aleppo, the castle of which, immediately on his arrival, he directed to be levelled with the earth; and when that was accomplished, the city was also consigned to the flames, and consumed to ashes. From thence, the imperial army finally struck off to the north-east, and, in four days march, reached the right bank of the Euphrates, nearly opposite to the fortress of Beirah, or Bîr; which is situated on the

on the left, or eastern, bank of the river. Here he was immediately joined by the Mirzas Rûstum, and Aba Bukker, with the troops of the right, from Palmyra, and shortly afterwards, by the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan, and Sûltan Hûsseyne, with those of the left and centre, from their excursion towards Kellaut-er-room; Sûltan Hûsseyne, having conducted himself, during his absence on this occasion, with such distinguished zeal and gallantry, that he was, immediately on his return, admitted to the presence, and restored to the favor of his grandsire. Although the accumulation of cattle was so great, in consequence of the junction of these divisions with their booty, a single dinaur, or about nine shillings sterling, was still reckoned in the market a very moderate price for a sheep; indeed in the original, it is recorded as a proof of extraordinary abundance, and the coin may have been something of much inferior value to the dinaur.

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The imperial armies were now directed to cross the Euphrates, two boats, of some description or other, having been procured at Beirah, for the particular conveyance of Teymûr and his equipage. With respect to the troops, they fairly plunged into the stream, and having thus effected their passage by swimming, proceeded to encamp in the vicinity of the fortress already mentioned. The Governor of Beirah, with strong professions of attachment and zeal, and with presents in proportion to his ability, hastened to offer homage to Teymûr, was favorably received, and confirmed in his government; in consequence of which, the inhabitants were suffered to remain unmolested in their dwellings, during the passage of the Tcheghataïan armies through the district. While he continued at Beirah, Kâra Othman the Tûrkman chief also repaired to the camp of Teymûr, with suitable presents, and experienced the reception which was due to his acknowledged fidelity and attachment.

On his departure from Beirah, Teymûr proceeded to recreate himself and his armies, in the amusements of the chase. The different divisions forming, on this occasion, an enormous circle of five days journey in extent; and having closed inwards upon the station of Rauss ul-Eyne, as their common centre, they there commenced with various weapons, the slaughter of the different animals thus driven together from all points of the surrounding territory of Jezzeirah.

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From this scene of recreative slaughter, he continued his march to Rouha, or Edessa; the magistrates, and principal inhabitants of which, repaired with such presents as they could provide, to the imperial encampment; and they were permitted to return to their fellow citizens, with minds perfectly assured against all apprehension of danger. On their subsequent march from Rouha, the course of the imperial armies lay by the walls of a certain fortress, described as in possession of a garrison of Armenians, which they were ordered to reduce; and of which they accordingly made themselves masters, together with a considerable booty. It was then laid in ruins. When he was thus far advanced on his return, Teymûr experienced considerable satisfaction from the arrival of Hindû Shah Khezantchei, the treasurer, from Samarkand; accompanied by some officers of the household belonging to the princesses of the imperial family, with the customary presents, and advices of the favorable and prosperous state of affairs in that quarter.

The march of the imperial armies was now directed to the south-east, towards Mardein; and, in the mean time, Hindû Shah, together with the officers by whom he was accompanied, was dismissed on his return, furnished with letters, and valuable presents for the princesses at Samarkand. The Sûltan of Hussun-e-Keyfa, the prince of Arzein, and other rulers of the adjoining territory, availed themselves of this opportunity, to repair to the presence of Teymûr, and were all received with distinguished favor. But, with respect to Sûltan Eissa the prince of Mardein, it will be remembered that, after suffering a short imprisonment at Sûltauniah, he had formerly been permitted to resume his government; on binding himself, by the most solemn oaths and engagements, to be faithful through life to the authority of Teymûr. Nevertheless, during the recent march of the Tcheghatâian troops, on their Syrian expedition, when it behoved him in person to have accompanied the standard of his liege lord, or at least, if it appeared imprudent to quit the seat of his government from any apprehension of the designs of a hostile neighborhood, to have dispatched either a son, or a brother, to supply his place, he foolishly omitted to exhibit in either way, that necessary proof of his allegiance. Conscious of this improvident failure, as he had been withheld before,

by absurd and groundless speculations, so was he now deterred by the apprehensions of guilt from greeting the conqueror, on his approach, with the requisite demonstrations of fidelity.

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When he appeared in sight of Mardein, notwithstanding, Teymûr with extraordinary condescension, dispatched a particular agent to invite the Sûltan to his presence, although without effect; the rash and unreflecting chief, turning a deaf ear to every argument that was made use of to bring him to a better understanding, and, like a tortoise in its shell, seeking to screen himself from the effects of his disloyalty, by shrinking behind the walls of his castle. The siege of Mardein being, however, an enterprize of time and difficulty, and the territory in the neighborhood affording neither forage nor pasturage for the horses of his numerous cavalry, Teymûr was constrained to content himself with directing, that every thing that stood without the fortifications should be levelled with the earth, and every thing combustible consumed to ashes.* From the proximity of his government of Malautyah, Kâra Othman the Tûrkomaun, after having been further distinguished by the most liberal marks of imperial favor, was then instructed to keep the refractory chief, in a state, of strict and rigorous blockade, within the works of Mardein. The princes of Hussun-e-Keyfa, of Arzein, and other chieftains of the neighboring petty states, who, by early repairing to his presence, had the good fortune to secure the forbearance of Teymûr, were at the same time, dismissed to their several governments, with rich Khelauts, or dresses, embroidered with gold, belts of the same materials, and gold hilted scimitars, with other splendid trappings, the badges indeed of their vassalage; while the imperial troops proceeded in their march towards the fortress, or fortified town, of Nissebein, or Nisibis, which they had received orders to destroy. This extremity was, however, averted by the timely submission of the inhabitants, who hastening to lay the keys of their gates at the feet of Teymûr, thus succeeded in awakening the compassion, or rather in appeasing the fury of the conqueror,

* The castle of Mardein is described, however, as impregnable to open force, from its situation on an inaccessible rock; and the arable ground and inexhaustible springs within the walls, seemed to secure it against all risk of being reduced by famine. De la Croix cites an Arabian proverb, which expresses, that to attempt the capture of Mardein would be "to beckon to the blind, or court the friendship of the envious."

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 Rouzut-us- of that place, in order to protect the frontiers of the empire towards
 suffa. Jettah.

At the period of his departure from the neighborhood of Mardein, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, and Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, together with the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Temûr Khaujah, Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and other distinguished commanders, had been also dispatched by Teymûr, to bring the siege of Alanjek to a termination; after which, they were further instructed to enter Georgia, and to resume hostilities against the obnoxious inhabitants of that country. The blockade of the important fortress just alluded to, had, in the mean time, been rigorously maintained, ever since the imperial armies were on their march towards Sevauss, and subsequently into Syria, by Sheikh Mahommed Daroghah, and Ameir Feyrouz Shah, two officers in the service of Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, respectively; and the garrison, notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, had been reduced to such extremity as to subsist on skins and old leather, and even these meagre articles at last also failing them, there now remained no other alternative than unconditional surrender. They had accordingly, thrown open their gates to their besiegers; and the governor, Sûltan Ahmed Ally Shahy, was immediately conveyed in irons to the imperial head quarters. The Shahzâdahs hearing therefore of the reduction of Alanjek, on their arrival at Aouneik, or Avaneik, continued their march without delay into Georgia; where they proceeded, as usual, to extend in every direction the customary scenes of plunder and devastation. Melek Gourguein, or Gregory, the native prince, having, however, on intelligence of these depredations, dispatched his agent to declare that he considered himself among the lowliest of that train of vassals, who acknowledged the authority of Teymûr, and to assure them that the moment the imperial standard made its appearance in the province, he should be

* It might have been Aushirah, on the borders of Kara Khatâi; but that would have been to protect the frontiers towards China.

among the first to present his homage at the foot of the throne; the Shahzâdahs immediately suspended their operations, and transmitted advices of this declaration, on the part of the prince of Georgia, to their grandfather, requesting his instructions for their future proceedings. In the mean time, they led their troops into quarters, on the plains of Menkoul, and in the adjoining territory.

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While these young princes were thus employed in Georgia and Armenia, a formidable division of the army, under Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular successor of Tcheghatâi, accompanied by Mirza Rûstum, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Mozraub Tchaukû, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and other distinguished commanders, was ordered to march with the utmost expedition to Baghdâd. In conformity with their instructions, these associated chiefs proceeded accordingly towards Baghdâd, and, after several rapid marches, finally took post in front of the city; which was at the period under consideration held, under the authority of the fugitive Sûltan Ahmed, by a person of obscure origin whose name was Feridje, or Faridje. Encouraged by the support of a numerous body of Turks and Arabs, assembled under his orders, this man had been recently led to entertain the most aspiring and dangerous designs, and evinced a disposition to the last degree hostile towards the Teymûrian power. At the same time, when it became known that the imperial troops were arrived in the neighborhood, Ameir Ally Kullender from Mundely, and Jaun Ahmed from Yakoubiah, passed the Tigris near Medâein, while Furrukh Shah from Hellah, and Meykâeil from Seibon the Euphrates, hastened to join them at the station of Serser, situated on a canal to the westward of Baghdâd; from whence they proceeded together, comprising, in the whole, a force of not more than three thousand men well armed, to attack the Teymûrians—possibly in the expectation of finding them off their guard, and thus making their way good to the assistance of their compatriots in the city. But the experience of Sûltan Mahmûd, and his associates, had been too well exercised, not to be prepared against such a contingency; and, accordingly, they took in an instant to their horses, and proceeded to surround and cut off this devoted detachment of their adversaries, without a possibility of escape. The conflict was speedily decided; for Jaun Ahmed, one

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of their captains, with a considerable part of his followers, having been killed in the action, the remainder were driven into the Tigris, and there perished; a few only, with Ally Kullender, more dead than alive contriving, nevertheless, through a thousand difficulties, to extricate themselves from the danger into which they had been so unfortunately committed.

Notwithstanding this disastrous miscarriage of the attempt for his relief, the improvident Feridje, who, previous to his unlooked for accession to the government of Baghdâd, possessed neither authority nor distinction among men, could not yet bring himself to the resolution of abandoning his ill suited power; which, on the other hand, he employed every artifice that invention could devise to preserve. Among other pretences, however, not less specious than consistent with probability, he alleged that in consigning to him the government of his capital, Sûltan Ahmed, had exacted from him a solemn engagement, not to surrender it to any human being but to Teymûr himself in person—in no case to the Shahzâdahs, his sons, or grandsons, much less to any subordinate generals, of whatever rank or dignity. This engagement, owing, as he did, his elevation and livelihood, to the bounty of so good a master, he declared that he should never violate: and under such a plea, no dishonorable one to ordinary perceptions, however condemned by our author, he prepared for a bold and resolute defence; the greater part of the inhabitants and troops, imposed upon by his arguments, cordially uniting to promote his designs, and to repel, to the last extremity, the efforts of the Teymûrians to become masters of the town. The exertions of Feridje, or Faridje, or whatever else might have been his name, in defence of his post, were, however, such as would not have disgraced a better, or more applauded cause; since it is acknowledged, that accompanied by his principal adherents, either in his boats on the Tigris, or wherever an opportunity occurred, he was always foremost to annoy and disconcert the attacks of the besiegers, on the several quarters of the city.

While a part of his troops, were thus employed before Baghdâd, Teymûr, with the main body of the army, on his march to Tebreiz, reached Mossûl; and a bridge of boats having been there thrown across

the Tigris, he transported the whole to the opposite bank of the river in Kourdestaun, in the space of seven days. Here he received, from his generals, information of the obstinacy with which the governor of Baghdâd, seemed determined to oppose their proceedings, and of the plausible pretext under which he attempted to justify his resolution to resist the imperial authority. Perceiving from the nature of this intelligence, in all its circumstances, the necessity of his presence on the spot, and leaving the direction of the main body to the care of Mahommed Sûltan,* aided by the counsels and experience of Ameir Shah Melek, Teymûr, with his usual promptitude of decision, hastened, by the route of Altûn Kûpny—the golden bridge—towards Baghdâd; where, on his arrival after several days march, he took up a position on the Tigris, below the city, on the left bank; opposite to the Kerreiat-ul-okkaub, or village of the eagle, on the western side of the river. The place was now closely invested on every quarter; and the sappers and miners were directed to proceed in their labours without delay. Of the princes of the blood employed in the siege of Baghdâd, on this occasion, we find enumerated the Mirzas Meiran Shah, Rûstum, and Khaleil Sûltan, and of the great Ameirs, Sûliman Shah, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Berendek Jahaungûshâi, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and Ally Sûltan Towatchei; besides many other commanders of Koushûns, and even of Tomauns, whose names it has not been thought necessary to commit to record: but who were, nevertheless, equally active and vigilant in promoting the final accomplishment of the enterprize, either in carrying on the laborious part of the operations, or in protecting the working parties against the attempts of the garrison.

In the mean time, Feridje, or Faredje, in order to ascertain the fact of Teymûr's arrival, sent out of the town an officer in his confidence, previously acquainted with the person of the monarch, to solicit an audience, as authorized to communicate some proposal on his part. This person was admitted, with the usual facility, to the presence of Teymûr; and having been courteously dismissed, after a favorable reception, with the customary marks of bounty, proceeded to make on

* This must be an error, since Mahommed Sûltan was in Transoxiana, at the period in question.

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his return to his employer, a faithful report of the result of his interview, in such terms as to have removed every doubt, if any yet existed on the subject. Faridje, however, although perfectly convinced in his own mind of the truth of his information, lest, by continuing at large, the circumstance of Teymûr's presence at the siege might, through his means, become too generally known among the inhabitants, immediately placed the agent under close restraint, on a charge of falsehood in his report. And having thus, according to our original, with shameless effrontery withheld the truth from his followers, he prepared, with an audacity which seemed to increase with the danger, to continue his exertions for the defence of the town. In this state of affairs, some random arrow shot from the walls proved fatal to Mongûly Khaujah, a distinguished Moghûl chief, and to Khaujah Mûssâoud the Semnaunian, frequently mentioned in these pages.

Teymûr, on the other hand, finding possibly that the undertaking had become more arduous than he had calculated at the commencement, dispatched one of his Tawatcheis, to summon Shah Rokh and his division, with the heavy equipments of the army, to join him before Baghdâd. The messenger came up with Shah Rokh, at Kol-laughy, the town of that name, in all probability, in Kourdestaun, on the way to Tebreiz; and shortly afterwards conducted the prince with his division, to the imperial encampment, to the equal discouragement and dismay of the garrison of Baghdâd: which, like the signet in his ring, was now on all sides more closely and completely invested by the armies of Teymûr. In order to do this the more effectually, directions had been given to construct a bridge across the Tigris, immediately below the city, and parties of experienced archers were stationed at convenient distances, to cut off, from the garrison, all possibility of escape along the river downwards; while the princes Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, took post opposite to the Souque-us-Sûltaun, in order to guard the approaches to the town from above. For similar purposes, Mahommed Azaud with his division took post in front of the city to the westward; and in short, although it extended over a space of nearly two farsangs, or about seven miles, in circumference, so completely was every avenue to egress and ingress closed up, that it scarcely seemed possible for the smallest reptile that

crawls upon the earth, either to enter or depart—much less for any human being to escape from the town.

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While the operations of the siege were proceeding with a vigour which had no remission, Ameir Moussa, one of the imperial officers, arrived with dispatches from Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahangueir, in Transoxiana; and presented to Teymûr a single ruby, of the astonishing weight of one hundred and twenty methkals,* recently taken from the mine in Badakhshaun. In the mean time Faridje, and the inhabitants of Baghdâd, having discarded all prospect of deliverance in any other way, continued to defend themselves with the obstinacy and animation of despair; and, although the miners of the besieging army had repeatedly succeeded in bringing down the wall in several places, by setting fire to their galleries under the foundation, the garrison exerted themselves with such unwearied constancy and activity in repairing the breaches with brick and mortar, that the Teymûrians were constrained, over and over again, to resume their labors without effect. The heat of the weather was, at the same time, so intensely great, the sun being at this period in cancer, that the very crabs at the bottom of the ocean might be said to fry, and the solid rock to melt like wax—at least, in the genuine extravagance of oriental metaphor, so we are told by our author. The zeal of Teymûr's veterans was, however, not to be discouraged by any circumstances of fatigue and danger; and they persevered from morn to night to labour in spite of every obstacle, in their cuirasses, at the mounts, or cavaliers, which they were raising to command the works of the place, and to employ with unceasing diligence all the expedients that could be devised to harass and destroy their adversaries.

In the mean time, anxious to rescue so rich and populous a city from the horrors of a general assault, Teymûr had resisted the repeated importunities of the Shahzâdahs, and his principal generals, for permission to attack the place without further delay; trusting that cooler reflection, and an increasing sense of danger, might finally prevail with the inhabitants to sue for mercy. In this he was, however, disappointed; these misguided men continuing to persevere in

* At a dram and a half to the Methkaul, if our calculation be correct, this would be about 2400 carats, or fifteen ounces avoirdupoise.

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their plans of hostility and resistance, until, in the general scarcity of all that could in any shape contribute to the support of existence, nothing remained but the sorrowful recollection of their past abundance.

Such was the state of things, when, one day at noon, exhausted by the scorching heat of a meridian sun, the garrison withdrew from their posts on the ramparts and in the towers, leaving their turbans and helmets fixed on poles, along the parapets, in order to deceive the besiegers. At this moment of fatal security, Shahzâdah Khaileil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, from among the princes of the blood, and the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, from among the chief commanders, approached the devoted city; and, placing their ladders against the walls, immediately mounted to the rampart, the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein being the first to plant his victorious standard of horsetail on the parapet. Shortly afterwards, the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, and Ameirs Sûliman Shah, from their posts on the river above, and Mirza Rûstum, with the Ameirs Shah Melek, Berendek, and Ally Sûltan, on opposite sides of the town, rushed to the assault, and, having precipitated a great part of the walls into the ditch, laid open tremendous breaches to the troops; who now, from every direction, poured into the place without further resistance, the astonished inhabitants being as much affrighted as if the terrors of the last judgment were passing before them.

During this scene of suspense and terror, Teymûr took his station at the head of the bridge below the town, which he had caused to be thrown across the Tigris, while his soldiers, eager for blood and slaughter, urged each other onward to the attack; the terrified inhabitants in great numbers, perceiving themselves, like beasts of the chase encircled in the toils of the hunter, encompassed on every side by the snares of death, chose rather to plunge into the stream of the Tigris, and perish in a watery grave, than nobly tempt their fate by encountering the weapons of the enemy. Others embarked in crowds in boats on the river; and many more endeavored to effect their escape, by swimming with the stream downwards, until intercepted by the temporary bridge, where they were shot to death by the archers posted

to cut off their retreat, by the instructions of Teymûr. The wretched Faredje, after his brief exercise of a precarious and turbulent authority, accompanied by an only daughter and a few faithful attendants, directed his flight in a boat, along the Tigris upwards; but, being closely pursued by the Teymûrian archers, who plied him without ceasing, from either bank, with their arrows, he was at last compelled with his unfortunate associates to plunge, covered with wounds, into the stream, in which they all perished. The body of Faredje was afterwards dragged out of the river and laid on the bank, exposed to every mark of contempt and insult.

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As his soldiers had fallen in extraordinary numbers, during the siege and assault, Teymûr had issued orders that required every individual in the army, to produce the head of an enemy; and a carnage now took place, which revived, in their most sanguinary colours, the horrible scenes of the Jenguizian irruption—every sex and condition of the inhabitants being indiscriminately devoted to the slaughter. The heads of the slain were then erected into pyramids, one hundred and twenty in number according to De la Croix, to serve as ghastly memorials of the dire vengeance which awaited those who dared to raise the standard of revolt, against the dread authority of Teymûr. Many Seyuds, ûlema, Sheikhs, and pious individuals, who had taken the precaution to claim the imperial protection, before it was too late, were, however, exempted from the general butchery, and otherwise munificently treated. Directions were finally given to level the city with the ground, but to spare the mosques, colleges, hospitals, and other structures set apart for divine worship, and for charitable or benevolent purposes; and the whole, with these exceptions, was accordingly reduced by the soldiery to a heap of rubbish. We shall dismiss the subject with stating that the capture of Baghdâd, on this occasion, is recorded to have taken place on sunday the seventh of Zilkaudah, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,* the siege having occupied altogether a period of forty days.

Quitting the ruins of this ill-fated metropolis, during the first ten days of Zilhudje, Teymûr proceeded to encamp his troops about a farsang above the city, at the Mausoleum of Imaum Moussa ul Kau-

* 20th of June 1401.

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zem ; the influence of whose pure spirit he presumed to invoke in favor of those schemes of blood and rapine, which he had in further contemplation. Soon afterwards, Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, accompanied by Mirza Khaleil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Shah Melek, and other highly distinguished commanders, with a numerous military retinue, was dispatched across the Tigris and Euphrates, to visit the shrine of Ally at Nudjef, to the westward of the latter river ; where, by their pious prostrations, and a liberal distribution of alms, they sought to secure the prayers and benedictions of those who ministered about the sacred structure. The troops who accompanied them did not, however, omit on their return, to pillage both the towns of Hellah and Wausset ; after which, the whole proceeded to rejoin the imperial head quarters. The army thus assembled was now finally set in motion for Tebreiz, by the route of Sheherzour, and the Kollaughy already mentioned, which lay to all appearance in the neighborhood of Selmauss ; Teymûr leaving the main body and impediments to continue the march by easy stages, while he proceeded, in person, accompanied by the Mirzas Meiran Shah, Shah Rokh, and Khaleil Sûltan, to make the best of his way to the capital of Azerbâijaun.

CHAP. VIII.

IT would now appear that while Teymûr was employed in the invasion of Syria, Bayezzid, or Bajazet, the Sûltan of the Othmanlû Turks, urged by the importunities of Sûltan Ahmed, and the Tûrkmân Kâra Yûssuf, who had sought his protection against the fury of the Tcheghatâian armies, had proceeded, in retaliation for the destruction of Sevauss, to invest the fortress of Arzenjaun; of which, after defeating the troops of Ameir Taherten, he finally accomplished the reduction. During the hostilities which preceded this capture, Mûkbel, the lieutenant of Ameir Taherten, had fallen into the hands of some of the followers of Kâra Yûssuf; but the Turkish monarch had been prevailed upon, through the intercession of Sûltan Ahmed, to restore the government of Arzenjaun to Ameir Taherten, taking his wife and children, however, away with him, as hostages for his good behavior, to the metropolis of Broussa; to which, he soon afterwards returned. Such a circumstance did not fail to occasion the utmost degree of mortification to the haughty spirit of Teymûr; and it being further reported to him while he lay encamped at the station of Hushtroud, on his return towards Azerbâijaun, that Bajazet was again approaching in the direction of that province, his indignation was kindled beyond all bounds: and he accordingly gave orders that Shah Rokh, with the Ameirs Shah Melek, and Sûliman Shah, and other illustrious commanders at the head of a formidable army, should proceed without delay to oppose and repel the audacious invasion. Ameir Mûzraub was dispatched, at the same time, to the Shahzâdahs, and the other chiefs who had encamped at Menkoul, after the expedition into Georgia, with instructions to join Shah Rokh immediately, with the whole of the force under their orders.

In the mean time, on his arrival at Aouneik, Shah Rokh was met by Sheikh Ally, the sister's son of Ameir Taherten, with a message to announce that the Turkish monarch, repenting of his unjust ag-

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gressions, had requested the mediation of his uncle for the forgiveness of Teymûr; and had engaged, as some acknowledgment for such mediation, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the rival monarchs, to restore the hostages whom, on the capture of Arzenjaun, he had caused to be conveyed to Broussa, or Prusa—the ancient capital of Bythinia, at that period the capital of the Turkish monarchy. It was further announced that a correspondence on these grounds had been already opened, between Ameir Taherten and the Sûltan of the Turks. Having sent one of his officers to conduct this person to the presence of his father, Shah Rokh determined to remain at Aouneik, or Avanic, until he should receive further instructions. By this time, the imperial head quarters had been removed from Hushtroud, or the eight rivers, to Oujaun; from whence, after the residence of a few days, Teymûr had proceeded further towards Tebreiz. At that place, on his arrival shortly afterwards, the Tcheghataïan monarch, taking up his abode in the palace of the government, is stated to have furnished during his stay to all classes of the inhabitants, the most gratifying proofs of his moderation, liberality, and love of justice. It was at this crisis, that Khaujah Ally the Semnaunian, from Herât, and Seyf-ud-dein Touny, from Subbuzwaur, arrived at court; and experienced the most encouraging reception from the sovereign, being both of them immediately nominated to distinguished appointments in the exchequer. The Khaujah Mûssâoud already stated to have fallen before Baghdâd, was probably a relative, and possibly a brother to the former. Be that however as it may, the two favorites soon contrived to render themselves of importance; first, by encouraging certain officious individuals to impeach the integrity of Jullaul-ul-islam, who appears to have long held a distinguished place in the department of the finances, and finally by communicating the impeachment to their master. A mandate was immediately issued to suspend the unfortunate minister from his employments, to commit him to close custody, and to investigate the grounds of his accusation. He was subsequently turned over to certain commissioners, perhaps inquisitors, and a very large sum of money, arising from his property and that of his dependents, was confiscated to the state.

In these circumstances, impelled to desperation by the severity of his inquisitors, the degraded minister drew a poniard, and made an attempt to destroy himself; but as the wound was inflicted by an irresolute and unsteady hand, a few days medical attention was sufficient to heal it. He was finally directed, by command of Teymûr, to charge himself with the superintendence of the Persian auxiliary troops; possibly with a view to the discovery of further frauds in the revenue department, without, however, being permitted to interfere in any shape with the collections. This scheme, unintelligible as it seems, was not without success, since two more embezzlements to a considerable extent are said to have been detected, through the diligence of those employed to develop them; and Khaujah Mahommed Shahaub, also an officer of the exchequer, was dismissed with a fine of two hundred horses of a moderate price. Khaujah Ismâeil Khowaufy, another in the same department, was, however, treated with far greater severity, being hanged in the public market place of the camp, shortly after this period, on the departure of the army from Tebreiz.

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Teymûr now proceeded across the Araxes to Nekhtchûaun; from whence, accompanied by an escort of his Ameirs and principal generals, he made an excursion to view the celebrated fortress of Alanjek in this neighborhood, which, as noticed on a former occasion, had been recently taken possession of by the imperial troops. After a very minute and careful survey of the fortifications, and of the mountain on which they stood, he returned to his encampment. Shortly after this, Ameir Taherten arrived from Erzenjaun, and on his knees communicated to Teymûr proposals for an accommodation of their differences, on the part of the Turkish Sûltan Bajazet, as well as what he had been authorized to represent in extenuation of the hostile proceedings of that prince; of whose cause he proved so successful an advocate, as to appease for the present, if he did not totally extinguish, the indignation of the Tcheghatâian monarch.

While he remained at Nekhtchuaun, on this occasion, an agent was dispatched on the part of Teymûr, to make a demand of tribute, and the ordinary proofs of submission from the prince of Georgia. In the mean time, he was rejoined by the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and

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Aba Bukker, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah and Temûr Khaujah, or Khojah, with the troops who had proceeded from Menkoul to place themselves under the orders of Shah Rokh, in expectation of hostilities with the Turkish Sûltan. The imperial head quarters were then removed from Nekhtchuaun, to the banks of the Gouktcha tengueiz, or blue lake, where Teymûr recreated himself for some time, with the amusements of the chase. Not long afterwards, he was joined by Shah Rokh in person, together with the division under his orders, in concurrence with the instructions which had been afresh transmitted to him at Aouneik, or Avanic. The imperial armies then advanced to the plains of Shemkour, laid down by De la Croix to the left, or N. E. of the Kûrr, although it does not appear that the troops had yet crossed that river. While encamped on these plains, Eidekou the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein Berlas arrived from Kermaun, with a suitable display of valuables, which he laid at the feet of the sovereign. On the same spot, the agent who had been dispatched into Georgia, returned to the presence of Teymûr, followed by the brother of Melek Gûrguein, with presents to an enormous amount, and an express agreement, on the part of the Georgian chief, to become tributary to the imperial authority. Having been, through the intercession of some powerful Ameirs of the court, introduced to an audience, this person communicated to Teymûr the most positive assurances of homage on the part of his brother, as well as his extreme regret for past audacious aggressions ; which he intreated might be alone ascribed to the genuine cause, excess of rashness, and entire ignorance of the substantial interests of his country. If, however, from such considerations the imperial clemency might be disposed to view these errors with indulgence, and to cast over them the veil of oblivion, he pledged himself for the punctual payment, in future, of any tax or tribute that might be determined upon, and for the furnishing of whatever contingent of troops might be required to serve under the shadow of the imperial standard. And, in short, engaging that his obligations of service and allegiance should now terminate, only with his life. These protestations, in behalf of the prince of Georgia, produced an immediate and very favorable impression on the mind of Teymûr. The apologies of the Georgian chief were graciously accepted.

of, his offences overlooked, and his brother dismissed with a pelisse, and presents of uncommon splendor, and all his wishes liberally gratified. He was, nevertheless, charged on his departure, to announce to the prince his brother, that the conqueror was induced to forego his just vengeance, and to suspend the invasion of his territories, on the express condition that he should, for the future, forbear in any shape to molest the advocates of the true faith; on the contrary that he should, on all occasions, be prepared to treat them with respect and kindness, and that he would never omit an opportunity to contribute to their welfare and prosperity: for, he desired it to be understood that he should consider this, or any other treaty with him, no longer valid than he adhered to the conditions thus prescribed.

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The affair with the Georgian thus happily adjusted, Teymûr, ever anxious for the tranquillity of his own capital, conceived it expedient, about the period under consideration, to dispatch the discreet and respectable Temûr Khaujah to Samarkand; in order to afford to Mirza Omar the aid of his counsels, and to admonish the Ameirs on the spot, of their obligations to exert themselves with zeal and unanimity, in promoting the success of his government. Some days afterwards, the imperial head quarters were removed to the station of Karawultoupah. Here, information was received from Mirza Mahommed Sûltan that, in conformity with his instructions, he had left Samarkand some time since, for the purpose of repairing to the imperial presence, accompanied by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; but, that it had fallen to his lot to announce the death, after a short illness, of that able and gallant commander, soon after his arrival at Neyshapûr. The long and eminent services of this loyal and veteran chief, rendered his death a circumstance of deep and sensible regret to his master; although he exerted all his fortitude to sustain it with becoming resignation. At the expiration of a month, during which he remained at Karawultoupah, he decamped from that station, and returned towards Kârabaugh, on the Araxes, where he proposed to establish his winter quarters. On his arrival in the neighborhood of that place, about the twenty-second of the latter Rebbeia, of the year 804,* the artificers of the army proceeded to erect for the accommodation of the monarch, the princes of his blood, and the imperial fami-

* 28th of November 1401.

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ly, lofty sheds constructed of mats, canes, and rafters, under which to cover the tents and pavilions, thus competently secured against the rigors of the approaching season. In the mean time, in concurrence with the resolution publicly avowed, of marching at the commencement of spring into Keptchauk, the princes and other great commanders are described, on this occasion, to have uniformly placed the forepart of their tents in the direction of Derbend; while a liberal distribution of money evinced to the army, afresh, the unexhausted munificence of their sovereign.

Shortly afterwards, an embassy from Keptchauk appeared, however, in the encampment, and proceeded in humble and submissive language to express, on the part of the Khaun, the most perfect obedience to the authority of Teymûr. The conciliatory terms in which the ambassadors discharged themselves of the object of their mission, succeeded in this instance also, in appeasing the resentment of the Tcheghataïan monarch; whose vindictive passions the frost of age had probably, by this time, in some degree contributed to mitigate. While these matters were in train, it was further announced that Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, with the powerful reinforcement of troops and equipments from Samarkand, was arrived at the station of Aktaum; hence most of the Shahzâdahs, including the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, together with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Jahaun Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and many others of the principal ministers and generals, proceeded immediately over the bridge on the Araxes, in order to conduct him to the presence of his grandfather, by whom he was most cordially embraced on his arrival, shortly after this, in the imperial encampment. The appearance of the young prince, whom, it may be necessary to recollect, his grandfather had long destined to succeed to the imperial dignity, was followed for several days, by a course of continued festivity; at which the ladies of the imperial family are described to have presented themselves arrayed with extraordinary splendor. The Shahzâdah was, at the same time, overwhelmed with favors by his august relative. A diadem of gold was placed upon his brows, and his waist encircled by a girdle of the same precious material. A lot of nine of the choicest Arabian horses, nine times told, with saddles and caparisons of gold, was also among the presents bestowed upon him on the occasion.

When these festivities were at an end, Teymûr, as usual, directed his attention to the more important concerns of his government; and among these he proceeded in the first place to institute an inquiry into the conduct of Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, still under restraint, for his precocious and overforward zeal, in the expedition from Ferghaunah formerly described. The young prince, at this period not eighteen years of age, after having been subjected to a very rigorous investigation, and suffering the discipline of the bastinado, was then set at liberty from his bonds. But on this subject we are informed that, in the margin of his history, Moulana Kummaul-ud-dein Abdurrezauk should, with his own hand, have recorded his astonishment at a circumstance so totally inconsistent with the maxims of justice, and common sense; the expedition having been undertaken with Teymûr's express approbation, and not the slightest proof having been produced, during the investigation, to impeach in any degree, the fidelity and duty of Mirza Eskunder; and, furthermore, no previous instance having occurred, in the whole course of his reign, in which the monarch had condemned any of his own blood to the discipline of the bastinado. Upon this passage our author very justly proceeds to remark, that it appears still more extraordinary in this same Abdurrezauk, to have so completely overlooked the statement in his own work, as well as in every other on the subject, which expressly records a similar punishment inflicted, by Teymûr's orders, on Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne the son of a favorite daughter, for his flagrant and perfidious desertion during the campaign in Syria. But more than this, it was sufficiently notorious, that he had on other occasions condemned his sons Peir Mahommed, and Omar Sheikh, to the very same punishment, as hath been already shewn in the course of these pages.

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Before we proceed to the detail of more important matters, it may be necessary to observe that, encouraged by the rumours of approaching hostilities with Bajazet, Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir was again endeavoring to re-establish his authority among the ruins of Baghdâd; the fortifications of which he was now labouring with his utmost diligence to place in a state of repair. There was, however, little probability that he should be suffered to bring his plans to maturity.

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without interruption from the ever watchful policy of Teymûr. Accordingly, in the very depth of winter, and in defiance of all the rigors of an inclement season, not less than four distinct armies were dispatched by different routes to attack the Sûltan, before his power should have acquired strength; and to check at its birth the spirit of disobedience, and revolt, which his presence might have produced in Arabian Irâk, and in the adjoining provinces of Khouzistaun, and Shouster. With one of these columns Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, accompanied by Ameir Jahaun Shah, proceeded immediately towards Baghdâd, of which they had very nearly effected the surprise. The Sûltan with his son Sûltan Tâher, contrived, however, to escape towards Hellah; and although closely pursued, the following morning, by a detachment under the orders of Ameir Jahaun Shah, he succeeded, by destroying the bridge on the Euphrates, in finally withdrawing to the island of Khaled and Malek, situated in the bed of that river some distance below, where the vicinity of the Arabian desert seemed to offer the best prospect of a secure retreat. Without attending to the proceedings of the three other divisions, it will be sufficient to remark that in the early part of the succeeding spring, the whole rejoined the main body of the Teymûrian armies, about that period assembling for the purpose of approaching the frontiers of the Anatolian Peninsula.

The jealousy which had been so long fermenting in the breasts of the rival monarchs had now reached its crisis, and Teymûr was at last preparing, in earnest, to bring the question of universal dominion between him and Sûltan Bayezzid, to a final decision; an undertaking, in every respect, worthy of the full display of his talents and valour, of the hazard and importance of which he was perfectly aware, and in which he does not appear to have engaged without the most mature and anxious deliberation.

During the period in which he continued in his winter quarters at Kârabaugh, he had received a formal embassy from the Turkish Sûltan; and he had condescended to avail himself of the opportunity to repeat his complaints of the asylum still afforded to that object of his unabating vengeance, the Tûrkman Kâra Yûssuf; again urging his extreme repugnance to engage in hostilities with a monarch, whose

exertions had been, hitherto, so laudably employed against the enemies of their common faith, the odious abettors of the religion of the Messiah. In order, therefore, before it was yet too late, to avert from his Mûssulman subjects, the dreadful calamities to which they would be unavoidably exposed from the invasion of the Tcheghtâian armies, he now proposed to the ambassadors, for the consideration of their sovereign, either of the three following alternatives. To take the punishment of the refractory Tûrkomanian upon himself, and to do him justice upon the rebel—To send him to his court in chains, in order to receive that punishment, which on an impartial investigation might appear due to his crimes—Or lastly, as the smallest concession to which he was entitled, to expel the odious profligate from his dominions. With these propositions, after treating them with a superb hunting-match, on the plains of Aktaum on the opposite bank of the Araxes, and otherwise most sumptuously entertaining them, Teymûr dismissed the agents of Bajazet, acquainting them, on their departure, that he should continue in his present quarters during winter; but, that at the return of spring, he should advance towards the Turkish frontier, in order to be the more conveniently at hand, for such communications as their master might be disposed to convey to him. If these should prove what he had such just grounds to expect, all would be well—Otherwise, that the day of battle must decide between them. The ambassadors were accompanied, at the same time, by another diplomatic mission from Teymûr, at the head of which was Bayezzid Tchimauny Eiltchigadâi, charged with written dispatches from his master to the Tûrkish Sûltan.

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In the interval which succeeded to the dispatch of these ambassadors, Teymûr occupied himself in opening and clearing out an ancient canal, which had been choked up in the lapse of ages, and which had attracted his attention, in the course of his hunting parties. It appears to have communicated with the Araxes on the right, or southern bank; to have been completed on this occasion to the length of two farsangs and upwards, in the short space of one month, and it received the name of the canal of Berlas.

Although it is acknowledged that considerable repugnance was to be conquered on the part of Teymûr, before he could prevail upon himself

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finally to resolve on the expedition into Natolia, from a species of religious deference to the zeal with which Bajazet had so frequently signalized himself in his wars against the infidels ; nevertheless, it was a measure on the expediency of which none of his courtiers had hitherto ventured, in his presence, to hazard the slightest doubt. He had, at the same time, formed an estimate on no inadequate scale, of the formidable extent of the Turkish dominions; of the resources, the strength and discipline of the armies of the house of Othman, which latter were known to be in the most perfect state of preparation for war—the grandeur and magnificence of Bajazets equipments, being such, from recent report, that he had no less than twelve thousand dog keepers,* or huntsmen, in his train, which were probably a body of life guards particularly armed and appointed, for the protection of his person. The Teymûrians, on the other hand, had been so perpetually harrassed, during a period of four years, by a series of fatiguing marches and expeditions, from one country to another, that their horses were worn to skeletons; and the Ameirs and principal generals appeared therefore with little exception, extremely averse to engage at present, in an enterprize of such magnitude and importance. As a person who, by his wit and eloquence, had secured unobstructed access to the presence of the monarch, by whom he was indulged with freedom of speech on all occasions, they accordingly fixed upon Shums-ud-dein of Almaulegh, to be the organ of their representations on this subject ; instructing him to support his arguments on the occasion, with an alleged declaration of the astrologers that the Tcheghatâian armies were destined, in the course of the present year, to suffer some serious injury from those of Rûme.

Shums-ud-dein proceeded, accordingly, to communicate to Teymûr, what he had received in charge from the great officers of his court, superadding, as he had been instructed to do, the report of the astrologers. The sagacious monarch condescendingly observed, that, admitting all he alleged on the part of the Ameirs to be perfectly just, he should yet require to be more particularly informed, from whom he derived his alarming decision on the aspect of the heavenly bodies. To this Shums-ud-dein appearing unable to reply, Jullaul-ul-isslaum

* Segbaun.

immediately threw himself upon his knees, and declared that in direct opposition to the speculations of both Ameirs and astrologers, he should without reserve give his voice for the expedition; little doubting that with the aid of that presiding providence, which had hitherto so conspicuously maintained the ascendancy of the imperial power, they should yet bring the *thunderbolt* Bayezzid, a forsaken captive to the foot of the throne, and include the provinces of his boasted empire within the already wide extended limits of the Teymûrian authority: and what furnished, as he said, additional confidence to these hopes, was the evidence daily accumulating, that the presumption of the Turkish monarch had reached its acme, and that the declension of his power must necessarily be at hand. But the more effectually to dispel the doubts and apprehensions of his generals, Teymûr called upon Moulana Abdullah Lessaun, a very skilful astrologer who always attended his person, to announce such discoveries as he might have made, in his observations of the heavenly bodies. The Moulana replied, without hesitation, that with the aid of the ephemerides, and other astronomical guides calculated for the present year, he was enabled to state that the fortune of Teymûr was in the highest degree of ascendancy; while that of his adversaries appeared at the very lowest decline. It so fell out that about this very crisis, a comet made its appearance in Aries, taking its course from the westward, as well as we are able to understand the passage, from its rise in the evening to its occultation in the twilight. At the expiration of some days, it appeared again, about daylight in the morning, in the east. Moulana Abdullah then, very opportunely, produced to the council a passage from the works of Mohey-ud-dein Meghreby, which predicted in express terms that when a comet should appear in the celestial sign above alluded to, it portended that an army from the east should invade the country of Roum, or Anatolia, and occasion some great calamity to the sovereign ruler of that territory.

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But, whatever might have been exhibited in the phenomena of the heavens, or affirmed by the impostures of astrology, the resolution of Teymûr was unalterably fixed for his expedition into Anatolia; and he, accordingly, broke up from his winter quarters at Kara-

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baugh, on the thirteenth of Rudjub, of the 804th of the hidjerah,* leading his troops immediately to encamp on the extensive and luxuriant plains in the neighborhood. Here he remained some days, awaiting the final close of the cold season; after which, he again put his troops in motion, and proceeded towards the plains of Shemkour, already mentioned above. Mirza Mahommed Sûltan proceeded, at the same time, across the Kûrr, directing his march along the left bank of that river upwards, possibly towards the city of Teflis. Leading his troops through Berdaa and Ganjah, to the plains of Shemkour above mentioned, Teymûr there continued, until the whole of the forage in the circle of the adjoining districts had been entirely consumed. After this, he directed his march to the left, towards Alatauk, or Alataug, which lay to all appearance in the vicinity of Ararat.

While the army lay encamped on the river of Bender, [aub-e-Bender, or Tabudaur, according to De la Croix], which is the boundary of Georgia on that side, the imperial family received the further augmentation, on the twenty fourth of Ramzaun,† of a son to Shah Rokh, by his consort Gouher Shaud Aga, who received the name of Mahommed Jouky. Mirza Mahommed Sûltan had, in the mean time, been successfully employed against the Legzies, or Lezgies, of Mt. Albûrz, whom he had destroyed in considerable numbers; and he now rejoined the imperial encampment, with no small accumulation of booty. Before he proceeded further in his designs, Teymûr availed himself of the opportunity of sending back towards Tebreiz and Sûltauniah, the Queen consort, Serâi Melek Khaunum, and some of the principal ladies, together with the younger branches of the imperial family; among whom are particularly mentioned the Mirzas Olugh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, sons of Shah Rokh, at this period about eight years of age, Jahangueir the son of Peir Mahommed Jahangueir, Anjeil, or Ayjel, the son of Meiran Shah, each about seven, and Bâisungur and Seyûrghetmesh, also the sons of Shah Rokh, the one five, and the other three years old.

Having thus disencumbered himself of what might otherwise have been the source of much anxiety, Teymûr advanced to the neighbor-

* 15th of February, A. D. 1402.

† 26th of April.

hood of Senkour, or more probably Menkoul, the extensive plains formerly mentioned as supposed to lie on the frontiers which separate Georgia and Armenia; whence his whole force, right, left, and centre, became now united in one stupendous and overwhelming mass. From hence, he conceived it expedient again to dispatch an embassy to the court of Bajazet to acquaint that monarch that although he had found it advisable to conduct his armies thus far, he nevertheless still adhered to the tenor of his recent proposals; to which if the Turkish prince acceded, in either alternative, and would further give directions for the surrender, to the Teymûrian officers, of the fortress of Kemaukh, which he maintained to have always been a dependency of the Persian monarchy, he, the Turkish Sûltan, should be left in unmolested possession of all his dominions, and thence permitted to prosecute, without interruption, his meritorious designs against the abject infidels of the european continent. Nay, more than this, that he was perfectly disposed, as far as other important objects would allow, to afford him every support, in order to share in the glory and ultimate rewards of his pious exertions in exterminating the adversaries of the faith of Mahommed. Intelligence, however, arriving at this very conjuncture, that Kâra Yûssuf had actually quitted the court of Bajazet, without a single follower, Teymûr, as if determined at all events to keep alive the embers of discord, further instructed his ambassadors to apprise the Turkish monarch, that in order to give stability to the basis of their dawning friendship, it behoved him to convey to the imperial encampment, without delay, the family and adherents of the fugitive Tûrkmaun.

During the period in which he remained, on this occasion, on the plains of Menkoule, his emissaries conveyed information to Teymûr, that there existed in the neighborhood a fortress of great strength, which bore the name of Tertoum, and of which the garrison, consisting of no more than two hundred Georgian soldiers, was reported to be the occasion of extreme annoyance, to all such as passed through the adjoining territory. This, with their usual good fortune, a division of the imperial troops, under the orders of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein and Shah Melek, was employed to reduce; the place was carried by storm, on the sixth day of its investiture; the whole of the slender garrison

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A. H. 804. put to the sword, and the walls levelled with the earth. After this
 A. D. 1402. exploit, Teymûr proceeded to Aouneik, where he again halted for
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Two months having, however, now elapsed, since the period at which he had reason to expect the return of the former embassy to the court of Bajazet, without the slightest reply to his proposals, Teymûr expressed considerable impatience at the delay; observing that he was at last convinced of the inutility of placing any reliance on the good faith of a person of Bajazet's ignoble extraction. For it was sufficiently clear that the moderation which, from motives the most friendly, he had exercised in the course of the correspondence between them, had produced but little impression on the perverse and untractable Tûrkman, for so he affected to denominate the representative of the illustrious house of Othman. And to this untractable disposition he must ascribe his neglect to close with those offers of accommodation and peace so liberally extended to him. The imperial armies, from a consideration that it was on this side the bulwark of Islâm, had indeed, he continued to observe, been hitherto restrained from entering his devoted country; but the unworthy demeanor of the Sûltan in a variety of instances, and particularly in his recent detention of the ambassadors, had rendered it, at last, indispensably necessary to advance without further delay—in order to carry home to himself the just chastisement due to his perverse and refractory proceedings.

On his arrival at Erzeroum, shortly afterwards, Teymûr, having been successively joined by the divisions which had been detached, in different directions from Kârabaugh, during the winter, determined on the reduction of the fortress of Kemaukh, or Kemak, already mentioned; and here described as a place of well known strength, situated on the summit of a high rock, surrounded on its acclivity by delicious gardens, with the river Euphrates, here a beautiful stream, running at the bottom. What rendered the spot further remarkable was an extraordinary fall, for three days in the spring of every year, of small birds like young sparrows, which were caught and cured in salt, in great quantities by the natives; but which, if neglected to be taken precisely within the three days, were enabled to take flight by the

growth of their wings. The siege of Kemaikh, at his particular and earnest intreaty, was consigned to the direction of Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, the son of Jahangueir; who accordingly proceeded, at the head of a numerous and formidable division of the army, to the attack of the place. As if this force appeared incompetent to the design, Teymûr, on advancing to Erzenjaun soon afterwards, dispatched the Mirzas Aba Bukker, and Khaleil Sûltan, and other Shahzâdahs and generals, with an addition of troops, to assist in the operations of the siege; which was immediately commenced with singular vigour and activity. In short, after having succeeded in cutting off from the garrison all supply of water, and preparing a number of ladders of rope, which were carried up by some natives of Mekreit, in the obscurity of the night, to be fastened to the ridge of the rock on which the fortress was erected, a chosen body of soldiers, whose names were recorded in a particular register on that occasion, by Mahommed Sûltan in person, as a memorial to future ages, intrepidly mounted to the assault. The garrison being, however, unexpectedly alarmed, hastily stood to their defence; and, by rolling down large stones on the heads of their assailants, precipitated them altogether to the bottom of the rock, and many to rise no more. Among others of considerable distinction, was Ally Sheir, the nephew of Ameirzâdah Abbas, who missing the steps of the ladder fell headlong downwards, and perished on the spot.

On the following morning, however, the attack was resumed with inconceivable fury on all points of the rock, and the troops, animated by the voice and example of the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Aba Bukker, at last succeeded in gaining the summit, the followers of the latter prince being the first to ascend; and thus, in the face of day, was carried by storm a place so singularly strong both by nature and art, as to be reputed impregnable to open force. On receipt of the welcome intelligence, Teymûr immediately took horse, and proceeded to survey the works of this important post; of which, as it lay within seven farsangs, or about six and twenty miles below Erzenjaun, on the same river Euphrates, he conferred the government on his faithful vassal Ameir Taherten. He then returned to Erzenjaun; where he continued for some time longer, in order to complete his

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arrangements for the war with Bajazet : his troops being, however, in the mean time, actively employed in beating up the quarters of, and dislodging the savage and refractory natives, who had taken post in the caverns, and other inaccessible retreats, of the neighboring mountains.

When he had subsequently advanced to Sevauss, Tcheimauny, or Tchempai, Eiltchigadâi, the ambassador whom he had last dispatched to the court of Bajazet, returned to the presence of Teymûr, accompanied by the envoys of the Turkish monarch, bearing from their master, since it was ordained by the decrees of eternal destiny that his country should be immediately delivered over to the horrors of war and desolation, a reply to the proposals of his puissant rival, full of insolent and acrimonious defiance, and refusing on any consideration to give up the fortress of Kemaukh. The purport of this ill-advised and intemperate mission, having been introduced through the medium of the Shahzâdahs, and some of the principal generals to an audience, the envoys on their knees ventured in part to explain to Teymûr. Not a little enraged at the language with which they had presumed to address him, and disdainfully rejecting their presents, which consisted of ten Arabian horses, and several animals trained to the chase, the Tcheghatâian monarch observed to the spokesman, in a tone of indignation, that if it were not at variance with the usages of civilized humanity, to act with rigor towards men who appeared in his sacred character, his head would have been the immediate forfeit of his presumption. But, having thus yielded to the first ebullitions of resentment, his indignation subsided; and the monarch proceeded dispassionately to remark, that when an individual was once entirely forsaken by his good fortune, the best intended and most salutary counsels were received through a perverted medium. And hence it was, that however sincerely he had laboured to awaken this imprudent prince from his dream of fancied security, and in order to shield his devoted subjects from the calamities of a tremendous invasion, all his arguments had proved unavailing. For could any stronger proof be required of the total perversion of intellect, which governed the decisions of this man, than that he should have chosen to expose his country to all the horrors of the impending awful visitation, rather

than submit to the comparatively trifling alternative of sending away the wife of Kâra Yûssuf, and of ceding over the fortress of Kemaikh, to which he possessed no sort of legitimate claim. In the latter point, however, thanks to heaven and to the gallantry of the imperial armies, his interposition was no longer wanting. Tell your master, "he observed in conclusion, addressing himself to the members of the embassy," since he has thought fit to disregard the counsels of good will and experience, and to reject the demands of justice on my part, if he be, what he would persuade the world to believe him, a man of undaunted courage, to take his ground with firmness; for *he* was at hand to assail him, whose power it would require his utmost energies to withstand."

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Having thus taken his final resolution, Teymûr proceeded to a general review of his troops; which by tomauns, hazaurahs, and koushûns, impelling each other like the billows of the ocean, now passed before him in tremendous array, and countless succession. The division of Mirza Mahommed Sûltan in particular, recently arrived from Samarkand, exhibited the most beautiful and splendid appearance; the shahzâdah having provided, that each separate corps of his division should be distinguished by one uniform colour—the standards, arms, and habiliments, bows and arrows, and quivers, spears and maces, of one corps being all red, of another green, of another white, and of another purple, or blue, all clad in coats of mail, and cuirasses, to the extreme delight of the spectators, and to the approbation openly expressed of their invincible master. This superb spectacle continued from dawn of day, until the hour of prayer at noon; the Turkish ambassadors having been conducted, by order of Teymûr, to survey the whole to the very last ranks and squadrons; and they are described to have been filled with dismay, and astonishment, at the prodigious assemblage of warriors completely equipped and armed, that day exhibited in their presence. Of this tremendous host, in the mean time, the author does not furnish the slightest estimate as to number; but from other channels we learn that the force with which Teymûr, on this occasion, entered the dominions of the house of Othman, did not consist of less than three hundred thousand horse, and five hundred thousand foot, of different nations.*

* Knolles's history of the Turks, in particular.

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On the day following, Teymûr dismissed the ambassadors of Bajazet, after treating them very honorably; and charging them to tell their master, after all, that he was still sincerely disposed to respect the tranquillity of the Mûssulmau states—now limiting his demands to the restoration of the wife and family of Ameir Taherten, and the delivery of one of the princes his sons, as an hostage for the discontinuance of every cause of jealousy between them, engaging, at the same time, that the treatment of the illustrious pledge should not be less tender and affectionate, than if he were one of his own offspring.

Without delaying further to describe the reduction of Harouk, another strong fort in the neighborhood, by a division of the troops under Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, we shall proceed to state that finding, while he continued at Sevauss, from those well acquainted with the approaches into Natolia, that the road to Tokaut lay through gloomy forests full of difficult and dangerous defiles; and, moreover, that Bajazet was already arrived at that place, at the head of a numerous and formidable army, with which he had taken care to secure the fords in the different rivers, which report was further confirmed, in all its circumstances, by the scouts whom he had employed to explore the forests in question, Teymûr proceeded on his march, taking the direction to the left, towards Kaysereiah; having previously detached Ameir Sûliman Shah, with a numerous advanced guard towards that quarter. Immediately afterwards, Ally Sûltan Tawatchei was dispatched with instructions to that commander, not to suffer his troops on any consideration, to pass beyond Kaysereiah; the main body of the imperial army, being, in the mean time, on its march from Sevauss, to the last mentioned place, which occupied a period of six days; owing, possibly, to the intricacies and inequalities of the road, among the defiles of Mount Taurus, since the distance by the map does not appear to exceed sixty, or seventy miles.

Having remained for several days at Kaysereiah, dispensing to the inhabitants, if we may believe our authority, many conspicuous proofs of his liberality and love of justice, Teymûr employed his troops, in part, to hunt out the unhappy natives, who had been constrained by their fears to seek for refuge in subterraneous passages, and other

places of fancied security, and in part to bring in the grain and forage of the surrounding districts; it being, at this time, the regular period for collecting the produce of their husbandry. This last important object attained, he dispatched Mirza Aba Bukker, accompanied by the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, in advance; and then, with the remainder of the army, now bracing on their coats of mail and cuirasses, and otherwise preparing for action, he prosecuted his march for three days, in the direction of Angouriah, pitching his tents on the fourth day, in the neighborhood of Kersheher, not far from the banks of the Kuzzel Yermek, or red Yermek, the Halys of the ancients. Here he received intelligence that the light troops of Bajazet were in sight; and the Shahzâdahs and generals were accordingly enjoined to encamp with the strictest regularity, observing every precaution to guard against surprise, and fortifying their respective quarters with a ditch, and breast-work of fascines and hurdles, in order to frustrate any sudden attempt, on the part of the enemy.

The very same night, Ameir Shah Melek, with a detachment of one thousand horse, set off, by Teymûr's directions, in order to procure more certain intelligence of the situation of the enemy; and proceeding with all the celerity that was practicable in the obscurity of the night, and in a country little known, that chief, after a march of nearly ten farsangs, or about five and thirty miles, found himself at break of day, immediately in front of the camp of Bajazet, and hastened without delay, to place his detachment in ambuscade. It was, however, early discovered by the light troops of the enemy, who were proceeding as usual, to scour the precincts of the encampment in the morning, and a very desperate conflict accordingly ensued. In these circumstances, not a little enraged to observe the intrepid resistance maintained, by such disparity of numbers, against the overwhelming superiority of force which now thronged to attack them from every side, the Turkish monarch expressed himself in terms of severe reproach to his generals; and, immediately after sunrise, put his whole army in motion towards Kersheher, Shah Melek dispatching at the same time, to report his situation to Teymûr, and to announce the approach of his adversary. The crisis appeared now too serious and important, to confide to the ordinary means of information, and Tey-

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mûr, accordingly, selected a troop of sixty of his most distinguished warriors, among whom are enumerated in particular, Eleiaus Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Sâeine Temûr, with his brother Mûraud, Daunah Khaujah, Ameir Hûsseyne Kourtchei, and Sûltaun Melek the son of Ouje Kâra Bahauder; whom he instructed to seize such prisoners as they could lay hands on, for the purpose of securing the desired intelligence. In the mean time, Shah Melek made good his retreat to the main body, in the course of the evening.

Early the following day, at a council of war or some such assembly of his principal officers, Teymûr proceeded to state, to the Shahzadhs and other chief commanders, that in this stage of the campaign, there occurred to his judgment two particular plans of operation best calculated to bring the design in which they were engaged, to a successful termination. The first was, to await the attack of the enemy in their present position; and this would at least be attended with one very material advantage, an interval of repose to their men and horses. The second was to enter at once into the heart of the country, and, by detaching separate columns in opposite directions, to spread desolation and alarm in all; thus compelling the Turkish Sûltan to harass and wear out his troops, the strength of which appears to have consisted in infantry, in fatiguing and ineffectual exertions. After considerable debate, it was in the end determined to pursue the latter plan; in concurrence with which, leaving Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with not more than two thousand horse, for the protection of his camp, Teymûr put the army again in motion, dispatching Ameir Berendek, with other commanders, in advance towards Angouriah, in order to check any designs of the enemy, from that quarter. This division was accompanied by a detachment of infantry and pioneers, under the direction of Abdurrahman Towatchei, with instructions to sink wells at convenient distances, for the supply of the main body on its march.

In the mean time, the band of distinguished warriors dispatched the preceding day, for the purpose of procuring intelligence, fell in with one of the advanced parties of the enemy; and having seized two prisoners, they put one of them to death, retaining the survivor in their custody, until they should have wrung from him the information

of which they were in quest. It happened that one of the sons of Bajazet, at the head of a thousand cavalry, should have been employed by his father on the same night, for the similar purpose of exploring the country and gaining intelligence; and having passed this small band of heroes, without observing them, proceeded to take post in a neighboring defile, where he lay in ambuscade, in order to avail himself of any opportunity that might occur to his advantage. At break of day on the ensuing morning, while they were proceeding on their return to camp, the Teymûrians found their progress unexpectedly intercepted by this body of the enemy, by whom they were immediately attacked. Although, as we have already observed, they did not exceed sixty in number, and their adversaries were almost twenty to one, with all the advantages of surprise, they received the attack with the coolest resolution; and continued to repulse them in every attempt, gradually prosecuting their march, until the appearance of the squadrons left for the protection of the encampment near Kersheher, under the orders of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, finally compelled the enemy to withdraw from the pursuit.

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The Ameirs who had proceeded with the infantry in advance, towards Angouriah, appear to have executed their orders in sinking wells, and in pillaging the country, without either opposition or difficulty; and in three days march from his encampment at Kersheher, a distance of about seventy miles, Teymûr, in person, displayed his victorious banners before the walls of the former city. Were we not already apprized that Bajazet, with the main body of his troops, was in the direction of Tokaut, and consequently in the rear of Teymûr's right flank, it would not be easy to comprehend in what manner two hostile armies, of such prodigious force, could have contrived, on this occasion, to move in so circumscribed a space, without coming in contact. But, to proceed with our relation, we are further told that the garrison of Angouriah was, at this period, commanded by an officer of the name of Yakoub, recently dispatched by the Turkish Sûltan to take charge of the place; which is represented as very strongly fortified, and which he did not neglect to furnish with every requisite, for a protracted and resolute defence. The day subsequent to that on which he appeared before Angourjah, the

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Ancyra of the ancients, Teymûr on horseback proceeded to view the fortifications; and having ascertained the assailable points, soon afterwards gave direction that the troops should immediately commence their attack. His orders were, as usual, carried into execution without a moment's delay. The sappers and miners, had drained the ditch. A band of warriors, including Towukkel Bawertchei, another Ally Sheir, and Shahsowaur, with many others whose names it would be tedious to recite, had succeeded in ascending one of the towers; and the place was thus on the point of being carried by assault, when intelligence was suddenly announced, from the parties which scoured the country, that Bajazet, with an army more numerous than the stars in the firmament, had made his appearance at the distance of five farsangs, or about six leagues, in the rear. Teymûr immediately repaired to his camp. The troops who had lodged themselves in the tower reluctantly withdrew, without, however, discontinuing the conflict with the garrison, by whom they were doubtless vigorously pursued in their retreat; and the whole army was shortly afterwards put in motion to meet the enemy. When it had, however, proceeded about the distance that a horse could gallop without being blown, it was again encamped at a place here called Nûrah, with the river [of Angouriah] in its rear. The position was further protected by a ditch, and a breastwork of stakes and hurdles thrown up on the occasion.

In the direction by which alone it was understood that the enemy could approach, it was known that there existed a small spring at the foot of a hill, the only one which afforded any supply of water for a considerable distance around. This fountain, Teymûr, in the course of the night, employed a detachment to render unfit for use, by filling it with all they could collect that was loathsome and disgusting to the senses. In the mean time, at that silent and solemn hour when all but the unhappy had resigned themselves to the influence of sleep, Teymûr betook himself to the consolations of religion; and in humble prostration besought the sovereign disposer of events, in the approaching tremendous conflict, to give him the victory—pro-

This was probably done, in order to afford sufficient space for the evolutions necessary to bring the front of the army in the direction of the enemy.

fessing, nevertheless, in his heart-cheering confidence in the eternal power which had hitherto so invariably prospered him in all his undertakings, his utter disregard of those external circumstances of danger, which even at a crisis less momentous may be supposed to occasion some anxiety to the most intrepid. "O thou eternal spring of all existence," exclaims our author in the name of the hero, "thou that hast impressed a worthless atom with the image of thy power, grant me thine aid; for I acknowledge no other source of consolation or support. Alas! rejected by thee, to whom in all existence, could I address my vows, in the hour of trial?"

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The next day early in the morning, having directed the whole to mount their horses, Teymûr proceeded to dispose of his troops in the following order of battle. He fixed his own station with the centre division of the army, in advance of which was posted a chosen body of troops under Mirza Mahommed Sûltan; under whose standard, a red horse tail surmounted by a crescent, according to De la Croix, appeared arranged, on this occasion, the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and, notwithstanding his recent disgrace, Eskunder, the sons of Omar Sheikh, together with the Ameirs Shums-ud-dein Abbas, Shah Mel-ek, Eleiaus Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and many other most distinguished commanders. The left wing of the main body was entrusted to the valour and abilities of his son Shah Rokh, assisted by Khaleil Sûltan, and those distinguished captains, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Yadgaur Andekhoudy, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and Sounjek Bahauder. The Koumbul, or advanced guard of this wing, was placed under the direction of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, aided by Ally Sûltan Towatchei, and Moussa Tûey Bouga. At the head of the right wing was displayed the standard of Meiran Shah, supported by the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Berendek, Ally Koutchein, Taherten of Erzenjaun, Mûbasher Bahauder, Hadjy Abdullah Abbas, Sûltan Sunjur the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, for the father was now dead, Omar Tauban, Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, and many others whose names it is by no means inconvenient to omit. The advanced guard of this, the right wing, was consigned with obvious propriety to the management of Mirza Aba Bukker, the son of Meiran Shah, assisted by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Kâra Othmaun the

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 A. D. 1402. the centre division, was posted Mirza Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh,
 Rouzut-us- with a long and splendid list of names, whom it would be, however,
 suffa. tedious to recite; and to the left of the same centre, was stationed
 another warlike band of Ameirs, with their followers, whom it would
 be equally tedious and unnecessary to enumerate. Apart from the
 whole, and probably in the rear of the centre, were finally drawn up
 under the imperial standard, forty chosen Koushûns, or squadrons, as
 a body of reserve, destined to furnish support wherever it might appear
 necessary, in the course of the action. Along the front of the imperial
 line were further disposed all, that remained with the army, of the
 elephants captured in the Indian expedition; each carrying a small
 party of archers and slingers of naptha, and otherwise furnished with
 such implements of destruction as were calculated to harass, and
 confound the enemy.

Such, in a few words, as far as we are able to explain it from the
 statements of our original, was the disposition in which Teymûr pre-
 pared to combat, with his haughty rival, for the empire of the East.
 Bajazet, on the other hand, would scarcely employ less caution or
 diligence, in arranging his numerous, and warlike divisions, for the
 impending arduous conflict. The only particulars, however, of his
 order of battle, which we can collect from our author, are, that like
 his illustrious adversary, he took post himself in the centre, supported
 by his three sons, Moussa, Eissa, and Mûstafa. The advanced guard
 of the centre was chiefly composed of a body of one thousand, or, as
 De la Croix more probably states, of twenty thousand European caval-
 ry, clad in black armour from head to foot, which is described to have
 left nothing exposed but the eyes; being of steel, or iron, and fastened
 to the back of each foot by a padlock. These were under the command
 of George, the brother of his wife Despina, and son of Lazarus, Despot
 of Servia, [pesser-e-Lauss]. The advanced guard of the left wing,
 consisting of the troops of Roume, or Natolia, was committed to his
 eldest son Mûssulman Tcheleby, [the noble] Mahommed Tcheleby,
 the ablest and most deserving of the whole, together with the different
 Pashas of the monarchy, at the head of their respective Koushûns,
 or divisions, occupied other stations in his line of battle, which

the author has not, however, thought it expedient to indicate for our information.

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At the hour of the morning repast, about nine or ten in the forenoon, the hostile armies appeared at last in the presence of each other. Teymûr, on his part, as was his invariable practice, immediately dismounting, with eyes uplifted to heaven, again most humbly besought the victory over his adversaries; and, having acquired a species of supernatural confidence from the fervor of devotion, cheerfully remounted to his seat on horseback, and approaching the field of battle, gave his final orders for the commencement of the action.

The conflict immediately opened with an attack on the left of the Turkish army commanded as we have already observed by Mûssulman Tcheleby, led on by Mirza Aba Bukker, [it could not have been Shah Rokh, as stated in the manuscript by an obvious mistake], with the advanced guard of the right wing of the Teymûrians; and being gallantly supported by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Kâra Othman, soon terminated in the entire defeat of that part of the enemy's force opposed to it. In another quarter, Mahommed Kerestchei, who probably commanded the right of the enemy, and who in valour and skill is said to have surpassed the whole of the sons of Bajazet, yet, after having exhibited the most distinguished proofs of courage and perseverance, and finding that all his efforts were unavailing against the superior numbers and discipline of the Teymûrians, finally quitted the field, with a precipitation that but little corresponded with his former renown. Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the advanced guard of the left wing of the Teymûrians,* had borne with irresistible impetuosity upon the adverse squadrons of the enemy; and to him therefore must be materially ascribed the discomfiture of Mahommed Tcheleby, just alluded to. In the mean time, Mahommed Sûltan, at the head of the advance of the centre, hastened, with the permission of his grandfather, to support the movement of the left wing; which had probably been led into considerable disorder, in the eagerness of pursuit. Here, however, the career of victory is acknowledged to have been, for a long time, arrested by the invincible firmness of the son of the Despot of Servia, at the head of the

* The manuscript by another vexatious mistake says the right wing.

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European cuirassiers; who must, by the way, have made a lateral movement from the front of the centre, to repair the disorder on the right of the Turkish army. So obstinate and arduous, indeed, was the contest in this part of the field, that the Turks and Teymûrians, are described to have been several times, alternately, compelled to give way; although the troops of Bajazet, were finally destined to yield to superior numbers, and to the triumphant fortune of his rival. To this ultimate success, the bravery of the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and Eskunder, and of the veteran Shah Melek, who had finally conducted a part of the troops of the centre, into the thickest of the enemy, appears to have contributed in a very eminent degree.

In these circumstances, perceiving that, while they were discomfited with dreadful slaughter in some points, the efforts of his adversaries were obviously become languid and unavailing in all, Teymûr at length gave orders that both wings of the main body, under Meiran Shah and Shah Rokh respectively, together with the other Shahzâdahs and Ameirs, who had been hitherto held in reserve, should now advance and decide the fate of the day. It would, in the mean time, appear that while Mirza Mahommed Sûltan was engaged in pursuing the flying squadrons of the enemy's right wing, six of the Kou-shûns of his division ascended an eminence from which their adversaries had just been driven away. In this position, they were almost in an instant attacked by Bajazet in person, at the head of the centre of the Turkish army, which as yet remained unbroken amidst the surrounding discomfiture. The Teymûrians were now, in their turn, compelled to give way to superior force; but the Turkish monarch had no sooner gained the summit of this rising ground, than taking an anxious survey of the field of battle, the appalling spectacle met his view, of the entire demolition of his right and left wings.

Dismay and astonishment now seem, for a moment, to have seized upon the understanding of the unhappy monarch, the wreck of whose scattered divisions contrived, however, here to join him. In the mean time, his victorious opponents led on by Teymûr himself, approached to assail him in front; while Meiran Shah, and Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the Ameirs of the right and left, bore gradually round upon his flanks; until at last, like a lion in the toils, he was com-

pletely hemmed in on every side, by the whole of the Tcheghatâian army that could be drawn off from the more remote pursuit of the fugitives. In these perilous circumstances, the Turkish Sûltan, assisted by his European auxiliaries and what yet survived of his Asiatic troops, continued, nevertheless, with undaunted resolution to repel the efforts of his adversaries, for the remaining part of the day. At the approach of night, he made a desperate push for the bottom of the hill, and through an incessant discharge of arrows and other missiles, showered upon him from every side, succeeded by an astonishing exertion of individual prowess in effecting his escape, although not without heavy loss to those who accompanied him. Many of the fugitives of this tremendous day had perished, in the mean time, with fatigue and thirst, the sun being at this period in the sixth degree of Leo, and the heat of the weather extreme: added to which, the whole surrounding country did not furnish the smallest supply of water. The slaughter of such a conflict, both from the duration of the battle, and the multitude of those engaged, must have been prodigious; although we are not here furnished with any probable estimate of the loss on either side. In Knolles's antiquated history it is, however stated, on the report of the Turks themselves, that Bajazet here lost his son Mûstafa, with two hundred thousand of his men, and Teymûr not many fewer; some others speaking of a far less number, as that there should have been slain of the Turks about three score thousand, and of the troops of Tamerlane not more than twenty thousand.

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This memorable battle appears to have been fought on friday the nineteenth of Zilhudje of the eight hundred and fourth of the hidje-rah, corresponding with the 20th of July A. D. 1402; not far, according to Knolles, from Mount Stella, and nearly on the spot already celebrated at a remote period, for the defeat of Mithridates by the Roman legions under Pompey the great. Referring, however, to the statement in Plutarch's life of that illustrious man, it would appear that the decisive battle with Mithridates was fought near the banks of the river Euphrates; and we are, therefore, disposed to think that the discomfiture of Bajazet, on this occasion, must have taken place nearly on the ground from which, *because it was destitute of water,*

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Mithridates was compelled to remove his camp, a short time previous to his final discomfiture; perhaps, between twelve and eighteen miles from Angouriah. Be this, however, as it may, as soon as the fate of the battle had been determined, by the flight of Bajazet, and the consequent total dispersion of his troops, Teymûr returned to his camp; where he immediately received the congratulations of the princes of his blood, and all his generals, on the triumphant issue of the conflict. In the mean time, the fugitive monarch was closely pursued by the Teymûrians; and finally made a prisoner, by the division under the orders of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, with whose participation in the glory of the day we are now first made acquainted, and by whom he was immediately dispatched, with his hands bound, to the presence of the conqueror.

If we are to give credit to some of his historians, it would appear, that when this concluding circumstance of the triumph of his arms was announced to Teymûr, his first order was, that the illustrious captive should be unmanacled; after which, he was introduced by his conductors, to the immediate presence of his conqueror, who exhibited, on his part, the most generous marks of compassion towards his haughty, but now vanquished rival. Having thus conceded what he conceives to be due to the opinion of others, the author, whom we have taken for our guide, proceeds, however, to state, what he alleges to have heard from his own father, on the information of Seyud Ahmed Terkhan, who was actually present on the occasion, namely: when it was announced to Teymûr, by some of his attendants, that the Turkish monarch with his hands bound was at the entrance of his pavilion, he signified his pleasure that he should be immediately introduced into the imperial presence; which being accordingly done, the conqueror proceeded at first sight, to address his captive in terms of most severe and stern reproach. But, when indulgence had thus been given to the emotions of resentment long suppressed, a better, and more liberal feeling, of compassion for misfortune took possession of the mind of Teymûr; and having directed that the hands of his captive should be relieved from their bonds, he invited him to take his seat beside himself, on the imperial cushion. He did not, however, forbear to remind the humbled monarch, that

although the controul of all human events, is finally to be sought in the will of the Creator; yet, that the causes which more immediately produced his recent catastrophe, were too obviously indicated to escape the most careless observation. If he had gathered thorns, they were of his own planting; if he had woven silk, it was of his own spinning. He then recapitulated the multiplied provocations which he had received at his hands, either of which he described as alone sufficient to justify the extremity, to which he had been reduced, of marching his victorious armies into the Turkish dominions. The considerations by which he had been so long withheld from this last step, had been frequently explained. For his own part, he solemnly protested, that if the Turkish monarch had given ear to his counsels, —if he had not so contemptuously disregarded the overtures of peace and conciliation so repeatedly conveyed to him, there was no species of support, either in troops or treasure, or any thing most essential to promote his views, whether of zeal or ambition, which he was not cordially disposed to bestow upon him. In conclusion, however notorious the severe and cruel vengeance, designed against himself and his faithful followers, had the issue of the recent conflict proved otherwise than what they had experienced, yet, as the noblest proof of gratitude which he could offer up to divine justice, for the splendid victory which had crowned his arms, he proceeded to assure the fallen Bajazet, that either towards himself, his sons, or any of his vassals, he had not ought in contemplation, that was in any shape inconsistent with the most friendly and benevolent motives. He therefore requested that he would discard from his mind every uneasy apprehension, every circumstance that could awaken solicitude or alarm; for from his conqueror, he had nothing further to fear.

Overwhelmed with grief and shame, Bajazet did not hesitate to acknowledge his errors, and his crimes; confessing that the event had too clearly demonstrated how grossly he had been misled, in disregarding the counsels of a monarch at once so magnanimous and invincible. If, therefore, the imperial clemency might be extended to forgive the past, he for his part should hold both himself, and his children, solemnly pledged for the remainder of their lives, to the most perfect obedience, and to the discharge of every duty within the

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compass of the most devoted zeal and loyalty to perform. This appeal to his clemency appears to have produced a further favorable effect upon the soul of Teymûr; who now caused his illustrious captive to be clad in imperial robes, and who unbended from the stern dignity of his character, to console and encourage him with promises, and with hopes the most flattering to his expectations. These proofs of a generous and sympathizing disposition, did not fail to awaken a corresponding impression in the mind of the Turkish monarch; although, after expressing due acknowledgement, he forbore to avail himself at present of the auspicious change, further than to intreat that his two sons Moussa, and Mûstafa, who had bravely fought by his side during the battle, and for whose fate he expressed the most anxious apprehensions, might be sought for; and, if still alive, brought to share with their father in the unlooked for bounties of a liberal and generous conqueror. The request of Bajazet was readily complied with, and the imperial Towatcheis were immediately employed to make the necessary inquiries. In the course of a few days, Moussa, one of the princes, was discovered, and conducted to the camp of Teymûr; by whom he was kindly and honorably received and conveyed to the presence of his father: who had, by this time, been lodged in a magnificent suite of pavilions, adjoining to the imperial head quarters, subjected to no other restraint, than the superintendence of the guards appointed to observe his motions, and watch over his safety.

From the field of battle, Teymûr returned shortly afterwards, in triumph, to the plains in the vicinity of Angouriah; of which city, the governor Yakoub now presented the keys without further difficulty. He was consigned to the safe custody of Ally Sûltan Towatchei; and the agents of the imperial exchequer were immediately dispatched into the town, in order to levy upon the inhabitants, a ransom for the security of their persons and property. At this crisis, Mahommed Sûltan, with a division of the army, accompanied by Mirza Aba Bukker, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, was detached towards Brûsa, or Prusa, at that period, the metropolis of the dominions of the house of Othman; Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein being appointed to take charge of the revenues of the province.

Here, we may be permitted to observe, that some pains have been taken, without effect, to identify the Axalla described by Knolles, as a christian officer of Genoese extraction, born at Caffa in the Crimea, high in the confidence of Teymûr, and bearing the most distinguished command in his armies. On this occasion, he is said, by the author just adverted to, to have commanded the division dispatched towards Brûsa; but, according to our original, that command was entrusted to Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, and we are therefore reduced to the necessity of recognizing this celebrated personage either in Ameir Jahaun Shah, or Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, of whom we are disposed to fix upon the latter—with the reflection rather mortifying, that he must have been an apostate from the faith of his ancestors.* Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops under his orders, proceeded, however, without delay, to the execution of the service entrusted to his direction; over-running in his course, the whole of the country to the confines of Isara Yaca, more generally known, according to our author, by the appellation of Ghaur-e-Eskunder—the cavern or valley of Eskunder—of which more hereafter. The Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Rûstum Toghâi Bougha, and Seyud Khaujah, were dispatched at the same time, in a southern direction, towards Kouniah, Auksheher, Alauniah, and Adauliah; all celebrated cities in the peninsula of Asia minor.

A. H. 804.
A. D. 1402.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

Having conveyed intelligence of his great victory, to every quarter in the vast circuit of his dominions, and detached his grandson Khaleil Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Mûbasher, and Dowlut Teymûr Towatchei, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, to protect the distant frontiers of the empire, towards Tûrkestaun, Teymûr quitted the neighborhood of Angouriah; and, in six stages, proceeded to Sourihessaur,† after surveying the citadel of which, he pitched his camp on the grounds adjoining. In the mean time, Shah Rokh with

* Those acquainted with the blind prejudices of Mahomedan writers will, however, be sufficiently aware, that the exploits of a christian adventurer would find but little notice in Asiatic history. Amidst the nations of a more civilized quarter of the globe, half a century hence, how small a niche will be assigned to the exertions of British Soldiers, in the annals of Spain!

† About 20 leagues, or half way, between Angouriah & Kotauhiah.

A. H. 805.
A. D. 1402.
Ronzut-us-
suffa.

ten Tomauns, or divisions of ten thousand, of the army, was sent off in a northern direction, towards Kuzzul, or Gûzzulhessaur, [the red city], Estanous, and Ketheir, all lying in the route to the shore of the Euxine; Teymûr in person continuing his march to Kotauhiah, which he appears to have reached in two days. Here he fixed his abode, for a period of one month, finding it a very fair and beautiful city, remarkable for the amœnity of its situation; in the midst of gardens and plantations, which yielded the most delicious fruits of every description, and on a spot abounding on all sides with the most salubrious and fertilizing springs. The inhabitants of the town, on depositing a competent ransom in the imperial treasury, were favorably treated; and a prodigious sum of money the property of Teymûr Taush, left here for security, became a splendid addition to the amount of the contribution. On his arrival at Kotauhiah, Teymûr perceived the expediency of further detaching a division of the army, under the Ameirs Shah Melek, Abdulkereim the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and other distinguished chieftains, towards Keraudah, Khoujah-eyly, and Menteishah, all in the territory of Asia minor, nearly opposite to the island of Rhodes.

The whole of the peninsula of Anatolia, having thus become, as it were, one vast parade of evolution, [Jowlangâh], to the victorious myriads which composed the host of Teymûr, and the representative of the house of Othman, with some, at least one, of his children secured beyond the power of harm, in the fetters of captivity, his numerous cares seemed to exact from the conqueror, that he should now devote a short interval to celebrate, in a splendid course of festivities, this most important of triumphs. For this purpose having, accordingly, invited to his presence a magnificent assemblage, composed of the princes and princesses of his family, together with the Ameirs of his court and the generals of his armies, he hastened among these, to circulate by the handsomest boys in the bloom of youth and beauty, in unceasing round, and in goblets of gold and chrystal vases, the exhilarating juice of the grape; while a thousand minstrels on every side, united to fill the azure vault of heaven, with their melodious strains. In the mean time, while the sovereign was thus engaged in celebrating their triumphs, his victorious troops were not

the less active in extending his conquests to the various quarters of the Turkish dominion; and were possessing themselves of such a prodigious accumulation of spoil, as to banish from among them, for a time, both the speculations of usury, and the cravings of indigence.

A. H. 805.
A. D. 1402.
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suffa.

Dismissing, however, these scenes of soft and luxurious indulgence, the author resumes the course of his narrative to state that Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops destined for Brousa, proceeded for five days and as many nights, with such celerity on his march, that out of thirty thousand horse which had left the imperial head quarters, under his orders, he found on his arrival before that city, that not more than four thousand had been able to keep up with him. Mûssulman Tcheleby had, nevertheless, contrived to get there before him; and after taking possession of as much of his father's treasures, as he could conveniently carry with him, had hastened, without delay, in quest of an asylum in some quarter more remote from the pursuit of his enemies. Some of the inhabitants had withdrawn into the recesses of Kouh Kesheish, or Kesheish Taug, or Mount Olympus so called by the orientals; the metropolis of Brousa being seated not far from the foot of that mountain; while others of the more wealthy fled towards the sea-coast, but were many of them intercepted in their flight by the Teymûrian cavalry, dispatched in pursuit of them. Two of the daughters of Bajazet, who lay concealed at Yenguisheher, or the new city, about four leagues from Brousa, and six days journey from Constantinople,* together with the daughter of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, betrothed at the request of Bajazet, to his son Mûstafa, and who had remained to abide her fate at Brousa, now fell into the hands of the victorious Teymûrians. On other authorities it is stated, that the princess Despina, daughter of Lazarus, or Eleazar Despot of Servia, and favorite wife of Bajazet, was among the captives seized at Brousa, on this occasion. Kâra Yûssuf, however, who had fixed his residence in that city in conformity with the particular instructions of the Turkish monarch, had prudently withdrawn, the moment it was announced that the Teymûrian armies were at Kaysereiah, and had returned in safety towards Hellah, and the inaccessible territory of Arabia.

* According to De la Croix.

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The city of Brousa having, in the mean time, submitted to Mahommed Sûltan, without resistance, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein entered the castle, in order to secure the treasures of Bajazet, which had been lodged there to a vast amount, in specie and jewels, and other valuable effects; and two of the secretaries of the imperial exchequer were immediately employed, to take a regular account of the whole. But when this rich deposit had been secured for the state, every other description of property in the town and neighborhood, was swept off, without exception, by an indiscriminate pillage of the troops; after which, the city was set on fire, and being, for the greater part, constructed of wood and reeds, it was, in a short time, reduced to ashes. This useless and unavailing act of rigor consummated, Mahommed Sûltan, when he had been joined by the whole of the troops who had dropped in the rear during his rapid march to Brousa, proceeded towards the sea coast; first detaching Mirza Aba Bukker, with a division of ten thousand men, to the right hand towards Neike, or Nice, one of the most respectable cities in Natolia, famed for the salubrity of its climate, the purity of its waters, and defended by a strong and lofty wall of hewn stone. Before the entrance of one of the gates, [that towards the north-west], lies a spacious lake of two days journey in circumference; and the town is seated on the direct road to Constantinople, not far from the Ghaur-e-Eskunder, or cavern, or valley of Alexander, alluded to in a former page. At the same period, Ameir Sounjek was sent, with a considerable detachment, towards Kanendab, a city on the gulph of Nice, which he subsequently pillaged and laid in ruins.

Mirza Aba Bukker, on his part, proceeding to Nice, obtained possession of that place also, without resistance; Mûssulman Tcheleby, notwithstanding its reputed strength, and the superior force by which he was still attended, having abandoned it on his approach, and fled across the Aub-e-Boghaur, or Bosphorus, or straits of Gallipoli, into Asra Yakia, Thrakia, or Thrace, into which the appellation may without much difficulty be now resolved. The wives and family of the Ottoman prince, were disgracefully left, at the same time, to fall into the hands of the Teymûrians; who were thus suffered without restraint, to pillage the town and lay waste the neighborhood. A

report of his success was now conveyed by Aba Bukker, to Mahommed Sûltan, at this period encamped on the plains of Mikhauleje, about three or four and twenty leagues south-west of Brousa; and a selection of one hundred of the most resolute and active of his soldiers, was immediately appointed by the Shahzâdah, to communicate to the imperial head quarters the intelligence of the capture of Nice, and of the actual flight into Europe of Mûssulman Tcheleby. By the same opportunity, Auk Sûltan was dispatched by Aba Bukker, with the present of a Shonkaur, or white falcon, for his imperial grandsire.

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Between Brousa and Kotauhiah, distant about two days journey (from either), is described to have existed a very difficult pass on the ridge of a mountain, thick set on every side by an almost impenetrable forest. As soon, therefore, as the troop dispatched by Mahommed Sûltan entered this pass, they were suddenly attacked on all sides by a vast number of the natives, who conceived it a favorable opportunity to inflict some punishment on their invaders; and they would, peradventure, have completely succeeded, were it not for the singular firmness, courage, and skill, with which they were received by their veteran opponents. In the issue they were, however, repulsed with loss and disgrace, and this chosen band of warriors was suffered to continue its march without further molestation to Kotauhiah; where it soon afterwards arrived in perfect safety, with the several articles entrusted to its conveyance. Almost at the same period, Shums-ud-dein Almauleghy was employed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with a similar escort of chosen troops, to convey to the presence of Teymâr the gold and jewels, which had been set apart for this purpose from the treasures of Bajazet, and which now reached their destination with equal felicity.

Mahommed Sûltan returned, shortly afterwards, from the plains of Mikhauleje to the ruins of Brousa; where he was joined, first by Aba Bukker with the plunder of Nice, and subsequently by Ameir Sounjek, from the destruction of Kanendah, and the pillage of the adjoining sea-coast. From thence the shahzâdah proceeded to encamp on the meadows of Yenguisheher, which are here said to lie contiguous to Brousa, probably extending from the one place to the

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other; and here, in concurrence with an intimation conveyed from Teymûr, Mirza Aba Bukker espoused the eldest daughter of Bajazet.

On the other hand, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, who had been detached to the left, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, having by forced marches, first surprised the encampment of a Tûrkman chief of the name of Kebek, or Kepek, which they plundered, thence continued their progress to Auksheher, and Kârahessaur, the white city, and the black fortress; of both which they appear to have obtained possession without difficulty, if not without resistance, the inhabitants contributing a sufficient sum of money by way of ransom for their lives and property. After this, they proceeded to pillage the territory of Tchegherbâlegh, and the Arab tribe of Hameid; finally collecting together so vast a multitude of cattle of every description, particularly in camels, horses, and sheep, that it became at last utterly impossible to drive them along. They then reduced and ransomed the towns of Shehermata, and Aukserâi; after which Ameir Sûliman Shah appears to have separated from his associates, in order to fix his head quarters at Kouniah, or Iconium, among the vallies of the Karamanian mountains. From that station he dispatched, to the presence of his sovereign, a proportion of the booty which he caused, on this occasion, to be taken from the soldiers of his division;* the Mirzas, with Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and the other chiefs just mentioned, directing their march, at the same time, towards the territory of Aydein; the whole of which they plundered and laid waste, with cruel slaughter, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In the mean time, the hoarded treasures and rich property of Bajazet, together with his consort Desteina, or rather Despina, the daughter of Lauss, or Lazarus or Eleazar prince of Servia, and all the females of his household, were conveyed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, from Brousa, to the imperial head quarters at Koutahiah. With a magnanimity very honorable to his memory, the princess with all her equipage, was immediately restored to her husband, by the conqueror; the lady, however, having been first prevailed upon, peradventure compelled, to embrace the doctrines of Isslaum in preference to the errors of

* De la Croix asserts that it was a tribute from the captive soldiers of the enemy.

infidelity, or christianity, which she had been hitherto permitted to retain. About the same conjuncture, Ameir Mahommed, or Mahommed Beg, the son of Allâ-ud-dein formerly prince of Karamania, who had been detained in the prisons of Bajazet ever since he was twelve years of age, was conducted to the court of Teymûr, by whom he was entertained with distinguished kindness. Together with a rich diadem and girdle, the Tcheghatâian monarch immediately conferred upon him his hereditary government of Karamaun, including the cities of Kouniah, Larendah, Aukserâi, Anzariah, and Alaniah, together with all their lands and dependencies; and, as a further proof of his especial favor, superadded to the rest the sovereignty of Auksheher—all of which remained for a long time after this in the possession of the same Ameir Mahommed, or his children.

A H. 895.
A. D. 1402.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

Having now consumed the period of one whole month, in triumphal festivity at Kotauhiah, Teymûr conceived it expedient again to set his army in motion, directing his course to the west-ward. He was shortly afterwards joined on his march, by Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Sûliman and Sounjek; Shums-ud-dein Abbas having been left in charge of the encampment on the plains of Yenguisheher, Shehernou, or the new city, near Brousa. At this conjuncture the anger of his sovereign, for reasons not explained, was excited against Sâeine Temôr, who was now put to death together with one of his brothers on the spot; and two more, who were absent, were condemned to share the same fate, wherever they could be found. Not long after their arrival in the imperial encampment, on this occasion, the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs by whom they had been attended, received orders to return, and rejoin the troops at Brousa, and Yenguisheher; while Teymûr with the main body, continued his march towards Teighourleg, or Tungouzleg, in a south-west direction; and crossing a mountainous ridge, or pass, on his way, again encamped among some delightful meadows in the neighborhood of Altûntaush, or the golden rock. Here the ministers of wrath were again in activity, to carry into execution a mandate now issued for the death of Khaujah Feyrouz, or Firozes, who had some time since held the government of Asrayakiah, or Thrace; the part of the European continent which was first occupied by the house of Othman.

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On the plains of Altûntaush, the scene of festivity and triumph was re-opened, with all imaginable splendor, by the Tcheghataïan conqueror; and at the moment when the hearts of all lay expanded from the effect of the most copious libations, a summons was dispatched to invite the captive Bajazet, to participate, if that was possible, in the pleasures of the entertainment—in order that having already witnessed their matchless prowess in the field of battle, he might also be convinced that the Teymûrians were equally unrivalled in the bowers of mirth and social enjoyment. The illustrious captive was received with every expression of kindness and hospitality, nor was any thing omitted to soothe, and alleviate, the anguish of misfortune; and, to complete the measure of imperial bounty, it was finally announced to him by his conqueror that, at the proper season, he should be actually reinstated in the possession of all his dominions in Natolia. Teymûr, shortly afterwards, resumed his march for Tungouzleg.

About this same period, Teymûr conceived it advisable to try the effect of another embassy to the court of Melek Faredje, or Feridje, Sûltan of Egypt; at the same time to announce his conquest of the dominions of the house of Othman, and to demand that his name should be inserted, without further demur, in the Khotbah, and on the coinage both of Egypt and Syria. The liberation of Ettelmeşh was again insisted upon; in default of which the Sûltan was to be formally apprized that, immediately on their return from the Peninsula of Asia minor, the imperial armies would most assuredly enter his country. The person whom he selected to take charge of this embassy appears to have been a certain Budder-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of Shums-ud-dein Jezzer, or Jezzary, one of the vassals of Bajazet taken prisoner by the troops on his flight from Brousa; and recently introduced, by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, to the patronage of his sovereign.

While he resided at Kotaubiah, similar missions were employed in other quarters, on the part of Teymûr; and among others, two persons were dispatched to Constantiniah, or Constantinople, with a demand of tribute on the Greek Emperor, [Emanuel Palæologus], here distinguished by the unaccountable appellation of Takour. Two more were authorized, at the same time, to proceed to the court of

Mûssulman, or Sûliman Tcheleby, [Calepinus], the son of Bajazet, who had, as recently described, effected his retreat into Asrayakiah, or Athrakia, on the European side of the Bosphorus; where he now resided at Gûzzelhessaur,* a castle, or fortified town, said to have been erected by his father, opposite to the city of Constantinople, on the land side. The object of this latter mission was to require that Mûssulman Tcheleby would either repair in person to the imperial presence, or transmit the ordinary tribute of homage, or Peishkesh, in token of his submission to the imperial authority. The envoys to the court of Constantinople returned, a short time afterwards, accompanied by an Ambassador of distinguished rank and abilities, from the Greek Emperor, conveying a competent sum of money in florins, [Felouri] together with the most superb display of presents, consisting of all that was precious and rare to be found in the once splendid metropolis of the Cæsars. He was further charged to declare on the part of his master, [Emanuel] that as an acknowledged vassal of the Lord Paramount of the world, his mind was already devoted to the most unreserved and submissive obedience; and that he therefore consented without hesitation, to the payment of any tribute that Teymûr, in his imperial pleasure, might be disposed to levy upon him, since he had already experienced too much from unavailing hostility, not to be utterly averse to engaging in fresh contests with any power whatever. Having accordingly fixed the amount of tribute to be remitted to the imperial treasury, by the Greek Emperor, Teymûr dismissed his agent, after presenting him with a Khelaut, or dress of honor, and otherwise treating him with the ordinary marks of favor.

A. H. 805.
A. D. 1402.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

As the above are the only circumstances related by our author, with regard to the communication between Teymûr and the Emperor Emanuel, or the Takour, as he is here fantastically denominated, we cannot forbear to introduce in this place, without pronouncing either on its truth or fallacy, the following curious statement from Knolles's history of the Turks.

“These Ambassadors, [of the Greek Emperor] by the command of Tamerlane, were by Axalla royally feasted, and all the honor done them that might be. One of them being sent back, to carry these unexpected newes unto the Greeke Emperor, filled both

* Solyman Tcheleby is said to have retired to Gallipoli.

A. H. 805.

A. D. 1402.

Knolles's
history.

" him, and all the citie of Constantinople, with exceedinge joy and
 " gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in generall, spared not
 " with bonfires, and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest;
 " and the more to shew his thankefulnesse, shortly after by the ad-
 " vice of his grave counsailours, passed over the strait into Asia, to
 " see Tamerlane at Prusa, and in person himselfe to give him thanks;
 " who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently upon the
 " first daye's journey, sent the prince Axalla to meet him, and to
 " certifie him of the joy that he conceived, to have the good hap for
 " to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa: where those two great
 " princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so
 " spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor, the next day
 " taking his leave, was by Tamerlane, with much honor, conducted
 " out of the city. Now had Tamerlane himself, conceived a secret
 " desire to see this so famous city as was Constantinople, from which
 " he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour,
 " but as a private person: which by the meanes of Axalla, was ac-
 " complished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperour, privatly
 " received, and with all familiaritie possible entertained: the Emper-
 " our shewing unto him, all the rare and excellent things that were
 " therein to be seene: and the other Greeke princes devising all the
 " meanes they could, to do him pleasure, and them which did accom-
 " panie him; who were in a manner all apparrelled after the Greeke
 " fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperor himself was curious
 " to shew unto him, all the faire gardens alongst the sea coast, a league
 " or two from Constantinople, and so privatly conducting him, spent
 " five or six daies, with all the mirth that might be possible: Tamer-
 " lane by the way oftentimes saying, that he had never seene a fairer
 " citie: and that it was indeed the citie (considering the faire and rich
 " situation thereof) of right, worthie to command all the world. He
 " wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingraven
 " pillars, the high pyramides, and the making of the faire gardens,
 " and oftentimes afterwards, said, that he nothing repented him of so
 " long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to have pre-
 " served from fire and sword, so noble a citie as that was. In the
 " Greeke Emperour, he commended greatly his mild nature and cour-

"tesie: who knowing him above all things, to take pleasure in faire
 "and serviceable horses, gave unto him thirty of the fairest, strongest,
 "and readiest that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnish-
 "ed; and sent likewise, faire presents unto all the princes and great
 "commanders of the armie, and bountifully caused to bee delivered
 "unto them, all things which he thought to be necessarie for the
 "armie. So after many great kindnesses in short time passed, and a
 "strait bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed be-
 "twixt the two great princes, Tamerlane, with great contentment,
 "took his leave of the Emperour, and returned again to his armie
 "at Prusa. Wherewith he now at his pleasure, without resistance,
 "wasted and spoiled all Bajazet his dominion in Asia, no man
 "daring to make head against him."*

A. H. 805.

A. D. 1402.

Knolles's

history.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

But to return to our narrative; when the imperial standard reached
 the station of Belek, or Boulouk, to the east-ward, or north-east-ward
 of Smyrna, the agents dispatched to treat with Müssulman Tcheleby
 also returned to the presence of Teymûr; attended by Sheikh Ramzaun,
 a distinguished personage who, during the government of Bajazet,
 had exercised the function of grand Kauzy, conjointly with that of
 principal minister of state, and who was now employed on the part
 of Müssulman Tcheleby, to convey to Teymûr, together with suitable
 presents, in animals of the chase, and curiosities of various descripti-
 ons, and, moreover, a considerable sum in florins, the most positive
 assurances of the Turkish prince's entire homage and allegiance; to
 declare that the humane and liberal treatment experienced in the
 person of his father, had increased his confidence a thousand fold in
 the bounty and generosity of his conqueror; and that he was ready,
 the moment a wish of the sort was expressly intimated, to hasten with-
 out hesitation to the threshold of the imperial residence—there to offer
 in person his pledge of allegiance, and to share more immediately in
 those proofs of imperial munificence so liberally extended to his fami-
 ly. These professions on the part of the Turkish prince were favor-
 ably received by Teymûr; and he desired it might be communicated
 in reply, that he had dismissed from his mind all recollection of the
 past; had closed in oblivion the career of hostility; and with respect

* Knolles's History of the Turks, folio edition, page 222.

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suffa.

to the son of Bajazet, that it behoved him, without further delay, to repair to the presence, banishing from his mind all apprehension of danger, all traces of the recent disastrous events, and exchanging for the milder feelings of harmony and reconciliation the unavailing projects of animosity and revenge. By this he would fully entitle himself to a liberal participation in his imperial bounty. And, with these sentiments committed to writing, Sheikh Ramzaun, whom in modern language we should call Ramzaun Effendi, was allowed to return to his employer, after having been presented with a tiara and girdle of the usual rich materials.

Among the events of this period, in the mean time, we find recorded the death of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular monarch of Transoxiana, or Mâwer-un-neher. He had accompanied Ameir Shah Melek, to over-run that part of the territory of Asia minor, lying between the gulph of Satalia and the coast of Karamania; and falling ill at the place called Ketch, or Ketchik Bûrlûgh, little Bûrlûgh, to the eastward of Menteishah, or Myndus the ancient chief city of Caria, he there resigned his spirit to the mercy of Olûgh Tongry; the great, or supreme being, so denominated among the Moghûl nations. Teymûr either was, or affected to be, extremely concerned at the intelligence; but being one of those events against which there is no alternative, he soon reconciled himself to his loss, repeating the usual formula from the Koran; "We came from God, and to God we must return." This did not, however, occasion any interruption to the design in which Shah Melek and his associates were engaged. They proceeded in their plans of desolation, with unremitting activity, seizing with little resistance, and pillaging without remorse, each of the towns of Ketchek Bûrlûgh, Aukbekah, or Aukcyaca, and Adauliah, or Satalia. Before this latter place, however, two respectable officers were killed, of the names of Sheikh Ally Seilauny, or perhaps Seblâi, and Sheikh Hadjy Seldûz. From thence, allowing the interval of one night to intervene, they extended the ravages of fire and sword along the adjoining sea coast, pillaging and destroying the territory of Menteishah, and Tekah-eyli, [Lycia, Caria, and Pamphylia], with merciless fury; and, having rendered the whole one frightful solitude, finally returned, as usual loaded with booty, to rejoin the imperial encampment.

In the beginning of autumn, Teymûr had encamped with the main body of the army at Tanghouzlig; a place set down, in De la Croix's sketch, about six and twenty leagues E. b. S. of Smyrna. At this station, he was further joined by Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with the division which had been employed against Aydein, or Atina, further to the south-ward, opposite to the island of Samos, and south of Ephesus; great numbers of the soldiers of this division having suffered, in consequence of the heat of the weather, and noxious air, of the country in which they had been serving.* Seyud Khaujah was himself, for some time, in extreme danger, from the same causes, although he finally escaped; a visit from his sovereign, during which he experienced the most affectionate marks of condescension, contributing, as it is affirmed, in no small degree to the recovery of this favored chieftain. It is observed, as a very singular fact, that there exists in the neighborhood of Tanghouzlig a petrifying spring, and that many soldiers who ignorantly drank of its waters, perished on the spot in the coldness of death.

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As the season for active operations was now drawing to a close, Teymûr proceeded to deliberate with the princes of his blood, and most distinguished generals, with regard to the disposition which he should select for the winter quarters of the army; and it was determined, that the several divisions should take up their stations for the season, in the different towns of the two Eyllies, Sarûkhaun, and Gurmian-eyly; in a line, as it would appear, across the course of the rivers Meander, and Meinder, in the ancient Ionia, parallel with the coast of the Archipelago. In this disposition, the city of Maghnisiah, or Magnesia, on the former river, was assigned for the accommodation of Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops recently stationed at Yenguisheher of Brousa; and Shah Rokh, with the divisions of the left wing, the rear of the army being considered as resting on the sea-coast, was directed to occupy the territory of Gurmian-eyli, fixing his headquarters between the stations of Olûgh Bûrlûg, and Ketchek Bûrlûg, to the left of the Meinder.

In conformity with this arrangement, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops at Yenguisheher, broke up from that place accord-

* De la Croix affirms that their sufferings were occasioned by the air of Tanghouzlik; but in that case, the whole must have been equally exposed to suffer.

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ingly ; and, after halting for some days on the plains of Mikhauleje, had passed the station of Balkessry, marking his course with the usual scenes of plunder and devastation, and pitched his camp among the groves and meadows, not far from the place last mentioned, when, at the expiration of the first watch of the night, he was suddenly attacked by Eliaus the Soubaushy, at the head of a large body of the Tchi-taughies, or native peasantry ; who had taken post in the neighborhood to protect themselves against the rapacity of their invaders. The officers who had been detached to guard the avenues to the encampment, having been too dilatory in announcing the approach of the enemy, they were suffered to enter without resistance ; the main body of the troops having either retired to rest, or dispersed to plunder. The Shahzâdah had, however, mounted his horse on the first alarm, and instantly abandoned the encampment, for the purpose of rallying his troops in the rear ; and being shortly afterwards joined by Ameir Jahaun Shah and the other commanders, the whole together turned upon their assailants, who were immediately repulsed in every direction, with infinite slaughter. Ameir Jahaun Shah, having remained on the spot for some days awaiting the baggage of the Shahzâdah, was then dispatched by that prince, together with Ameir Sounjek, towards the city of Beirauna, lying between Magnesia and the sea-coast ; which, with all its dependencies, became in consequence, the theatre of every species of cruelty and horror. The Shahzâdah, after having at the same time, with barbarous absurdity, over-run and wasted the settlements on that part of the coast of Ionia, finally proceeded to Magnesia, where he continued for the winter ; that place being also seated at the foot of a mountain, teeming with the most delicious and refreshing springs, and surrounded by an atmosphere so salubrious, as, according to our author, to restore health and animation even to putrescence itself.

In the mean time, the imperial head quarters were removed from Tanghouzleg, to Doughourleg ; a city, according to our author, known to the ancients by the name of Ladkeia, or perhaps, Laodicea. It is possible, however, that the author here alludes to the celebrated city of Ephesus, the ruins of which are represented to lie in this neighborhood. But, at all events, either from regard to its ancient

renown, or from admiration of its then still beautiful structures, and not less of its singular abundance in all that could contribute to the enjoyments of life, Teymûr is said to have exempted the inhabitants from every species of injury and exaction, beyond a reasonable contribution which was levied upon them by way of ransom.

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Crossing the Meinder, or Mendouras, shortly afterwards, Teymûr encamped on the left, or southern, bank of that river, and there was visited by Ameirs Mahommed, and Asfendiaur, the sons of Mahomed late prince of Menteisha; who took care to ensure a favorable reception by a present of one thousand horses. They were each presented, in return, with a girdle and rich tiara; and it was agreed that Asfendiaur should attend the imperial court, while his brother having engaged for the payment of a stipulated sum of money, should return to his principality, accompanied by the officers of government authorized to receive it. Teymûr then proceeded to Gûzzulhessaur, for which purpose, according to the modern maps, he must have recrossed the Meinder; and here he continued for several days, while the agents of the treasury were employed to levy the contribution which had been imposed upon the inhabitants. While he remained at Gûzzulhessaur information was conveyed to him, that his foraging parties were considerably molested by a garrison of about two hundred of the natives, who were in possession of a strong hill-fort in the neighborhood. In consequence of this, the place was surrounded by Teymûr's orders, one evening after sunset; and by the ensuing morning, before the sun had arisen from behind the hill, the imperial troops had not left a single vestige of these daring unfortunates alive to tell the tale. From Gûzzulhessaur, Teymûr proceeded next to Ayaslik,* north-west, and from thence, turning again to the north-east, he directed his march to Teirab, here mentioned as one of the most distinguished cities of the Anatolian peninsula; but though rendered on this occasion further illustrious by the presence of the Tcheghataïan conqueror, it was not by any means exempted from the contribution laid, by way of ransom, upon every place which came within the sphere of his operations. While he remained here, for a period of some duration, the officers who had

* According to the modern maps, the ruins of Ephesus are to be sought for here; for I suppose Aiastsoluk to be the same place, differently spelt.

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been dispatched to Menteshah, in order to receive the tribute agreed upon with Ameir Mahommed, returned; bringing with them specie and valuable effects, to an immense amount, exclusive of a splendid peishkesh, or present of homage, from that Ameir, to be laid before the conqueror.

During this interval, information had been conveyed to Teymâr, that there stood on the neighboring sea-coast, at the distance of about five and thirty, or forty miles, a fortress of hewn stone, or of the best masonry, of great strength and magnitude, enclosed on three sides by the sea to a prodigious depth; and, on that part by which it was connected with the main land, secured against attack by a very wide and deep ditch excavated entirely across the isthmus. He learnt, at the same time, that this formidable post was in the hands of a numerous and daring garrison of Frenguies, Franks, or European Christians, so in general denominated by the oriental nations. These were the knights of St. John, at this period in possession of the Island of Rhodes. This celebrated fortress bore the name of Izmeir, [Smyrna], was considered by the natives as a place of extraordinary sanctity; and therefore resorted to, from all parts of the surrounding territory, by a crowd of superstitious zealots, bringing with them alms and oblations, in different shapes, to the infinite advantage of the town, in the belief that they were thus performing an act of the most pious and meritorious devotion. Opposite to this, at the distance of about as far as a horse can gallop, and on the summit of a high hill, was another fort, likewise called Izmeir; but in possession of a Mûssulman garrison, betwixt whom and their opposite neighbors, there existed a state of perpetual and inveterate hostility.

Being washed on three sides by the sea, the Izmeir of the infidels, or christians, was, at the same time, on all occasions, open to every species of supply from the maritime resources of the enemies of the true faith; and, being continually exposed to the enterprises of the warlike inhabitants of the Mahomedan Izmeir, the Franks, together with the ordinary precautions for the maintenance of their impregnable station, which was always kept in the most perfect repair, took care, moreover, to provide for its security by an annual reinforcement of

one thousand veteran soldiers, amply furnished with the means of defence and subsistence for every emergency. Hence it arose, that not one of the Mûssulman states by whom it was assailed, had hitherto been able to make any effectual impression upon it; neither, from the period of its existence as a military station to the present moment, had its inhabitants paid tribute to any sovereign prince, of whatever religion. It is, moreover, added, that Sûltan Mûrad, or Amurat, the father of Bajazet, more than once attempted to reduce it without effect; and that Bajazet himself had actually besieged it, for seven years, with no better fortune. All which did not contribute to render the garrison by any means less insolent, and aggressive, to the Mahommedans of the adjoining territory.

On coming to the knowledge of these circumstances, Teymûr determined to undertake the reduction of this celebrated place; as a service of importance to the Mûssulman community, and not unworthy of his own exalted renown. Accordingly, Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, together with Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein and other distinguished commanders, at the head of a competent force, was dispatched towards Izmeir; with instructions to propose to the garrison, in the first instance, the terms of the early Mahommedan conquerors—Islaum, the tribute, or exterminating war. To these proposals, on his arrival before Izmeir shortly afterwards, Peir Mahommed, through his messengers, received from the infidel garrison no other reply, than what was conceived in the language of rude and insolent defiance: the principal inhabitants, literally the bellmen, adverting to the practice among christians for assembling to public worship, instantly dispatching to the christian states to require immediate aid. In consequence of this, they were in the course of a very short time powerfully reinforced in men, and supplied with arms provisions and stores, to an extent that enabled them to enter upon their defence with singular advantage; and they did not appear at all disposed to suffer their resources to waste away in inactivity.

Peir Mahommed and his associates did not fail, in the mean time, to transmit without delay, to the head quarters of Teymûr, the necessary report of what was passing; and that monarch, leaving his

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heavy baggage at the foot of the hill, on the summit of which the city of Teirah appears to have stood, on saturday the sixth of the latter Jummaudy of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah,* in the very depth of winter, and in the midst of incessant rain, proceeded in person at the head of his principal force to join the divisions already before Izmeir; Mahommed Sûltan with the troops of the left wing from Magnesia, and Meiran Shah and his son Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs under their orders, having, at the same time, received instructions to hasten to the same destination. Immediately on their arrival, the imperial troops of the main body commenced an attack on that part of Izmeir, by which it communicated with the main; the principal generals setting the miners to work, and planting their machines of war, and other implements of annoyance, on those points from whence the besieged appeared to be most assailable. But, as the works of the place were on three sides protected by the waters of the deep, Ameir Shah Melek, by direction of Teymûr, caused a number of strong wooden piles, of the necessary length, to be driven triangularly into the bottom of the sea, at short distances from each other; on the tops of which, thick planks being laid connecting them substantially together, a sort of bridge, or stage, was thus constructed of sufficient breadth and stability to receive considerable bodies of troops; and thus, to the astonishment of those within, a barrier shot up from the very bosom of the deep to cut them off from all possibility of egress and ingress, and effectually to deprive them of those supplies of arms and provisions, which they had calculated to receive from the shipping of the friendly maritime states.

In these circumstances, Meiran Shah with his division, and Mahommed Sûltan with the troops from Magnesia, having left that station in charge of Shums-ud-dein Abbas, arrived before Smyrna; the troops of Mahommed Sûltan in particular, animated by the example of their prince, immediately joining, and with singular ardor, in the operations of the siege. The exertions of the whole army were now united to harass the troops, and beat down and destroy the defences of the enemy, by all the expedients which they

* 1st of December 1402.

could devise from the whole theory of the art of war as then in practice; neither were the garrison in any shape less active in repelling the attacks, and retarding the operations of the besiegers, both by incessant discharges of fire-works, and an indefatigable application of the various means of annoyance, which they possessed in inexhaustible abundance.

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The period of a fortnight had thus elapsed in unremitting hostilities; and time and fortune, the witness and agent of so many portentous revolutions in this everchanging world, might smile and shed a tear upon the unavailing efforts of this unhappy garrison, when the miners, by removing part of the masonry, at last succeeded in carrying their galleries under the foundation of the works on the land side; and the walls and towers were thus left with no other support than the rude frame-work, introduced by the engineers, to sustain them from immediate and total subversion. Nothing was therefore further wanting to complete the necessary arrangements, than to charge these galleries with the usual combustibles, dry faggots overlaid with naphtha. At a signal from the imperial head quarters, the whole was accordingly fired, and the entire line of works was almost at the same instant precipitated to the earth; numbers of the garrison being at the same time carried to the bottom, and perishing in the ruins. The imperial troops, sword in hand, immediately rushed to the assault, and, in spite of all resistance from their already terrified opponents, entering the breaches, put all to death that fell in their way; although there were some few who contrived, after all, through a thousand difficulties, by some of the vessels in port to effect their escape.

Glutted with blood and slaughter, the Teymûrians then received orders to demolish the whole of the buildings of the town, composed for the greater part of brick and mortar, and many of which exalted their proud turrets from earth to skies. These accordingly, together with the fortifications, were now levelled to the foundations; and not a vestige, but the name, remained to indicate the spot which had been once covered by a place so celebrated and formidable. In the mean time, several large vessels bearing two masts, and here denominated Karekah, [caracs] full of soldiers, provisions, and arms,

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dispatched by some of the European powers, now approached, when too late, to the relief of the christian garrison ; but, finding the place reduced to a heap of ruins, immediately stood off in equal astonishment and alarm, without daring to enter the port. They were, however, not at such a distance, but that several heads taken from the bodies of the slaughtered garrison were, by order of Teymûr, cast on board by the catapultæ ; and having thus received such ghastly and convincing proofs of the disastrous fate of their friends, the European reinforcements made sail without further delay, and departed with disgrace and sorrow to communicate the report of what they had witnessed. The unexampled celerity with which the reduction of Smyrna was accomplished on this occasion, is said to have struck the inhabitants of the adjoining territory with astonishment and admiration ; but no one experienced this astonishment in a greater degree than the unfortunate Bajazet himself, convinced as he had been by protracted trial, of the strength and resources of the place ; for the present siege, from the investiture to the close, did not occupy altogether a period of more than twenty days.

While the attention of Teymûr was engaged in the reduction of Izmeir, the Sheikh Ramzaun who had on a former occasion been presented as the agent of Mûssulman Tcheleby, again appeared in the imperial encampment ; where he was permitted once more to lay at the foot of the throne a rich assortment of rarities in splendid variety, and in all things suitable to the grandeur of the monarch for whom they were destined. He conveyed at the same time, in terms of the utmost humility, assurances of the sincere submission of his employer, as well as the expectations which he had been encouraged to entertain of the bounty and liberality of a magnanimous conqueror. These communications were received by Teymûr with singular complacency ; and as a proof that the prince's expectations were not ill grounded, he immediately caused a patent to be executed in his favor for the government of Asrayakiah ; or the territory on the European side of the Thracian Bosphorus, which had been long since taken possession of by the house of Othman. With this, a splendid Khelaut, or dress of honor, a horse in golden caparison, and a tiara and girdle enriched with jewels, the agent was then most honorably

dismissed. About the same conjuncture, Kâtib-ud-dein, deputed on the part of Eissa Tcheleby another of the sons of Bajazet, who had escaped from the catastrophe at Angouriah, also appeared at court with similar professions of allegiance on the part of his master, and was dismissed after a reception equally gracious and honorable.

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In the mean time, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, after the reduction of Izmeir, proceeded by order of his grandfather towards a castle on the sea coast, about a days journey to the northwest;* which, as it furnished an asylum to a great number of the infidel, or Christian Franks, he was to employ the vigour of his genius to subdue. The prince, however, no sooner made his appearance before the place, than, terrified by the appalling array of the Teymûrian divisions, the garrison and inhabitants, abandoning all thoughts of resistance, dispatched a deputation of their principal officers in order to treat for a capitulation; offering, on the sole condition of their lives being spared, to submit to any tribute that might be imposed upon them. To these terms the prince appears to have acceded without difficulty; and having determined the amount of the impost, and employed the proper persons to receive it, returned shortly afterwards, according to his instructions, together with the troops under his orders, to his winter quarters at Magnesia.

Having discharged his vengeance, in the manner just related, on the christian garrison of Izmeir, and furnished the neighboring fortress, the Izmeir of the Mosslems, with ample supplies of arms and warlike stores, together with many other proofs of his regard, not without a strict caution to a strenuous exertion of zeal in the prosecution of hostilities against the enemies of their faith, Teymûr, on his part, finally quitted the neighborhood, and proceeded towards the plains of Ayazlik; on which he again encamped shortly afterwards. Here he received an embassy from the prince of Safent†, or Scio; the island in the neighboring Archipelago, which produces the fragrant gum mastick. To this chief our author assigns the appellation of Sopah, or Sobah, perhaps Scopas, with the rank of independent sovereign among the monarchs of the Franks. The envoy, however that may be, was admitted to an audience by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; to

* Fodjia, according to De la Croix.

† The concluding *fn*, having, through the perplexing negligence of transcription, been substituted for *ya*.

A. H. 805. other; and here, in concurrence with an intimation conveyed from
 A. D. 1402. Teymûr, Mirza Aba Bukker espoused the eldest daughter of Bajazet.
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On the other hand, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, who had been detached to the left, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, having by forced marches, first surprised the encampment of a Tûrkman chief of the name of Kebek, or Kepek, which they plundered, thence continued their progress to Auksheher, and Kârahessaur, the white city, and the black fortress; of both which they appear to have obtained possession without difficulty, if not without resistance, the inhabitants contributing a sufficient sum of money by way of ransom for their lives and property. After this, they proceeded to pillage the territory of Tchegherbâlegh, and the Arab tribe of Hameid; finally collecting together so vast a multitude of cattle of every description, particularly in camels, horses, and sheep, that it became at last utterly impossible to drive them along. They then reduced and ransomed the towns of Shehermata, and Aukserâi; after which Ameir Sûliman Shah appears to have separated from his associates, in order to fix his head quarters at Kouniah, or Iconium, among the vallies of the Karamanian mountains. From that station he dispatched, to the presence of his sovereign, a proportion of the booty which he caused, on this occasion, to be taken from the soldiers of his division;* the Mirzas, with Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and the other chiefs just mentioned, directing their march, at the same time, towards the territory of Aydein; the whole of which they plundered and laid waste, with cruel slaughter, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In the mean time, the hoarded treasures and rich property of Bajazet, together with his consort Desteina, or rather Despina, the daughter of Lauss, or Lazarus or Eleazar prince of Servia, and all the females of his household, were conveyed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, from Brousa, to the imperial head quarters at Kotauhiah. With a magnanimity very honorable to his memory, the princess with all her equipage, was immediately restored to her husband, by the conqueror; the lady, however, having been first prevailed upon, peradventure compelled, to embrace the doctrines of Isslaum in preference to the errors of

* De la Croix asserts that it was a tribute from the captive soldiers of the enemy.

infidelity, or christianity, which she had been hitherto permitted to retain. About the same conjuncture, Ameir Mahommed, or Mahommed Beg, the son of Allâ-ud-dein formerly prince of Karamania, who had been detained in the prisons of Bajazet ever since he was twelve years of age, was conducted to the court of Teymûr, by whom he was entertained with distinguished kindness. Together with a rich diadem and girdle, the Tcheghatâian monarch immediately conferred upon him his hereditary government of Karamaun, including the cities of Kouniah, Larendah, Aukserâi, Anzariah, and Alaniah, together with all their lands and dependencies; and, as a further proof of his especial favor, superadded to the rest the sovereignty of Auksheher—all of which remained for a long time after this in the possession of the same Ameir Mahommed, or his children.

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Having now consumed the period of one whole month, in triumphal festivity at Kotaluah, Teymûr conceived it expedient again to set his army in motion, directing his course to the west-ward. He was shortly afterwards joined on his march, by Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Sûliman and Sounjek; Shumsud-dein Abbas having been left in charge of the encampment on the plains of Yenguisheher, Shehernou, or the new city, near Brousa. At this conjuncture the anger of his sovereign, for reasons not explained, was excited against Sâeine Temûr, who was now put to death together with one of his brothers on the spot; and two more, who were absent, were condemned to share the same fate, wherever they could be found. Not long after their arrival in the imperial encampment, on this occasion, the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs by whom they had been attended, received orders to return, and rejoin the troops at Brousa, and Yenguisheher; while Teymûr with the main body, continued his march towards Teighourleg, or Tungouzleg, in a south-west direction; and crossing a mountainous ridge, or pass, on his way, again encamped among some delightful meadows in the neighborhood of Altûntaush, or the golden rock. Here the ministers of wrath were again in activity, to carry into execution a mandate now issued for the death of Khaujah Feyrouz, or Firozes, who had some time since held the government of Asrayakiah, or Thrace; the part of the European continent which was first occupied by the house of Othman.

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On the plains of Altûntaush, the scene of festivity and triumph was re-opened, with all imaginable splendor, by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; and at the moment when the hearts of all lay expanded from the effect of the most copious libations, a summons was dispatched to invite the captive Bajazet, to participate, if that was possible, in the pleasures of the entertainment—in order that having already witnessed their matchless prowess in the field of battle, he might also be convinced that the Teymûrians were equally unrivalled in the bowers of mirth and social enjoyment. The illustrious captive was received with every expression of kindness and hospitality, nor was any thing omitted to soothe, and alleviate, the anguish of misfortune; and, to complete the measure of imperial bounty, it was finally announced to him by his conqueror that, at the proper season, he should be actually reinstated in the possession of all his dominions in Natolia. Teymûr, shortly afterwards, resumed his march for Tungouzleg.

About this same period, Teymûr conceived it advisable to try the effect of another embassy to the court of Melek Faredje, or Feridje, Sûltan of Egypt; at the same time to announce his conquest of the dominions of the house of Othman, and to demand that his name should be inserted, without further demur, in the Khotbah, and on the coinage both of Egypt and Syria. The liberation of Ettelmeşh was again insisted upon; in default of which the Sûltan was to be formally apprized that, immediately on their return from the Peninsula of Asia minor, the imperial armies would most assuredly enter his country. The person whom he selected to take charge of this embassy appears to have been a certain Budder-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of Shums-ud-dein Jezzeri, or Jezzary, one of the vassals of Bajazet taken prisoner by the troops on his flight from Brousa; and recently introduced, by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, to the patronage of his sovereign.

While he resided at Kotaubiah, similar missions were employed in other quarters, on the part of Teymûr; and among others, two persons were dispatched to Constantiniah, or Constantinople, with a demand of tribute on the Greek Emperor, [Emanuel Palæologus], here distinguished by the unaccountable appellation of Takour. Two more were authorized, at the same time, to proceed to the court of

Müssulman, or Sûliman Tcheleby, [Calepinus], the son of Bajazet, who had, as recently described, effected his retreat into Asrayakiah, or Athrakia, on the European side of the Bosphorus; where he now resided at Gûzzelhessaur,* a castle, or fortified town, said to have been erected by his father, opposite to the city of Constantinople, on the land side. The object of this latter mission was to require that Müssulman Tcheleby would either repair in person to the imperial presence, or transmit the ordinary tribute of homage, or Peishkesh, in token of his submission to the imperial authority. The envoys to the court of Constantinople returned, a short time afterwards, accompanied by an Ambassador of distinguished rank and abilities, from the Greek Emperor, conveying a competent sum of money in florins, [Felouri] together with the most superb display of presents, consisting of all that was precious and rare to be found in the once splendid metropolis of the Cæsars. He was further charged to declare on the part of his master, [Emanuel] that as an acknowledged vassal of the Lord Paramount of the world, his mind was already devoted to the most unreserved and submissive obedience; and that he therefore consented without hesitation, to the payment of any tribute that Teymûr, in his imperial pleasure, might be disposed to levy upon him, since he had already experienced too much from unavailing hostility, not to be utterly averse to engaging in fresh contests with any power whatever. Having accordingly fixed the amount of tribute to be remitted to the imperial treasury, by the Greek Emperor, Teymûr dismissed his agent, after presenting him with a Khelaut, or dress of honor, and otherwise treating him with the ordinary marks of favor.

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As the above are the only circumstances related by our author, with regard to the communication between Teymûr and the Emperor Emanuel, or the Takour, as he is here fantastically denominated, we cannot forbear to introduce in this place, without pronouncing either on its truth or fallacy, the following curious statement from Knolles's history of the Turks.

“These Ambassadors, [of the Greek Emperor] by the commandment of Tamerlane, were by Axalla royally feasted, and all the honor done them that might be. One of them being sent back, to carry these unexpected newes unto the Greeke Emperor, filled both

* Solyman Tcheleby is said to have retired to Gallipoli.

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history.

“ him, and all the citie of Constantinople, with exceeding joy and
 “ gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in generall, spared not
 “ with bonfires, and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest;
 “ and the more to shew his thankfulnessse, shortly after by the ad-
 “ vice of his grave counsailours, passed over the strait into Asia, to
 “ see Tamerlane at Prusa, and in person himselfe to give him thanks;
 “ who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently upon the
 “ first daye’s journey, sent the prince Axalla to meet him, and to
 “ certifie him of the joy that he conceived, to have the good hap for
 “ to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa: where those two great
 “ princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so
 “ spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor, the next day
 “ taking his leave, was by Tamerlane, with much honor, conducted
 “ out of the city. Now had Tamerlane himself, conceived a secret
 “ desire to see this so famous city as was Constantinople, from which
 “ he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour,
 “ but as a private person: which by the meanes of Axalla, was ac-
 “ complished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperour, privatly
 “ received, and with all familiaritie possible entertained: the Emper-
 “ our shewing unto him, all the rare and excellent things that were
 “ therein to be seene: and the other Greeke princes devising all the
 “ meanes they could, to do him pleasure, and them which did accom-
 “ panie him; who were in a manner all apparrelled after the Greeke
 “ fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperor himself was curious
 “ to shew unto him, all the faire gardens alongst the sea coast, a league
 “ or two from Constantinople, and so privatly conducting him, spent
 “ five or six daies, with all the mirth that might be possible: Tamer-
 “ lane by the way oftentimes saying, that he had never seene a fairer
 “ citie: and that it was indeed the citie (considering the faire and rich
 “ situation thereof) of right, worthie to command all the world. He
 “ wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingraven
 “ pillars, the high pyramides, and the making of the faire gardens,
 “ and oftentimes afterwards, said, that he nothing repented him of so
 “ long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to have pre-
 “ served from fire and sword, so noble a citie as that was. In the
 “ Greeke Emperour, he commended greatly his mild nature and cour-

"tesie: who knowing him above all things, to take pleasure in faire
 "and serviceable horses, gave unto him thirty of the fairest, strongest,
 "and readiest that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnish-
 "ed; and sent likewise, faire presents unto all the princes and great
 "commanders of the armie, and bountifully caused to bee delivered
 "unto them, all things which he thought to be necessarie for the
 "armie. So after many great kindnesses in short time passed, and a
 "strait bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed be-
 "twixt the two great princes, Tamerlane, with great contentment,
 "took his leave of the Emperour, and returned again to his armie
 "at Prusa. Wherewith he now at his pleasure, without resistance,
 "wasted and spoiled all Bajazet his dominion in Asia, no man
 "daring to make head against him."*

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But to return to our narrative; when the imperial standard reached
 the station of Belek, or Boulouk, to the east-ward, or north-east-ward
 of Smyrna, the agents dispatched to treat with Müssulman Tcheleby
 also returned to the presence of Teymûr; attended by Sheikh Ramzaun,
 a distinguished personage who, during the government of Bajazet,
 had exercised the function of grand Kauzy, conjointly with that of
 principal minister of state, and who was now employed on the part
 of Müssulman Tcheleby, to convey to Teymûr, together with suitable
 presents, in animals of the chase, and curiosities of various descripti-
 ons, and, moreover, a considerable sum in florins, the most positive
 assurances of the Turkish prince's entire homage and allegiance; to
 declare that the humane and liberal treatment experienced in the
 person of his father, had increased his confidence a thousand fold in
 the bounty and generosity of his conqueror; and that he was ready,
 the moment a wish of the sort was expressly intimated, to hasten with-
 out hesitation to the threshold of the imperial residence—there to offer
 in person his pledge of allegiance, and to share more immediately in
 those proofs of imperial munificence so liberally extended to his fami-
 ly. These professions on the part of the Turkish prince were favor-
 ably received by Teymûr; and he desired it might be communicated
 in reply, that he had dismissed from his mind all recollection of the
 past; had closed in oblivion the career of hostility; and with respect

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* Knolles's History of the Turks, folio edition, page 222.

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to the son of Bajazet, that it behoved him, without further delay, to repair to the presence, banishing from his mind all apprehension of danger, all traces of the recent disastrous events, and exchanging for the milder feelings of harmony and reconciliation the unavailing projects of animosity and revenge. By this he would fully entitle himself to a liberal participation in his imperial bounty. And, with these sentiments committed to writing, Sheikh Ramzaun, whom in modern language we should call Ramzaun Effendi, was allowed to return to his employer, after having been presented with a tiara and girdle of the usual rich materials.

Among the events of this period, in the mean time, we find recorded the death of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular monarch of Transoxiana, or Mâwer-un-neher. He had accompanied Ameir Shah Melek, to over-run that part of the territory of Asia minor, lying between the gulph of Satalia and the coast of Karamania; and falling ill at the place called Ketch, or Ketchik Bûrlûgh, little Bûrlûgh, to the eastward of Menteishah, or Myndus the ancient chief city of Caria, he there resigned his spirit to the mercy of Olûgh Tongry; the great, or supreme being, so denominated among the Moghûl nations. Teymûr either was, or affected to be, extremely concerned at the intelligence; but being one of those events against which there is no alternative, he soon reconciled himself to his loss, repeating the usual formula from the Koran; "We came from God, and to God we must return." This did not, however, occasion any interruption to the design in which Shah Melek and his associates were engaged. They proceeded in their plans of desolation, with unremitting activity, seizing with little resistance, and pillaging without remorse, each of the towns of Ketchek Bûrlûgh, Aukbekah, or Aukcyaca, and Adauliah, or Satalia. Before this latter place, however, two respectable officers were killed, of the names of Sheikh Ally Seilauny, or perhaps Seblâi, and Sheikh Hadjy Seldûz. From thence, allowing the interval of one night to intervene, they extended the ravages of fire and sword along the adjoining sea coast, pillaging and destroying the territory of Menteishah, and Tekah-eyli, [Lycia, Caria, and Pamphylia], with merciless fury; and, having rendered the whole one frightful solitude, finally returned, as usual loaded with booty, to rejoin the imperial encampment.

In the beginning of autumn, Teymûr had encamped with the main body of the army at Tanghouzlig; a place set down, in De la Croix's sketch, about six and twenty leagues E. b. S. of Smyrna. At this station, he was further joined by Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with the division which had been employed against Aydein, or Atina, further to the south-ward, opposite to the island of Samos, and south of Ephesus; great numbers of the soldiers of this division having suffered, in consequence of the heat of the weather, and noxious air, of the country in which they had been serving.* Seyud Khaujah was himself, for some time, in extreme danger, from the same causes, although he finally escaped; a visit from his sovereign, during which he experienced the most affectionate marks of condescension, contributing, as it is affirmed, in no small degree to the recovery of this favored chieftain. It is observed, as a very singular fact, that there exists in the neighborhood of Tanghouzlig a petrifying spring, and that many soldiers who ignorantly drank of its waters, perished on the spot in the coldness of death.

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As the season for active operations was now drawing to a close, Teymûr proceeded to deliberate with the princes of his blood, and most distinguished generals, with regard to the disposition which he should select for the winter quarters of the army; and it was determined, that the several divisions should take up their stations for the season, in the different towns of the two Eyllies, Sarûkhaun, and Gurmian-eyly; in a line, as it would appear, across the course of the rivers Meander, and Meinder, in the ancient Ionia, parallel with the coast of the Archipelago. In this disposition, the city of Maghnisiah, or Magnesia, on the former river, was assigned for the accommodation of Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops recently stationed at Yenguisheher of Brousa; and Shah Rokh, with the divisions of the left wing, the rear of the army being considered as resting on the sea-coast, was directed to occupy the territory of Gurmian-eyli, fixing his head quarters between the stations of Olûgh Bûrlûg, and Ketchek Bûrlûg, to the left of the Meinder.

In conformity with this arrangement, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops at Yenguisheher, broke up from that place accord-

* De la Croix affirms that their sufferings were occasioned by the air of Tanghouzlik; but in that case, the whole must have been equally exposed to suffer.

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ingly ; and, after halting for some days on the plains of Mikhauleje, had passed the station of Balkessry, marking his course with the usual scenes of plunder and devastation, and pitched his camp among the groves and meadows, not far from the place last mentioned, when, at the expiration of the first watch of the night, he was suddenly attacked by Eliaus the Soubaushy, at the head of a large body of the Tchi-taughies, or native peasantry ; who had taken post in the neighborhood to protect themselves against the rapacity of their invaders. The officers who had been detached to guard the avenues to the encampment, having been too dilatory in announcing the approach of the enemy, they were suffered to enter without resistance ; the main body of the troops having either retired to rest, or dispersed to plunder. The Shahzâdah had, however, mounted his horse on the first alarm, and instantly abandoned the encampment, for the purpose of rallying his troops in the rear ; and being shortly afterwards joined by Ameir Jahaun Shah and the other commanders, the whole together turned upon their assailants, who were immediately repulsed in every direction, with infinite slaughter. Ameir Jahaun Shah, having remained on the spot for some days awaiting the baggage of the Shahzâdah, was then dispatched by that prince, together with Ameir Sounjek, towards the city of Beirauna, lying between Magnesia and the sea-coast ; which, with all its dependencies, became in consequence, the theatre of every species of cruelty and horror. The Shahzâdah, after having at the same time, with barbarous absurdity, over-run and wasted the settlements on that part of the coast of Ionia, finally proceeded to Magnesia, where he continued for the winter ; that place being also seated at the foot of a mountain, teeming with the most delicious and refreshing springs, and surrounded by an atmosphere so salubrious, as, according to our author, to restore health and animation even to putrescence itself.

In the mean time, the imperial head quarters were removed from Tanghouzleg, to Doughourleg ; a city, according to our author, known to the ancients by the name of Ladkeia, or perhaps, Laodicea. It is possible, however, that the author here alludes to the celebrated city of Ephesus, the ruins of which are represented to lie in this neighborhood. But, at all events, either from regard to its ancient

renown, or from admiration of its then still beautiful structures, and not less of its singular abundance in all that could contribute to the enjoyments of life, Teymûr is said to have exempted the inhabitants from every species of injury and exaction, beyond a reasonable contribution which was levied upon them by way of ransom.

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Crossing the Meinder, or Mendouras, shortly afterwards, Teymûr encamped on the left, or southern, bank of that river, and there was visited by Ameirs Mahommed, and Asfendiaur, the sons of Mahommed late prince of Menteisha; who took care to ensure a favorable reception by a present of one thousand horses. They were each presented, in return, with a girdle and rich tiara; and it was agreed that Asfendiaur should attend the imperial court, while his brother having engaged for the payment of a stipulated sum of money, should return to his principality, accompanied by the officers of government authorized to receive it. Teymûr then proceeded to Gûzzulhessaur, for which purpose, according to the modern maps, he must have recrossed the Meinder; and here he continued for several days, while the agents of the treasury were employed to levy the contribution which had been imposed upon the inhabitants. While he remained at Gûzzulhessaur information was conveyed to him, that his foraging parties were considerably molested by a garrison of about two hundred of the natives, who were in possession of a strong hill-fort in the neighborhood. In consequence of this, the place was surrounded by Teymûr's orders, one evening after sunset; and by the ensuing morning, before the sun had arisen from behind the hill, the imperial troops had not left a single vestige of these daring unfortunates alive to tell the tale. From Gûzzulhessaur, Teymûr proceeded next to Ayaslik,* north-west, and from thence, turning again to the north-east, he directed his march to Teirah, here mentioned as one of the most distinguished cities of the Anatolian peninsula; but though rendered on this occasion further illustrious by the presence of the Tcheghataïan conqueror, it was not by any means exempted from the contribution laid, by way of ransom, upon every place which came within the sphere of his operations. While he remained here, for a period of some duration, the officers who had

* According to the modern maps, the ruins of Ephesus are to be sought for here; for I suppose Aiastsoluk to be the same place, differently spelt.

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been dispatched to Menteshah, in order to receive the tribute agreed upon with Ameir Mahommed, returned; bringing with them specie and valuable effects, to an immense amount, exclusive of a splendid peishkesh, or present of homage, from that Ameir, to be laid before the conqueror.

During this interval, information had been conveyed to Teymâr, that there stood on the neighboring sea-coast, at the distance of about five and thirty, or forty miles, a fortress of hewn stone, or of the best masonry, of great strength and magnitude, enclosed on three sides by the sea to a prodigious depth; and, on that part by which it was connected with the main land, secured against attack by a very wide and deep ditch excavated entirely across the isthmus. He learnt, at the same time, that this formidable post was in the hands of a numerous and daring garrison of Frenguies, Franks, or European Christians, so in general denominated by the oriental nations. These were the knights of St. John, at this period in possession of the Island of Rhodes. This celebrated fortress bore the name of Izmeir, [Smyrna], was considered by the natives as a place of extraordinary sanctity; and therefore resorted to, from all parts of the surrounding territory, by a crowd of superstitious zealots, bringing with them alms and oblations, in different shapes, to the infinite advantage of the town, in the belief that they were thus performing an act of the most pious and meritorious devotion. Opposite to this, at the distance of about as far as a horse can gallop, and on the summit of a high hill, was another fort, likewise called Izmeir; but in possession of a Mûssulman garrison, betwixt whom and their opposite neighbors, there existed a state of perpetual and inveterate hostility.

Being washed on three sides by the sea, the Izmeir of the infidels, or christians, was, at the same time, on all occasions, open to every species of supply from the maritime resources of the enemies of the true faith; and, being continually exposed to the enterprises of the warlike inhabitants of the Mahomedan Izmeir, the Franks, together with the ordinary precautions for the maintenance of their impregnable station, which was always kept in the most perfect repair, took care, moreover, to provide for its security by an annual reinforcement of

one thousand veteran soldiers, amply furnished with the means of defence and subsistence for every emergency. Hence it arose, that not one of the Mûssulman states by whom it was assailed, had hitherto been able to make any effectual impression upon it; neither, from the period of its existence as a military station to the present moment, had its inhabitants paid tribute to any sovereign prince, of whatever religion. It is, moreover, added, that Sûltan Mûrad, or Amurat, the father of Bajazet, more than once attempted to reduce it without effect; and that Bajazet himself had actually besieged it, for seven years, with no better fortune. All which did not contribute to render the garrison by any means less insolent, and aggressive, to the Mahommedans of the adjoining territory.

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On coming to the knowledge of these circumstances, Teymûr determined to undertake the reduction of this celebrated place; as a service of importance to the Mûssulman community, and not unworthy of his own exalted renown. Accordingly, Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, together with Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein and other distinguished commanders, at the head of a competent force, was dispatched towards Izmeir; with instructions to propose to the garrison, in the first instance, the terms of the early Mahommedan conquerors—Islaum, the tribute, or exterminating war. To these proposals, on his arrival before Izmeir shortly afterwards, Peir Mahommed, through his messengers, received from the infidel garrison no other reply, than what was conceived in the language of rude and insolent defiance: the principal inhabitants, literally the bellmen, adverting to the practice among christians for assembling to public worship, instantly dispatching to the christian states to require immediate aid. In consequence of this, they were in the course of a very short time powerfully reinforced in men, and supplied with arms provisions and stores, to an extent that enabled them to enter upon their defence with singular advantage; and they did not appear at all disposed to suffer their resources to waste away in inactivity.

Peir Mahommed and his associates did not fail, in the mean time, to transmit without delay, to the head quarters of Teymûr, the necessary report of what was passing; and that monarch, leaving his

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heavy baggage at the foot of the hill, on the summit of which the city of Teirah appears to have stood, on saturday the sixth of the latter Jummaudy of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah,* in the very depth of winter, and in the midst of incessant rain, proceeded in person at the head of his principal force to join the divisions already before Izmeir; Mahommed Sûltan with the troops of the left wing from Magnesia, and Meiran Shah and his son Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs under their orders, having, at the same time, received instructions to hasten to the same destination. Immediately on their arrival, the imperial troops of the main body commenced an attack on that part of Izmeir, by which it communicated with the main; the principal generals setting the miners to work, and planting their machines of war, and other implements of annoyance, on those points from whence the besieged appeared to be most assailable. But, as the works of the place were on three sides protected by the waters of the deep, Ameir Shah Melek, by direction of Teymûr, caused a number of strong wooden piles, of the necessary length, to be driven triangularly into the bottom of the sea, at short distances from each other; on the tops of which, thick planks being laid connecting them substantially together, a sort of bridge, or stage, was thus constructed of sufficient breadth and stability to receive considerable bodies of troops; and thus, to the astonishment of those within, a barrier shot up from the very bosom of the deep to cut them off from all possibility of egress and ingress, and effectually to deprive them of those supplies of arms and provisions, which they had calculated to receive from the shipping of the friendly maritime states.

In these circumstances, Meiran Shah with his division, and Mahommed Sûltan with the troops from Magnesia, having left that station in charge of Shums-ud-dein Abbas, arrived before Smyrna; the troops of Mahommed Sûltan in particular, animated by the example of their prince, immediately joining, and with singular ardor, in the operations of the siege. The exertions of the whole army were now united to harass the troops, and beat down and destroy the defences of the enemy, by all the expedients which they

* 1st of December 1402.

could devise from the whole theory of the art of war as then in practice; neither were the garrison in any shape less active in repelling the attacks, and retarding the operations of the besiegers, both by incessant discharges of fire-works, and an indefatigable application of the various means of annoyance, which they possessed in inexhaustible abundance.

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The period of a fortnight had thus elapsed in unremitting hostilities; and time and fortune, the witness and agent of so many portentous revolutions in this everchanging world, might smile and shed a tear upon the unavailing efforts of this unhappy garrison, when the miners, by removing part of the masonry, at last succeeded in carrying their galleries under the foundation of the works on the land side; and the walls and towers were thus left with no other support than the rude frame-work, introduced by the engineers, to sustain them from immediate and total subversion. Nothing was therefore further wanting to complete the necessary arrangements, than to charge these galleries with the usual combustibles, dry faggots overlaid with naphtha. At a signal from the imperial head quarters, the whole was accordingly fired, and the entire line of works was almost at the same instant precipitated to the earth; numbers of the garrison being at the same time carried to the bottom, and perishing in the ruins. The imperial troops, sword in hand, immediately rushed to the assault, and, in spite of all resistance from their already terrified opponents, entering the breaches, put all to death that fell in their way; although there were some few who contrived, after all, through a thousand difficulties, by some of the vessels in port to effect their escape.

Glutted with blood and slaughter, the Teymûrians then received orders to demolish the whole of the buildings of the town, composed for the greater part of brick and mortar, and many of which exalted their proud turrets from earth to skies. These accordingly, together with the fortifications, were now levelled to the foundations; and not a vestige, but the name, remained to indicate the spot which had been once covered by a place so celebrated and formidable. In the mean time, several large vessels bearing two masts, and here denominated Karekah, [caracs] full of soldiers, provisions, and arms,

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dispatched by some of the European powers, now approached, when too late, to the relief of the christian garrison ; but, finding the place reduced to a heap of ruins, immediately stood off in equal astonishment and alarm, without daring to enter the port. They were, however, not at such a distance, but that several heads taken from the bodies of the slaughtered garrison were, by order of Teymûr, cast on board by the catapultæ ; and having thus received such ghastly and convincing proofs of the disastrous fate of their friends, the European reinforcements made sail without further delay, and departed with disgrace and sorrow to communicate the report of what they had witnessed. The unexampled celerity with which the reduction of Smyrna was accomplished on this occasion, is said to have struck the inhabitants of the adjoining territory with astonishment and admiration ; but no one experienced this astonishment in a greater degree than the unfortunate Bajazet himself, convinced as he had been by protracted trial, of the strength and resources of the place ; for the present siege, from the investiture to the close, did not occupy altogether a period of more than twenty days.

While the attention of Teymûr was engaged in the reduction of Izmeir, the Sheikh Ramzaun who had on a former occasion been presented as the agent of Mûssulman Tcheleby, again appeared in the imperial encampment ; where he was permitted once more to lay at the foot of the throne a rich assortment of rarities in splendid variety, and in all things suitable to the grandeur of the monarch for whom they were destined. He conveyed at the same time, in terms of the utmost humility, assurances of the sincere submission of his employer, as well as the expectations which he had been encouraged to entertain of the bounty and liberality of a magnanimous conqueror. These communications were received by Teymûr with singular complacency ; and as a proof that the prince's expectations were not ill grounded, he immediately caused a patent to be executed in his favor for the government of Asrayakiah ; or the territory on the European side of the Thracian Bosphorus, which had been long since taken possession of by the house of Othman. With this, a splendid Khelaut, or dress of honor, a horse in golden caparison, and a tiara and girdle enriched with jewels, the agent was then most honorably

dismissed. About the same conjuncture, Kâtib-ud-dein, deputed on the part of Eissa Tcheleby another of the sons of Bajazet, who had escaped from the catastrophe at Angouriah, also appeared at court with similar professions of allegiance on the part of his master, and was dismissed after a reception equally gracious and honorable.

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In the mean time, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, after the reduction of Izmeir, proceeded by order of his grandfather towards a castle on the sea coast, about a days journey to the northwest;* which, as it furnished an asylum to a great number of the infidel, or Christian Franks, he was to employ the vigour of his genius to subdue. The prince, however, no sooner made his appearance before the place, than, terrified by the appalling array of the Teymûrian divisions, the garrison and inhabitants, abandoning all thoughts of resistance, dispatched a deputation of their principal officers in order to treat for a capitulation; offering, on the sole condition of their lives being spared, to submit to any tribute that might be imposed upon them. To these terms the prince appears to have acceded without difficulty; and having determined the amount of the impost, and employed the proper persons to receive it, returned shortly afterwards, according to his instructions, together with the troops under his orders, to his winter quarters at Magnesia.

Having discharged his vengeance, in the manner just related, on the christian garrison of Izmeir, and furnished the neighboring fortress, the Izmeir of the Mosslems, with ample supplies of arms and warlike stores, together with many other proofs of his regard, not without a strict caution to a strenuous exertion of zeal in the prosecution of hostilities against the enemies of their faith, Teymûr, on his part, finally quitted the neighborhood, and proceeded towards the plains of Ayazlik; on which he again encamped shortly afterwards. Here he received an embassy from the prince of Safent†, or Scio; the island in the neighboring Archipelago, which produces the fragrant gum mastick. To this chief our author assigns the appellation of Sopah, or Sobah, perhaps Scopas, with the rank of independent sovereign among the monarchs of the Franks. The envoy, however that may be, was admitted to an audience by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; to

* Fodjia, according to De la Croix.

† The concluding *fn*, having, through the perplexing negligence of transcription, been substituted for *ya*.

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whom he conveyed from his master, together with a suitable peishkesh, some very zealous professions of allegiance and attachment; and he was also permitted to return to his employer, after a kind and indulgent reception.

A predatory expedition, under Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by Ally Sûltan Towatchei and other respectable chieftains, was now dispatched into Aeily-ezem, the country of Yezem, or perhaps Bezem, as in De la Croix; although it is not easy to identify the precise state to which the name belongs in our present surveys. It was, however, entirely pillaged and laid waste, and a heavy contribution, moreover, levied on the capital of the province, by way of ransom from further mischiefs; with which the young Mirza and his associates hastened, in triumph, to rejoin the imperial head quarters, which were shortly afterwards transferred from Ayazlik, to the station of Tungouzlek formerly mentioned. At this latter place, Teymûr received a short visit from Mahommed Sûltan, who had separated from his division after quitting Magnesia; and was now instructed by his grandfather to lead the troops of the right wing,* under his orders, in a direction to the left hand by the route of Angouriah—so as to form a junction with the main body on its arrival at Kaysereiah. Mahommed Sûltan remained accordingly at Tungouzlek, expecting the arrival of his division; while Teymûr proceeded to Sûltan-hessaur, on one of the streams which runs into the Meinder. Here his troops were employed, by way of recreation perhaps, in doing some execution among the Tchitaughies, mountaineers peradventure who had taken refuge against foreign violence among the neighboring hills.

About the same period, he further signalized his bounty by conferring upon Yakoub Tcheleby, a younger brother of the house of Othman, the government of the territory of Gurmian-eyli, together with the cities of Kotauihah, Tangouzlek, and Kârasheher, which already belonged to him by inheritance. On some former occasion, this prince is here stated to have fled from the tyranny of Bajazet into Syria; on the subjugation of which by the Tcheghataïan armies, he had placed himself under the protection of the imperial standard,

* The right in advancing, now the left.

and had ever since been an inseparable attendant on the person of Teymûr. It is obvious further to remark that he was probably the younger brother of Bajazet; on whom, when his father Mûrad had been assassinated on the field of battle, after his victory over Lazarus Despot of Servia, the European writers have bestowed strangulation by the Pashas of the empire, under the instructions of Bajazet, although it is acknowledged by Knolles that the genuine Turkish annals lay no such matter to his charge; and it must therefore be an error to allege that by him was exhibited the first example of that sanguinary policy, which condemned the younger brothers of the race of Othman to perish by the bowstring.

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Teymûr proceeded next towards Olûgh Bourlûg, or the greater Bourlûg, at which station on his arrival he was joined by Shah Rokh; who had also broke up from his winter quarters, in order to accompany the movements of the main body of the army. The castle of Olûgh Bourlûg, which had not yet submitted to the imperial troops, was now attacked and reduced; the men were all put to the sword; the women and children made slaves; and the place was levelled with the ground. From a couplet at the close of this section in the manuscript, the event just mentioned, together with the death of Jullaul-ul-isslam who was killed during the siege, appears to have taken place in the middle of the month of Rudjub of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.*

In the territory of Hameid, or Hameid-eyli, north of the Gulf of Aduilia, or Satalia, is described to exist a small sea, or lake, of fresh water twenty farsangs in length, and four in breadth, laid down in modern geography about five and twenty or thirty miles south-east of Olûg Bourlûg. The dimensions of this lake are reduced, however, by De la Croix, to five farsangs in length, by four in breadth.† Into this lake several streams are described to enter on one side to discharge themselves on the other; its banks embellished to the water's edge by innumerable gardens and plantations, furnishing every species of flower, and fruit, and fragrant shrub in the greatest variety and abundance. But what particularly calls our attention to it in this place is the walled city, or fortress of Egrider, or Agride;

* About the 7th of February, A. D. 1403.

† From its appearance on the map, it may be about 5 by 3, or about 18 miles in length, by 10 in breadth.

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seated on the lake, enclosed on three sides by its waters, and supported on the fourth by a mountain. In the midst of the lake, at a short distance from the city just mentioned, which has, at the same time, from historians received the further designation of Fullukabad, arose two islands, one of which bore the name of Gûlestaun, the other of Nessebein. On the latter, which was the largest of the two, a castle had been erected, together with some other very handsome and spacious buildings; and, of this castle, the inhabitants of the vicinity of the lake had availed themselves, as a depot for their more valuable effects, as well as for their ordinary means of subsistence, in cases of emergency. The other island, from its name, possibly served as a resort for recreation and parties of pleasure.

At the period under consideration, it is moreover added that the castle of Nessebein was thronged to excess by the concourse of inhabitants, who fled to it from the neighboring territory, in the confidence of its secure situation; the lake being in all parts of a great depth, and rendering it unassailable by any ordinary method of attack. These various circumstances combining, at all events, to excite his attention, Teymûr determined at all hazards to make himself master of both city and island; and, as a previous arrangement, immediately issued orders that his heavy equipments should be conveyed towards Auksheher—the Antioch of Pisidia, about forty miles to the northward of the upper extremity of the lake. As the captive Bajazet was, at this period, laboring under the attack of a severe and dangerous malady, Teymûr directed that he should proceed at leisure with the heavy baggage of the army to the same place; attended by Moulana Mûssaoud of Shirauz, and Jullaul-ud-dein the Arabian, two of the most skilful physicians of the court, selected to prescribe to his relief on this occasion.

The imperial troops were then put in motion from Olûgh Bourlûg, and, with one intervening night, on the morning of the second day's march, appeared before Egrider. On the morning of the day following, the Mirzas Shah Rokh, Eskunder, and Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, Ally Sûltan Towatchei Sounjek Bahauder, and other eminent chieftains, were directed to advance against the town. Ascending the hill by which it was over-

looked, and partly skirting the base, in order to attack the principal gate, the assailants appear to have made themselves masters of the place, without any extraordinary resistance; the garrison and inhabitants, very possibly, resting their hopes of effectual defence on the protection of the neighboring islands, to which vast numbers now made their escape, plunging without hesitation into the waters of the lake. Orders were then issued to prepare, with the necessary dispatch, a great variety of rafts, and boats, the latter composed of poles, covered with the hides of oxen and horses. On these, and such other craft as could be provided on the occasion, the princes and principal generals embarked shortly afterwards, and proceeded to the attack of the fortified island of Nessebein, completely investing it on every side. Little expecting, peradventure, to be so immediately assailed in their fondly imagined inaccessible retreat, the inhabitants were not less astonished than appalled, at the celerity and boldness of their enemies; whom they beheld approaching to the attack, amidst the most tremendous din of trumpets, kettle-drums, and horns. Every idea of resistance seems to have been in a moment abandoned; and the governor, a chief of the name of Sheikh Bâba, hastened at the hazard of inevitable death from the weapons of the assailants, to throw himself on the moderation of the shahzâdahs who conducted these operations, intreating that they might be his intercessors for the mercy of Teymûr. This, so far as regarded the lives of his fellow citizens, he succeeded in obtaining; but it was stipulated, without alternative, that they should relinquish every article of property, and immediately remove from the island; which was accordingly delivered up to the imperial commanders, the whole of what was found upon it, without exception, being by an express decree of Teymûr, on the spot distributed to the army.

While engaged in the operations against Egrider, the son of Mûbasher Bahauder arrived from the head quarters of Mahommed Sûltan, to announce to Teymûr, that that prince, the darling of his hopes, was languishing under the effects of some severe and alarming malady; and as this inauspicious intelligence occasioned, in the mind of the conqueror, the utmost anxiety and apprehension, a person in whose judgment he could confide was immediately dispatched, in order to bring him a faithful report of the actual situation of the favorite.

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shahzâdah, without disguising the slightest circumstance of danger; while he himself proceeded on his way towards Auk, or Augsheher, already mentioned. The march of the main body now leading through the cantonments of the left wing, under the orders of Shah Rokh, an opportunity was furnished to that prince of giving scope to the spirit of hospitality, in the sumptuous and magnificent entertainments provided for the reception of his august parent; and, peradventure, of disposing of a part of the splendid spoils of Asia minor, of which he must have had an ample share, in the expensive presents, which it was usual to offer at the foot of the throne, on such occasions. At the same time, and through a similar medium, the most acceptable proofs of loyalty, attachment, and zeal, were also exhibited by Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, and by that gallant and distinguished commander, Ameir Sûliman Shah. Another who availed himself of the opportunity that now offered, was Ameir Mahommed, prince of Karamania, who hastened from his capital of Kouniah to the imperial head quarters; and, in testimony of gratitude for his recent restoration to his hereditary states, presented on his introduction, not without a considerable sum in specie, the most splendid variety of every thing that was costly and rare, whether from the inventions of art, or the rich productions of nature. These proofs of gratitude were received with extraordinary complacency; and the same royal bounty which had given him freedom from the prisons of Bajazet, and re-established him in the inheritance of his ancestors, was, on this occasion, afresh extended towards him in the most distinguished manner—after which he was very honorably dismissed for his own country, Teymûr then resuming his march for Auksheher.

At that city on thursday the fourth of Shabaun,* it was now announced at the imperial head quarters, that the august captive, the royal and unfortunate Bajazet, had finished his mortal career, of an asthma, and inflammation of the throat.† Teymûr evinced the utmost concern, either sincere or affected, at this irremediable event; and it was then averred that when the subjugation of the dominions of the house of Othman should have been effectually completed, it was the

* 26th of February 1403.

† Khenauk wo Zeyk-un-nuffus. De la Croix says it was of an Apoplexy.

intention of the conqueror, to have restored his illustrious captive to the full possession of the whole of the territories, of which he had been deprived by the fate of war; in order, as it is further stated, that he might be able to resume his laudable and zealous exertions against the detested advocates of image worship—the corrupt and idolatrous christians. But, since this appeared to be at variance with what was inscribed on the tablets of an irreversible destiny, it became necessary to submit, with humble resignation, to the will of that ineffable Being who has existed from, and will continue to exist, to all eternity. Of his patience under affliction the monarch was, however, shortly to exhibit some more decided proofs, when the sorrows of death invaded the more cherished recesses of his own family.

On his arrival in the territory dependent on Auksheher, information was conveyed to Teymûr, through Daunah Khaujah, from the headquarters of Mahommed Sûltan, by which he was apprized that the medicines administered to the young prince, had failed in producing the hoped for relief; and that the ascending humours, or morbid exhalations, had attacked the brain—in other words that he was delirious. Teymûr received the account with deep and unaffected concern; and the same person was immediately sent back, with instructions to keep him apprized, by continual expresses, of the progress of his grandson's disorder, until he should himself arrive upon the spot. He encamped shortly afterwards at Auksheher, where he hastened to administer every possible consolation to the family of the departed Bajazet; bestowing upon his son Eissa Tcheleby in particular, whom we now first ascertain to have been on the spot, a Khelaut of the most costly materials, a baldrick, belt, or girdle, and sword enriched with jewels, a quiver, and quiver-belt of gold, and one hundred horses of the choicest breed and superior fleetness. Last of all, he presented him with a patent under his own sign manual, being literally the impression of his hand in red ink, possibly investing him, although this is not actually stated, with the government of Anatolia. He charged him, at the same time, to take the corpse of his deceased father, which had for the present been deposited in the mausoleum of Sheikh Mâhmûd Heiran at Auksheher, and convey it, with all the honors due to departed royalty, to the metropolis of

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Brousa; there to be laid in the sepulchre long since prepared for its reception, by Bajazet himself.

Leaving his heavy equipments and baggage at Auksheher, Teymûr now made the best of his way towards the encampment of Mahommed Sûltan. Finding, however, on his march, that two chiefs of the Durghoth Tûrkmen, of the name of Khuzzer Beg and Ibrauhim, had rebelled against the imperial authority, and fortified themselves on a mountain which commanded the road, he directed the troops by whom he was accompanied, to attack and dislodge these unlicensed banditti from their posts. The mountain was accordingly invested on every side, and the Tûrkmen finally hunted out with considerable slaughter; their property, women, and children, becoming as usual the prey of their assailants. In the mean time, while he was thus prosecuting his march, Doulut Khaujah, or Khoujah, the son of Eiltchy Bougha, brought further intelligence from the division of Mahommed Sûltan, announcing that the prince's malady was hourly gaining ground. This necessarily hastened the approach of Teymûr. When, however, he reached the bedside of his grandson, he found him speechless, and reduced to the last stage of debility. Overcome by excess of grief the afflicted monarch caused him, notwithstanding, to be immediately placed on a litter, and continued his march the same day; probably for the purpose of removing him to a milder or purer air. But, when they had proceeded three stages beyond Kârahessaur, [Melainocastion], and there halted to encamp, the soul of the young prince finally quitted its frail enclosure—directing its flight towards that indefinable centre point, from which we all derive our existence. This much deplored event is stated to have taken place on the eighteenth of the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjera*; when the young Sûltan had about completed the nine and twentieth year of his age.†

The grief of Teymûr, on this occasion, is described to have surpassed all bounds of moderation; and the universal mourning, which extended to all orders of his court and army, bespoke the extraordinary degree in which the public at least appeared to participate in the sorrows

* 11th of March 1403.

† De la Croix asserts that he was but nineteen, but this appears to be an error.

of their sovereign. When the first paroxysms of affliction had, however, in some measure subsided, he directed the shrouded remains of his grandson to be laid in a Tâbout, which in general is constructed to represent the exterior of a shrine, or ornamented sepulchre, and this was deposited in a travelling litter, or Tukht-e-rouaun, suspended between mules; in which state it was entrusted to the charge of Eleiaus Khaujah, and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, to be conveyed to Aouneik, or Avanic. From thence, after removing the body into a new shell, they were instructed to take it to Sûltauniah, to be there deposited until, at a future period, it might be finally transported to Samarkand. In the mean time, part of the attendants were to remain in charge of the empty shell properly fastened up, at Aouneik.

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Having acquitted himself of these proofs of affectionate regard for the person and memory of his departed grandson, Teymûr returned back, to rejoin the main body of his army, with the heavy baggage and impediments; which shortly afterwards broke up from the plains of Auksheher, and prosecuted the march to the east-ward. Time and a variety of scene and occupation operated, however, as usual, to suspend by degrees the violence of affliction; and the remonstrances of his generals produced at length from Teymûr an order, that the army should put off the gloomy badges of sorrow, and cease from those barbarous and melancholy clamours which had, for a period of some duration, filled every quarter with lamentation and woe.

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IN the mean time, the triumphant issue of his Anatolian campaign had secured, from the government of Egypt, an attention to the claims of Teymûr, very different from what had been experienced on former occasions. For Melek Faredje, who had assumed the title of Melek ul Nausserah, receiving accounts of the captivity of Bajazet, whose power had been long regarded with awe and apprehension throughout the neighboring countries of Asia, was early led to a persuasion that perseverance in hostility against one so manifestly under the guidance of heaven, as the Tcheghatâian conqueror appeared to be, must assuredly terminate in disgrace and discomfiture; and he accordingly proposed to his cabinet, without further demur, the release of Ettelmesh, so unwarrantably detained by the misguided policy of his father. With this view, the imprisoned Moghûl chief was sent for, and, in the most conciliating terms of personal esteem, and of regret for the harsh usage which he had experienced, apprized that a resolution had been adopted to include the name of Teymûr on the coinage, and in the public prayers, throughout the provinces under the authority of the Sûltan of Egypt. In conclusion, he was requested to undertake the task of mediating between the Sûltan and his victorious sovereign; and two persons of the name of Ahmed, and Auktah, were at the same time, appointed to accompany him to the imperial head quarters, authorized to subscribe to any demand that might he further insisted upon in the article of tribute. They were also charged with the conveyance of a rich and splendid Peishkesh,* consisting of money and jewels, of costly furniture of the most finished workmanship of Alexandria, of the best tempered swords, the manufacture of Kâherah, and of other expensive and valuable particulars too numerous to mention. With these important objects the envoys left the capital of Egypt shortly afterwards, accompanied by

* Present of homage.

Ettelmesh. The latter, however, when he gained the frontiers of Anatolia, took leave of his associates and made the best of his way to the camp of Teymûr; where he proceeded to furnish a faithful disclosure of the state of Egypt, and particularly of the extraordinary impression produced upon the Sûltan and his ministers, and indeed upon every description of the inhabitants, by the rapid success of the Teymûrian armies. The envoys were not long behind him; and, having obtained admission to the presence of Teymûr through the usual introduction, did not omit to communicate, without reserve, all that they had been instructed to explain on the part of their master.

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Softened either by the remembrance of his recent domestic affliction, or by a submission so much more prompt and compliant, than from former experience he had been prepared to expect, Teymûr received this embassy with singular affability; and he condescended to observe that, having at an early age been bereft of a father's counsels, Melek Faredje had the greater claim for support on his imperial bounty; and that if his professions of homage and obedience were followed by a sincere and faithful performance of his engagements, there was no proof of affectionate and parental regard that would be omitted on his part, to confirm and protect him in his authority. He had, therefore, nothing further to stipulate, than to urge a continuance of his watchful care over the temporal and eternal interests of the people committed to his government; of his unremitting attention to the peace and safety of the two sanctuaries of their common faith, the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeinah, and to secure to the merchant and to the stranger of every country, an unmolested intercourse through the provinces under his controul. The ambassadors were then dismissed, loaded with marks of distinguishad favor; and together with the usual Khelauts for themselves, received, for their sovereign, a diadem set with precious stones, a royal robe and girdle most splendidly enriched with jewels of every description and variety—accompanied with repeated assurances of the continuance of that friendly disposition, which had now determined to include him among the most esteemed and faithful vassals of the Teymûrian power.

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To speculate at this distance of time on the probable motives of so singular an instance of moderation, on the part of Teymûr, would be but little interesting to the reader. His mind was doubtless engaged in the contemplation of some more important object, and his views to the westward may have now terminated: and yet the wealth of Egypt had again, it is conceived, even at this period accumulated to a degree that might have excited the cupidity of abstinence, and glutted the cravings of avarice itself. In these pages it has been, moreover, seen that the injuries which he had received from the Mamlouk Sûltans, not only in the unprovoked detention of his vassal, but in the repeated insults offered to his authority, in the persons of his ambassadors, were of a nature the most flagrant and aggravated. This, in justice to his own dignity, and in vindication of the violated law of nations, was an offence which it was, as he had frequently arrogated, his peculiar province to chastise. Forgiveness of injury does not appear to have been the prominent feature of his character; neither was it, perhaps, a character at which he was very ambitious of aspiring. Possibly the hand of age had by this time softened the asperities, and subdued the violence of his temper; and a slight acknowledgement of submission was thus it seems sufficient to arrest the arm of vengeance, however gross the provocation, and however inexorable in its course on other occasions.

An object towards which the attention of Teymûr appears, however, to have been more particularly directed about the present period, was the deportation, into the countries beyond the Oxus, of the Kâra-Tatârian colony, originally introduced into the territory bordering on Anatolia, eastward, under the government of Hûlaukou Khaun. The original tribe when, at a remote period, it consisted of seventy thousand families, was seated on the frontiers of Khatâi; and, having subjugated the greater part of those adjoining to it, continued for many years to maintain itself in great glory. But a state of inextinguishable hostility having long subsisted between it and those of the Moghûl race, as may be found related in detail in the annals of Tûrkestaun, the immortal Jengueiz, as soon as the decrees of providence had elevated that monarch to the supreme power over the oriental world, issued a

mandate for the entire extirpation of the male part of the hostile tribe, to the very infant at its mother's breast; the turbulent and refractory spirit of the whole, having attained to a pitch of atrocity no longer to be endured. This mandate was carried into execution with all possible rigour by the Jenguizians; but, during the reign of the great monarch just mentioned, many of his subjects, both Moghûls and others, having entered into matrimonial engagements with the Kâra-Tatârian young women, ventured to conceal the offspring of their union; until, in the process of time, the indignation of their sovereign subsiding, many of this mixed race, on their arrival at years of discretion, were exalted to the highest dignities of the state. Hence on the accession of Mangou Kaun, when that monarch determined on dispatching his brother Hûlaukou, to take possession of the Persian empire, the Kara Tataurs, were for the greater part enrolled in the army of that prince. As soon, however, as he had finally established himself on the throne of Tebreiz, finding, on experience, that the natural depravity of the tribe had been but little ameliorated by intermarriage, Hûlaukou contrived to rid himself of these same Kara Tataurs, or black Tataurs, by sending them to settle on the frontiers, between Anatolia and Armenia. Here they continued until the death of Abû Sâeid; when the disorders which succeeded to that event furnishing too favorable an opportunity for the designs of the turbulent on every side, they separated into fifty two distinct bands, each proceeding to seize upon such part of the neighboring territory as suited its convenience. And thus they remained until the time of Kauzi Bûrhaun-ud-dein; when Sûltan Bajazet, having made himself master of Sevauss, that monarch again caused them to be enrolled in the armies of the house of Othman, assigning them settlements within his own territories. In these circumstances, the charges of subsistence, and the demands of the state, being then extremely moderate under the Turkish government, the tribe arose, in the course of a few years, to such a degree of importance from their immense pastoral wealth, as well as other descriptions of property, as to have become of the highest consequence, in that part of the country which had been allotted for their residence.

However, Teymûr had no sooner ensured his final success in Anatolia, by his signal victory on the plains of Angouriah, than he

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mûr, accordingly, selected a troop of sixty of his most distinguished warriors, among whom are enumerated in particular, Eleiaus Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Sâeine Temûr, with his brother Mûraud, Daunah Khaujah, Ameir Hûsseyne Kourtchei, and Sûltaun Melek the son of Ouje Kâra Bahauder; whom he instructed to seize such prisoners as they could lay hands on, for the purpose of securing the desired intelligence. In the mean time, Shah Melek made good his retreat to the main body, in the course of the evening.

Early the following day, at a council of war or some such assembly of his principal officers, Teymûr proceeded to state, to the Shahzadâhs and other chief commanders, that in this stage of the campaign, there occurred to his judgment two particular plans of operation best calculated to bring the design in which they were engaged, to a successful termination. The first was, to await the attack of the enemy in their present position; and this would at least be attended with one very material advantage, an interval of repose to their men and horses. The second was to enter at once into the heart of the country, and, by detaching separate columns in opposite directions, to spread desolation and alarm in all; thus compelling the Turkish Sûltan to harass and wear out his troops, the strength of which appears to have consisted in infantry, in fatiguing and ineffectual exertions. After considerable debate, it was in the end determined to pursue the latter plan; in concurrence with which, leaving Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with not more than two thousand horse, for the protection of his camp, Teymûr put the army again in motion, dispatching Ameir Berendek, with other commanders, in advance towards Angouriah, in order to check any designs of the enemy, from that quarter. This division was accompanied by a detachment of infantry and pioneers, under the direction of Abdurrahman Towatchei, with instructions to sink wells at convenient distances, for the supply of the main body on its march.

In the mean time, the band of distinguished warriors dispatched the preceding day, for the purpose of procuring intelligence, fell in with one of the advanced parties of the enemy; and having seized two prisoners, they put one of them to death, retaining the survivor in their custody, until they should have wrung from him the information

of which they were in quest. It happened that one of the sons of Bajazet, at the head of a thousand cavalry, should have been employed by his father on the same night, for the similar purpose of exploring the country and gaining intelligence; and having passed this small band of heroes, without observing them, proceeded to take post in a neighboring defile, where he lay in ambuscade, in order to avail himself of any opportunity that might occur to his advantage. At break of day on the ensuing morning, while they were proceeding on their return to camp, the Teymûrians found their progress unexpectedly intercepted by this body of the enemy, by whom they were immediately attacked. Although, as we have already observed, they did not exceed sixty in number, and their adversaries were almost twenty to one, with all the advantages of surprise, they received the attack with the coolest resolution; and continued to repulse them in every attempt, gradually prosecuting their march, until the appearance of the squadrons left for the protection of the encampment near Kersheher, under the orders of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, finally compelled the enemy to withdraw from the pursuit.

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The Ameirs who had proceeded with the infantry in advance, towards Angouriah, appear to have executed their orders in sinking wells, and in pillaging the country, without either opposition or difficulty; and in three days march from his encampment at Kersheher, a distance of about seventy miles, Teymûr, in person, displayed his victorious banners before the walls of the former city. Were we not already apprized that Bajazet, with the main body of his troops, was in the direction of Tokaut, and consequently in the rear of Teymûr's right flank, it would not be easy to comprehend in what manner two hostile armies, of such prodigious force, could have contrived, on this occasion, to move in so circumscribed a space, without coming in contact. But, to proceed with our relation, we are further told that the garrison of Angouriah was, at this period, commanded by an officer of the name of Yakoub, recently dispatched by the Turkish Sûltan to take charge of the place; which is represented as very strongly fortified, and which he did not neglect to furnish with every requisite, for a protracted and resolute defence. The day subsequent to that on which he appeared before Angourjah, the

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Ancyra of the ancients, Teymûr on horseback proceeded to view the fortifications; and having ascertained the assailable points, soon afterwards gave direction that the troops should immediately commence their attack. His orders were, as usual, carried into execution without a moment's delay. The sappers and miners, had drained the ditch. A band of warriors, including Towukkel Bawertchei, another Ally Sheir, and Shahsowaur, with many others whose names it would be tedious to recite, had succeeded in ascending one of the towers; and the place was thus on the point of being carried by assault, when intelligence was suddenly announced, from the parties which scoured the country, that Bajazet, with an army more numerous than the stars in the firmament, had made his appearance at the distance of five farsangs, or about six leagues, in the rear. Teymûr immediately repaired to his camp. The troops who had lodged themselves in the tower reluctantly withdrew, without, however, discontinuing the conflict with the garrison, by whom they were doubtless vigorously pursued in their retreat; and the whole army was shortly afterwards put in motion to meet the enemy. When it had, however, proceeded about the distance that a horse could gallop without being blown, it was again encamped at a place here called Nûrah, with the river [of Angouriah] in its rear. The position was further protected by a ditch, and a breastwork of stakes and hurdles thrown up on the occasion.

In the direction by which alone it was understood that the enemy could approach, it was known that there existed a small spring at the foot of a hill, the only one which afforded any supply of water for a considerable distance around. This fountain, Teymûr, in the course of the night, employed a detachment to render unfit for use, by filling it with all they could collect that was loathsome and disgusting to the senses. In the mean time, at that silent and solemn hour when all but the unhappy had resigned themselves to the influence of sleep, Teymûr betook himself to the consolations of religion; and in humble prostration besought the sovereign disposer of events, in the approaching tremendous conflict, to give him the victory—pro-

This was probably done, in order to afford sufficient space for the evolutions necessary to bring the front of the army in the direction of the enemy.

fessing, nevertheless, in his heart-cheering confidence in the eternal power which had hitherto so invariably prospered him in all his undertakings, his utter disregard of those external circumstances of danger, which even at a crisis less momentous may be supposed to occasion some anxiety to the most intrepid. "O thou eternal spring of all existence," exclaims our author in the name of the hero, "thou that hast impressed a worthless atom with the image of thy power, grant me thine aid; for I acknowledge no other source of consolation or support. Alas! rejected by thee, to whom in all existence, could I address my vows, in the hour of trial?"

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The next day early in the morning, having directed the whole to mount their horses, Teymûr proceeded to dispose of his troops in the following order of battle. He fixed his own station with the centre division of the army, in advance of which was posted a chosen body of troops under Mirza Mahommed Sûltan; under whose standard, a red horse tail surmounted by a crescent, according to De la Croix, appeared arranged, on this occasion, the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and, notwithstanding his recent disgrace, Eskunder, the sons of Omar Sheikh, together with the Ameirs Shums-ud-dein Abbas, Shah Melék, Eleiaus Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and many other most distinguished commanders. The left wing of the main body was entrusted to the valour and abilities of his son Shah Rokh, assisted by Khaleil Sûltan, and those distinguished captains, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Yadgaur Andekhoudy, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and Sounjek Bahauder. The Koumbul, or advanced guard of this wing, was placed under the direction of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, aided by Ally Sûltan Towatchei, and Moussa Tûey Bouga. At the head of the right wing was displayed the standard of Meiran Shah, supported by the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Berendek, Ally Koutchein, Taherten of Erzenjaun, Mûbasher Bahauder, Hadjy Abdullah Abbas, Sûltan Sunjur the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, for the father was now dead, Omar Tauban, Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, and many others whose names it is by no means inconvenient to omit. The advanced guard of this, the right wing, was consigned with obvious propriety to the management of Mirza Aba Bukker, the son of Meiran Shah, assisted by the Ameirs Jahauu Shah, Kâra Othmaun the

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Türkman, Towukkel Berlas, and Peir Ally Seldûz. To the right of the centre division, was posted Mirza Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, with a long and splendid list of names, whom it would be, however, tedious to recite; and to the left of the same centre, was stationed another warlike band of Ameirs, with their followers, whom it would be equally tedious and unnecessary to enumerate. Apart from the whole, and probably in the rear of the centre, were finally drawn up under the imperial standard, forty chosen Koushûns, or squadrons, as a body of reserve, destined to furnish support wherever it might appear necessary, in the course of the action. Along the front of the imperial line were further disposed all, that remained with the army, of the elephants captured in the Indian expedition; each carrying a small party of archers and slingers of naptha, and otherwise furnished with such implements of destruction as were calculated to harass, and confound the enemy.

Such, in a few words, as far as we are able to explain it from the statements of our original, was the disposition in which Teymûr prepared to combat, with his haughty rival, for the empire of the East. Bajazet, on the other hand, would scarcely employ less caution or diligence, in arranging his numerous, and warlike divisions, for the impending arduous conflict. The only particulars, however, of his order of battle, which we can collect from our author, are, that like his illustrious adversary, he took post himself in the centre, supported by his three sons, Moussa, Eissa, and Mûstafa. The advanced guard of the centre was chiefly composed of a body of one thousand, or, as De la Croix more probably states, of twenty thousand European cavalry, clad in black armour from head to foot, which is described to have left nothing exposed but the eyes; being of steel, or iron, and fastened to the back of each foot by a padlock. These were under the command of George, the brother of his wife Despina, and son of Lazarus, Despot of Servia, [pesser-e-Lauss]. The advanced guard of the left wing, consisting of the troops of Roume, or Natolia, was committed to his eldest son Mûssulman Tcheleby, [the noble]. Mahommed Tcheleby, the ablest and most deserving of the whole, together with the different Pashas of the monarchy, at the head of their respective Koushûns, or divisions, occupied other stations in his line of battle, which

the author has not, however, thought it expedient to indicate for our information.

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At the hour of the morning repast, about nine or ten in the forenoon, the hostile armies appeared at last in the presence of each other. Teymûr, on his part, as was his invariable practice, immediately dismounting, with eyes uplifted to heaven, again most humbly besought the victory over his adversaries; and, having acquired a species of supernatural confidence from the fervor of devotion, cheerfully remounted to his seat on horseback, and approaching the field of battle, gave his final orders for the commencement of the action.

The conflict immediately opened with an attack on the left of the Turkish army commanded as we have already observed by Mûssulman Tcheleby, led on by Mirza Aba Bukker, [it could not have been Shah Rokh, as stated in the manuscript by an obvious mistake], with the advanced guard of the right wing of the Teymûrians; and being gallantly supported by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Kâra Othman, soon terminated in the entire defeat of that part of the enemy's force opposed to it. In another quarter, Mahommed Kerestchei, who probably commanded the right of the enemy, and who in valour and skill is said to have surpassed the whole of the sons of Bajazet, yet, after having exhibited the most distinguished proofs of courage and perseverance, and finding that all his efforts were unavailing against the superior numbers and discipline of the Teymûrians, finally quitted the field, with a precipitation that but little corresponded with his former renown. Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the advanced guard of the left wing of the Teymûrians,* had borne with irresistible impetuosity upon the adverse squadrons of the enemy; and to him therefore must be materially ascribed the discomfiture of Mahommed Tcheleby, just alluded to. In the mean time, Mahommed Sûltan, at the head of the advance of the centre, hastened, with the permission of his grandfather, to support the movement of the left wing; which had probably been led into considerable disorder, in the eagerness of pursuit. Here, however, the career of victory is acknowledged to have been, for a long time, arrested by the invincible firmness of the son of the Despot of Servia, at the head of the

* The manuscript by another vexatious mistake says the right wing.

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European cuirassiers; who must, by the way, have made a lateral movement from the front of the centre, to repair the disorder on the right of the Turkish army. So obstinate and arduous, indeed, was the contest in this part of the field, that the Turks and Teymûrians, are described to have been several times, alternately, compelled to give way; although the troops of Bajazet, were finally destined to yield to superior numbers, and to the triumphant fortune of his rival. To this ultimate success, the bravery of the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and Eskunder, and of the veteran Shah Melek, who had finally conducted a part of the troops of the centre, into the thickest of the enemy, appears to have contributed in a very eminent degree.

In these circumstances, perceiving that, while they were discomfited with dreadful slaughter in some points, the efforts of his adversaries were obviously become languid and unavailing in all, Teymûr at length gave orders that both wings of the main body, under Meiran Shah and Shah Rokh respectively, together with the other Shahzâdahs and Ameirs, who had been hitherto held in reserve, should now advance and decide the fate of the day. It would, in the mean time, appear that while Mirza Mahommed Sûltan was engaged in pursuing the flying squadrons of the enemy's right wing, six of the Kou-shûns of his division ascended an eminence from which their adversaries had just been driven away. In this position, they were almost in an instant attacked by Bajazet in person, at the head of the centre of the Turkish army, which as yet remained unbroken amidst the surrounding discomfiture. The Teymûrians were now, in their turn, compelled to give way to superior force; but the Turkish monarch had no sooner gained the summit of this rising ground, than taking an anxious survey of the field of battle, the appalling spectacle met his view, of the entire demolition of his right and left wings.

Dismay and astonishment now seem, for a moment, to have seized upon the understanding of the unhappy monarch, the wreck of whose scattered divisions contrived, however, here to join him. In the mean time, his victorious opponents led on by Teymûr himself, approached to assail him in front; while Meiran Shah, and Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the Ameirs of the right and left, bore gradually round upon his flanks; until at last, like a lion in the toils, he was com-

pletely hemmed in on every side, by the whole of the Tcheghatâian army that could be drawn off from the more remote pursuit of the fugitives. In these perilous circumstances, the Turkish Sûltan, assisted by his European auxiliaries and what yet survived of his Asiatic troops, continued, nevertheless, with undaunted resolution to repel the efforts of his adversaries, for the remaining part of the day. At the approach of night, he made a desperate push for the bottom of the hill, and through an incessant discharge of arrows and other missiles, showered upon him from every side, succeeded by an astonishing exertion of individual prowess in effecting his escape, although not without heavy loss to those who accompanied him. Many of the fugitives of this tremendous day had perished, in the mean time, with fatigue and thirst, the sun being at this period in the sixth degree of Leo, and the heat of the weather extreme: added to which, the whole surrounding country did not furnish the smallest supply of water. The slaughter of such a conflict, both from the duration of the battle, and the multitude of those engaged, must have been prodigious; although we are not here furnished with any probable estimate of the loss on either side. In Knolles's antiquated history it is, however stated, on the report of the Turks themselves, that Bajazet here lost his son Mûstafa, with two hundred thousand of his men, and Teymûr not many fewer; some others speaking of a far less number, as that there should have been slain of the Turks about three score thousand, and of the troops of Tamerlane not more than twenty thousand.

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This memorable battle appears to have been fought on Friday the nineteenth of Zilhudje of the eight hundred and fourth of the hidjrah, corresponding with the 20th of July A. D. 1402; not far, according to Knolles, from Mount Stella, and nearly on the spot already celebrated at a remote period, for the defeat of Mithridates by the Roman legions under Pompey the great. Referring, however, to the statement in Plutarch's life of that illustrious man, it would appear that the decisive battle with Mithridates was fought near the banks of the river Euphrates; and we are, therefore, disposed to think that the discomfiture of Bajazet, on this occasion, must have taken place nearly on the ground from which, *because it was destitute of water,*

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Mithridates was compelled to remove his camp, a short time previous to his final discomfiture; perhaps, between twelve and eighteen miles from Angouriah. Be this, however, as it may, as soon as the fate of the battle had been determined, by the flight of Bajazet, and the consequent total dispersion of his troops, Teymûr returned to his camp; where he immediately received the congratulations of the princes of his blood, and all his generals, on the triumphant issue of the conflict. In the mean time, the fugitive monarch was closely pursued by the Teymûrians; and finally made a prisoner, by the division under the orders of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, with whose participation in the glory of the day we are now first made acquainted, and by whom he was immediately dispatched, with his hands bound, to the presence of the conqueror.

If we are to give credit to some of his historians, it would appear, that when this concluding circumstance of the triumph of his arms was announced to Teymûr, his first order was, that the illustrious captive should be unmanacled; after which, he was introduced by his conductors, to the immediate presence of his conqueror, who exhibited, on his part, the most generous marks of compassion towards his haughty, but now vanquished rival. Having thus conceded what he conceives to be due to the opinion of others, the author, whom we have taken for our guide, proceeds, however, to state, what he alleges to have heard from his own father, on the information of Seyud Ahmed Terkhan, who was actually present on the occasion, namely: when it was announced to Teymûr, by some of his attendants, that the Turkish monarch with his hands bound was at the entrance of his pavilion, he signified his pleasure that he should be immediately introduced into the imperial presence; which being accordingly done, the conqueror proceeded at first sight, to address his captive in terms of most severe and stern reproach. But, when indulgence had thus been given to the emotions of resentment long suppressed, a better, and more liberal feeling, of compassion for misfortune took possession of the mind of Teymûr; and having directed that the hands of his captive should be relieved from their bonds, he invited him to take his seat beside himself, on the imperial cushion. He did not, however, forbear to remind the humbled monarch, that

although the controul of all human events, is finally to be sought in the will of the Creator; yet, that the causes which more immediately produced his recent catastrophe, were too obviously indicated to escape the most careless observation. If he had gathered thorns, they were of his own planting; if he had woven silk, it was of his own spinning. He then recapitulated the multiplied provocations which he had received at his hands, either of which he described as alone sufficient to justify the extremity, to which he had been reduced, of marching his victorious armies into the Turkish dominions. The considerations by which he had been so long withheld from this last step, had been frequently explained. For his own part, he solemnly protested, that if the Turkish monarch had given ear to his counsels, —if he had not so contemptuously disregarded the overtures of peace and conciliation so repeatedly conveyed to him, there was no species of support, either in troops or treasure, or any thing most essential to promote his views, whether of zeal or ambition, which he was not cordially disposed to bestow upon him. In conclusion, however notorious the severe and cruel vengeance, designed against himself and his faithful followers, had the issue of the recent conflict proved otherwise than what they had experienced, yet, as the noblest proof of gratitude which he could offer up to divine justice, for the splendid victory which had crowned his arms, he proceeded to assure the fallen Bajazet, that either towards himself, his sons, or any of his vassals, he had not ought in contemplation, that was in any shape inconsistent with the most friendly and benevolent motives. He therefore requested that he would discard from his mind every uneasy apprehension, every circumstance that could awaken solicitude or alarm; for from his conqueror, he had nothing further to fear.

Overwhelmed with grief and shame, Bajazet did not hesitate to acknowledge his errors, and his crimes; confessing that the event had too clearly demonstrated how grossly he had been misled, in disregarding the counsels of a monarch at once so magnanimous and invincible. If, therefore, the imperial clemency might be extended to forgive the past, he for his part should hold both himself, and his children, solemnly pledged for the remainder of their lives, to the most perfect obedience, and to the discharge of every duty within the

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compass of the most devoted zeal and loyalty to perform. This appeal to his clemency appears to have produced a further favorable effect upon the soul of Teymûr; who now caused his illustrious captive to be clad in imperial robes, and who unbended from the stern dignity of his character, to console and encourage him with promises, and with hopes the most flattering to his expectations. These proofs of a generous and sympathizing disposition, did not fail to awaken a corresponding impression in the mind of the Turkish monarch; although, after expressing due acknowledgement, he forbore to avail himself at present of the auspicious change, further than to intreat that his two sons Moussa, and Mûstafa, who had bravely fought by his side during the battle, and for whose fate he expressed the most anxious apprehensions, might be sought for; and, if still alive, brought to share with their father in the unlooked for bounties of a liberal and generous conqueror. The request of Bajazet was readily complied with, and the imperial Towatcheis were immediately employed to make the necessary inquiries. In the course of a few days, Moussa, one of the princes, was discovered, and conducted to the camp of Teymûr; by whom he was kindly and honorably received and conveyed to the presence of his father: who had, by this time, been lodged in a magnificent suite of pavilions, adjoining to the imperial head quarters, subjected to no other restraint, than the superintendence of the guards appointed to observe his motions, and watch over his safety.

From the field of battle, Teymûr returned shortly afterwards, in triumph, to the plains in the vicinity of Angouriah; of which city, the governor Yakoub now presented the keys without further difficulty. He was consigned to the safe custody of Ally Sûltan Towatchei; and the agents of the imperial exchequer were immediately dispatched into the town, in order to levy upon the inhabitants, a ransom for the security of their persons and property. At this crisis, Mahommed Sûltan, with a division of the army, accompanied by Mirza Aba Bukker, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, was detached towards Brûsa, or Prusa, at that period, the metropolis of the dominions of the house of Othman; Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein being appointed to take charge of the revenues of the province.

Here, we may be permitted to observe, that some pains have been taken, without effect, to identify the Axalla described by Knolles, as a christian officer of Genoese extraction, born at Caffa in the Crimea, high in the confidence of Teymûr, and bearing the most distinguished command in his armies. On this occasion, he is said, by the author just adverted to, to have commanded the division dispatched towards Brûsa; but, according to our original, that command was entrusted to Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, and we are therefore reduced to the necessity of recognizing this celebrated personage either in Ameir Jahaun Shah, or Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, of whom we are disposed to fix upon the latter—with the reflection rather mortifying, that he must have been an apostate from the faith of his ancestors.* Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops under his orders, proceeded, however, without delay, to the execution of the service entrusted to his direction; over-running in his course, the whole of the country to the confines of Isara Yaca, more generally known, according to our author, by the appellation of Ghaur-e-Eskunder—the cavern or valley of Eskunder—of which more hereafter. The Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Rûstum Toghâi Bougha, and Seyud Khaujah, were dispatched at the same time, in a southern direction, towards Kouniah, Auksheher, Alauniah, and Adauliah; all celebrated cities in the peninsula of Asia minor.

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Having conveyed intelligence of his great victory, to every quarter in the vast circuit of his dominions, and detached his grandson Khaleil Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Mûbasher, and Dowlut Teymûr Towatchei, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, to protect the distant frontiers of the empire, towards Tûrkestaun, Teymûr quitted the neighborhood of Angouriah; and, in six stages, proceeded to Sourihessaur,† after surveying the citadel of which, he pitched his camp on the grounds adjoining. In the mean time, Shah Rokh with

* Those acquainted with the blind prejudices of Mahomedan writers will, however, be sufficiently aware, that the exploits of a christian adventurer would find but little notice in Asiatic history. Amidst the nations of a more civilized quarter of the globe, half a century hence, how small a niche will be assigned to the exertions of British Soldiers, in the annals of Spain!

† About 20 leagues, or half way, between Angouriah & Kotauhiah.

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ten Tomauns, or divisions of ten thousand, of the army, was sent off in a northern direction, towards Kuzzul, or Gûzzulhessaur, [the red city], Estanous, and Ketheir, all lying in the route to the shore of the Euxine; Teymûr in person continuing his march to Kotauhiah, which he appears to have reached in two days. Here he fixed his abode, for a period of one month, finding it a very fair and beautiful city, remarkable for the amœnity of its situation; in the midst of gardens and plantations, which yielded the most delicious fruits of every description, and on a spot abounding on all sides with the most salubrious and fertilizing springs. The inhabitants of the town, on depositing a competent ransom in the imperial treasury, were favorably treated; and a prodigious sum of money the property of Teymûr Taush, left here for security, became a splendid addition to the amount of the contribution. On his arrival at Kotauhiah, Teymûr perceived the expediency of further detaching a division of the army, under the Ameirs Shah Melek, Abdulkereim the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and other distinguished chieftains, towards Keraudah, Khoujah-eyly, and Menteishah, all in the territory of Asia minor, nearly opposite to the island of Rhodes.

The whole of the peninsula of Anatolia, having thus become, as it were, one vast parade of evolution, [Jowlangâh], to the victorious myriads which composed the host of Teymûr, and the representative of the house of Othman, with some, at least one, of his children secured beyond the power of harm, in the fetters of captivity, his numerous cares seemed to exact from the conqueror, that he should now devote a short interval to celebrate, in a splendid course of festivities, this most important of triumphs. For this purpose having, accordingly, invited to his presence a magnificent assemblage, composed of the princes and princesses of his family, together with the Ameirs of his court and the generals of his armies, he hastened among these, to circulate by the handsomest boys in the bloom of youth and beauty, in unceasing round, and in goblets of gold and chrystal vases, the exhilarating juice of the grape; while a thousand minstrels on every side, united to fill the azure vault of heaven, with their melodious strains. In the mean time, while the sovereign was thus engaged in celebrating their triumphs, his victorious troops were not

the less active in extending his conquests to the various quarters of the Turkish dominion; and were possessing themselves of such a prodigious accumulation of spoil, as to banish from among them, for a time, both the speculations of usury, and the cravings of indigence.

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Dismissing, however, these scenes of soft and luxurious indulgence, the author resumes the course of his narrative to state that Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops destined for Brousa, proceeded for five days and as many nights, with such celerity on his march, that out of thirty thousand horse which had left the imperial head quarters, under his orders, he found on his arrival before that city, that not more than four thousand had been able to keep up with him. Mûssulman Tcheleby had, nevertheless, contrived to get there before him; and after taking possession of as much of his father's treasures, as he could conveniently carry with him, had hastened, without delay, in quest of an asylum in some quarter more remote from the pursuit of his enemies. Some of the inhabitants had withdrawn into the recesses of Kouh Kesheish, or Kesheish Taug, or Mount Olympus so called by the orientals; the metropolis of Brousa being seated not far from the foot of that mountain; while others of the more wealthy fled towards the sea-coast, but were many of them intercepted in their flight by the Teymûrian cavalry, dispatched in pursuit of them. Two of the daughters of Bajazet, who lay concealed at Yenguisheher, or the new city, about four leagues from Brousa, and six days journey from Constantinople,* together with the daughter of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, betrothed at the request of Bajazet, to his son Mûstafa, and who had remained to abide her fate at Brousa, now fell into the hands of the victorious Teymûrians. On other authorities it is stated, that the princess Despina, daughter of Lazarus, or Eleazar Despot of Servia, and favorite wife of Bajazet, was among the captives seized at Brousa, on this occasion. Kâra Yûssuf, however, who had fixed his residence in that city in conformity with the particular instructions of the Turkish monarch, had prudently withdrawn, the moment it was announced that the Teymûrian armies were at Kaysereiah, and had returned in safety towards Hellah, and the inaccessible territory of Arabia.

* According to De la Croix.

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The city of Brousa having, in the mean time, submitted to Mahommed Sûltan, without resistance, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein entered the castle, in order to secure the treasures of Bajazet, which had been lodged there to a vast amount, in specie and jewels, and other valuable effects; and two of the secretaries of the imperial exchequer were immediately employed, to take a regular account of the whole. But when this rich deposit had been secured for the state, every other description of property in the town and neighborhood, was swept off, without exception, by an indiscriminate pillage of the troops; after which, the city was set on fire, and being, for the greater part, constructed of wood and reeds, it was, in a short time, reduced to ashes. This useless and unavailing act of rigor consummated, Mahommed Sûltan, when he had been joined by the whole of the troops who had dropped in the rear during his rapid march to Brousa, proceeded towards the sea coast; first detaching Mirza Aba Bukker, with a division of ten thousand men, to the right hand towards Neike, or Nice, one of the most respectable cities in Natolia, famed for the salubrity of its climate, the purity of its waters, and defended by a strong and lofty wall of hewn stone. Before the entrance of one of the gates, [that towards the north-west], lies a spacious lake of two days journey in circumference; and the town is seated on the direct road to Constantinople, not far from the Ghaur-e-Eskunder, or cavern, or valley of Alexander, alluded to in a former page. At the same period, Ameir Sounjek was sent, with a considerable detachment, towards Kanendah, a city on the gulph of Nice, which he subsequently pillaged and laid in ruins.

Mirza Aba Bukker, on his part, proceeding to Nice, obtained possession of that place also, without resistance; Mûssulman Tcheleby, notwithstanding its reputed strength, and the superior force by which he was still attended, having abandoned it on his approach, and fled across the Aub-e-Boghaur, or Bosphorus, or straits of Gallipoli, into Asra Yakia, Thrakia, or Thrace, into which the appellation may without much difficulty be now resolved. The wives and family of the Ottoman prince, were disgracefully left, at the same time, to fall into the hands of the Teymûrians; who were thus suffered without restraint, to pillage the town and lay waste the neighborhood. A

report of his success was now conveyed by Aba Bukker, to Mahommed Sûltan, at this period encamped on the plains of Mikhauleje, about three or four and twenty leagues south-west of Brousa; and a selection of one hundred of the most resolute and active of his soldiers, was immediately appointed by the Shahzâdah, to communicate to the imperial head quarters the intelligence of the capture of Nice, and of the actual flight into Europe of Mûssulman Tcheleby. By the same opportunity, Auk Sûltan was dispatched by Aba Bukker, with the present of a Shonkaur, or white falcon, for his imperial grandsire.

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Between Brousa and Kotauhiah, distant about two days journey (from either), is described to have existed a very difficult pass on the ridge of a mountain, thick set on every side by an almost impenetrable forest. As soon, therefore, as the troop dispatched by Mahommed Sûltan entered this pass, they were suddenly attacked on all sides by a vast number of the natives, who conceived it a favorable opportunity to inflict some punishment on their invaders; and they would, peradventure, have completely succeeded, were it not for the singular firmness, courage, and skill, with which they were received by their veteran opponents. In the issue they were, however, repulsed with loss and disgrace, and this chosen band of warriors was suffered to continue its march without further molestation to Kotauhiah; where it soon afterwards arrived in perfect safety, with the several articles entrusted to its conveyance. Almost at the same period, Shums-ud-dein Almauleghy was employed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with a similar escort of chosen troops, to convey to the presence of Teymûr the gold and jewels, which had been set apart for this purpose from the treasures of Bajazet, and which now reached their destination with equal felicity.

Mahommed Sûltan returned, shortly afterwards, from the plains of Mikhauleje to the ruins of Brousa; where he was joined, first by Aba Bukker with the plunder of Nice, and subsequently by Ameir Sounjek, from the destruction of Kanendah, and the pillage of the adjoining sea-coast. From thence the shahzâdah proceeded to encamp on the meadows of Yenguisheher, which are here said to lie contiguous to Brousa, probably extending from the one place to the

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other; and here, in concurrence with an intimation conveyed from Teymûr, Mirza Aba Bukker espoused the eldest daughter of Bajazet.

On the other hand, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, who had been detached to the left, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, having by forced marches, first surprised the encampment of a Tûrkman chief of the name of Kebek, or Kepek, which they plundered, thence continued their progress to Auksheher, and Kârahessaur, the white city, and the black fortress; of both which they appear to have obtained possession without difficulty, if not without resistance, the inhabitants contributing a sufficient sum of money by way of ransom for their lives and property. After this, they proceeded to pillage the territory of Tchegherbâlegh, and the Arab tribe of Hameid; finally collecting together so vast a multitude of cattle of every description, particularly in camels, horses, and sheep, that it became at last utterly impossible to drive them along. They then reduced and ransomed the towns of Shehermata, and Aukserâi; after which Ameir Sûliman Shah appears to have separated from his associates, in order to fix his head quarters at Kouniah, or Iconium, among the vallies of the Karamanian mountains. From that station he dispatched, to the presence of his sovereign, a proportion of the booty which he caused, on this occasion, to be taken from the soldiers of his division;* the Mirzas, with Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and the other chiefs just mentioned, directing their march, at the same time, towards the territory of Aydein; the whole of which they plundered and laid waste, with cruel slaughter, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In the mean time, the hoarded treasures and rich property of Bajazet, together with his consort Desteina, or rather Despina, the daughter of Lauss, or Lazarus or Eleazar prince of Servia, and all the females of his household, were conveyed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, from Brousa, to the imperial head quarters at Koutahiah. With a magnanimity very honorable to his memory, the princess with all her equipage, was immediately restored to her husband, by the conqueror; the lady, however, having been first prevailed upon, peradventure compelled, to embrace the doctrines of Isslaum in preference to the errors of

* De la Croix asserts that it was a tribute from the captive soldiers of the enemy.

infidelity, or christianity, which she had been hitherto permitted to retain. About the same conjuncture, Ameir Mahommed, or Mahommed Beg, the son of Allâ-ud-dein formerly prince of Karamania, who had been detained in the prisons of Bajazet ever since he was twelve years of age, was conducted to the court of Teymûr, by whom he was entertained with distinguished kindness. Together with a rich diadem and girdle, the Tcheghatâian monarch immediately conferred upon him his hereditary government of Karamaun, including the cities of Kouniah, Larendah, Aukserâi, Anzariah, and Alaniah, together with all their lands and dependencies; and, as a further proof of his especial favor, superadded to the rest the sovereignty of Auksheher—all of which remained for a long time after this in the possession of the same Ameir Mahommed, or his children.

A H. 895.
A. D. 1402.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

Having now consumed the period of one whole month, in triumphal festivity at Kotauhiah, Teymûr conceived it expedient again to set his army in motion, directing his course to the west-ward. He was shortly afterwards joined on his march, by Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Sûliman and Sounjek; Shumsud-dein Abbas having been left in charge of the encampment on the plains of Yenguisheher, Shehernou, or the new city, near Brousa. At this conjuncture the anger of his sovereign, for reasons not explained, was excited against Sâeine Temûr, who was now put to death together with one of his brothers on the spot; and two more, who were absent, were condemned to share the same fate, wherever they could be found. Not long after their arrival in the imperial encampment, on this occasion, the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs by whom they had been attended, received orders to return, and rejoin the troops at Brousa, and Yenguisheher; while Teymûr with the main body, continued his march towards Teighourleg, or Tungouzleg, in a south-west direction; and crossing a mountainous ridge, or pass, on his way, again encamped among some delightful meadows in the neighborhood of Altûntaush, or the golden rock. Here the ministers of wrath were again in activity, to carry into execution a mandate now issued for the death of Khaujah Feyrouz, or Firozes, who had some time since held the government of Asrayakiah, or Thrace; the part of the European continent which was first occupied by the house of Othman.

A. H. 805.
A. D. 1402.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

On the plains of Altûntaush, the scene of festivity and triumph was re-opened, with all imaginable splendor, by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; and at the moment when the hearts of all lay expanded from the effect of the most copious libations, a summons was dispatched to invite the captive Bajazet, to participate, if that was possible, in the pleasures of the entertainment—in order that having already witnessed their matchless prowess in the field of battle, he might also be convinced that the Teymûrians were equally unrivalled in the bowers of mirth and social enjoyment. The illustrious captive was received with every expression of kindness and hospitality, nor was any thing omitted to soothe, and alleviate, the anguish of misfortune; and, to complete the measure of imperial bounty, it was finally announced to him by his conqueror that, at the proper season, he should be actually reinstated in the possession of all his dominions in Natolia. Teymûr, shortly afterwards, resumed his march for Tungouzleg.

About this same period, Teymûr conceived it advisable to try the effect of another embassy to the court of Melek Faredje, or Feridje, Sûltan of Egypt; at the same time to announce his conquest of the dominions of the house of Othman, and to demand that his name should be inserted, without further demur, in the Khotbah, and on the coinage both of Egypt and Syria. The liberation of Ettelmeşh was again insisted upon; in default of which the Sûltan was to be formally apprized that, immediately on their return from the Peninsula of Asia minor, the imperial armies would most assuredly enter his country. The person whom he selected to take charge of this embassy appears to have been a certain Budder-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of Shums-ud-dein Jezzer, or Jezzary, one of the vassals of Bajazet taken prisoner by the troops on his flight from Brousa; and recently introduced, by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, to the patronage of his sovereign.

While he resided at Kotauihah, similar missions were employed in other quarters, on the part of Teymûr; and among others, two persons were dispatched to Constantiniah, or Constantinople, with a demand of tribute on the Greek Emperor, [Emanuel Palæologus], here distinguished by the unaccountable appellation of Takour. Two more were authorized, at the same time, to proceed to the court of

Mûssulman, or Sûliman Tcheleby, [Calepinus], the son of Bajazet, A. H. 805.
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 who had, as recently described, effected his retreat into Asrayakiah, Rouzut-us-
suffa.
 or Athrakia, on the European side of the Bosphorus; where he now
 resided at Gûzzelhessaur,* a castle, or fortified town, said to have been
 erected by his father, opposite to the city of Constantinople, on the
 land side. The object of this latter mission was to require that Mûs-
 sulman Tcheleby would either repair in person to the imperial pre-
 sence, or transmit the ordinary tribute of homage, or Peishkesh, in
 token of his submission to the imperial authority. The envoys to the
 court of Constantinople returned, a short time afterwards, accom-
 panied by an Ambassador of distinguished rank and abilities, from the
 Greek Emperor, conveying a competent sum of money in florins,
 [Felouri] together with the most superb display of presents, consist-
 ing of all that was precious and rare to be found in the once splendid
 metropolis of the Cæsars. He was further charged to declare on the
 part of his master, [Emanuel] that as an acknowledged vassal of the
 Lord Paramount of the world, his mind was already devoted to the most
 unreserved and submissive obedience; and that he therefore consented
 without hesitation, to the payment of any tribute that Teymûr, in his
 imperial pleasure, might be disposed to levy upon him, since he had
 already experienced too much from unavailing hostility, not to be
 utterly averse to engaging in fresh contests with any power whatever.
 Having accordingly fixed the amount of tribute to be remitted to the
 imperial treasury, by the Greek Emperor, Teymûr dismissed his agent,
 after presenting him with a Khelaut, or dress of honor, and otherwise
 treating him with the ordinary marks of favor.

As the above are the only circumstances related by our author,
 with regard to the communication between Teymûr and the Emperor
 Emanuel, or the Takour, as he is here fantastically denominated, we
 cannot forbear to introduce in this place, without pronouncing either
 on its truth or fallacy, the following curious statement from Knolles's
 history of the Turks.

“These Ambassadors, [of the Greek Emperor] by the command;
 “ment of Tamerlane, were by Axalla royally feasted, and all the
 “honor done them that might be. One of them being sent back, to
 “carry these unexpected neues unto the Greeke Emperor, filled both

* Solyman Tcheleby is said to have retired to Gallipoli.

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Knolles's
history.

" him, and all the citie of Constantinople, with exceedinge joy and
 " gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in generall, spared not
 " with bonfires, and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest;
 " and the more to shew his thankfulnessse, shortly after by the ad-
 " vice of his grave counsailours, passed over the strait into Asia, to
 " see Tamerlane at Prusa, and in person himselfe to give him thanks;
 " who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently upon the
 " first daye's journey, sent the prince Axalla to meet him, and to
 " certifie him of the joy that he conceived, to have the good hap for
 " to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa: where those two great
 " princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so
 " spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor, the next day
 " taking his leave, was by Tamerlane, with much honor, conducted
 " out of the city. Now had Tamerlane himself, conceived a secret
 " desire to see this so famous city as was Constantinople, from which
 " he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour,
 " but as a private person: which by the meanes of Axalla, was ac-
 " complished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperour, privatly
 " received, and with all familiaritie possible entertained: the Emper-
 " our shewing unto him, all the rare and excellent things that were
 " therein to be seene: and the other Greeke princes devising all the
 " meanes they could, to do him pleasure, and them which did accom-
 " panie him; who were in a manner all apparrelled after the Greeke
 " fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperor himself was curious
 " to shew unto him, all the faire gardens alongst the sea coast, a league
 " or two from Constantinople, and so privatly conducting him, spent
 " five or six daies, with all the mirth that might be possible: Tamer-
 " lane by the way oftentimes saying, that he had never seene a fairer
 " citie: and that it was indeed the citie (considering the faire and rich
 " situation thereof) of right, worthie to command all the world. He
 " wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingraven
 " pillars, the high pyramides, and the making of the faire gardens,
 " and oftentimes afterwards, said, that he nothing repented him of so
 " long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to have pre-
 " served from fire and sword, so noble a citie as that was. In the
 " Greeke Emperour, he commended greatly his mild nature and cour-

"tesie: who knowing him above all things, to take pleasure in faire
 "and serviceable horses, gave unto him thirty of the fairest, strongest,
 "and readiest that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnish-
 "ed; and sent likewise, faire presents unto all the princes and great
 "commanders of the armie, and bountifully caused to bee delivered
 "unto them, all things which he thought to be necessarie for the
 "armie. So after many great kindnesses in short time passed, and a
 "strait bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed be-
 "twixt the two great princes, Tamerlane, with great contentment,
 "took his leave of the Emperour, and returned again to his armie
 "at Prusa. Wherewith he now at his pleasure, without resistance,
 "wasted and spoiled all Bajazet his dominion in Asia, no man
 "daring to make head against him."*

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 Knolles's
 history.

But to return to our narrative; when the imperial standard reached
 the station of Belek, or Boulouk, to the east-ward, or north-east-ward
 of Smyrna, the agents dispatched to treat with Müssulman Tcheleby
 also returned to the presence of Teymûr; attended by Sheikh Ramzaun,
 a distinguished personage who, during the government of Bajazet,
 had exercised the function of grand Kauzy, conjointly with that of
 principal minister of state, and who was now employed on the part
 of Müssulman Tcheleby, to convey to Teymûr, together with suitable
 presents, in animals of the chase, and curiosities of various descripti-
 ons, and, moreover, a considerable sum in florins, the most positive
 assurances of the Turkish prince's entire homage and allegiance; to
 declare that the humane and liberal treatment experienced in the
 person of his father, had increased his confidence a thousand fold in
 the bounty and generosity of his conqueror; and that he was ready,
 the moment a wish of the sort was expressly intimated, to hasten with-
 out hesitation to the threshold of the imperial residence—there to offer
 in person his pledge of allegiance, and to share more immediately in
 those proofs of imperial munificence so liberally extended to his fami-
 ly. These professions on the part of the Turkish prince were favor-
 ably received by Teymûr; and he desired it might be communicated
 in reply, that he had dismissed from his mind all recollection of the
 past; had closed in oblivion the career of hostility; and with respect

Rouzut-us-
 suffa.

* Knolles's History of the Turks, folio edition, page 222.

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compass of the most devoted zeal and loyalty to perform. This appeal to his clemency appears to have produced a further favorable effect upon the soul of Teymûr; who now caused his illustrious captive to be clad in imperial robes, and who unbended from the stern dignity of his character, to console and encourage him with promises, and with hopes the most flattering to his expectations. These proofs of a generous and sympathizing disposition, did not fail to awaken a corresponding impression in the mind of the Turkish monarch; although, after expressing due acknowledgement, he forbore to avail himself at present of the auspicious change, further than to intreat that his two sons Moussa, and Mûstafa, who had bravely fought by his side during the battle, and for whose fate he expressed the most anxious apprehensions, might be sought for; and, if still alive, brought to share with their father in the unlooked for bounties of a liberal and generous conqueror. The request of Bajazet was readily complied with, and the imperial Towatcheis were immediately employed to make the necessary inquiries. In the course of a few days, Moussa, one of the princes, was discovered, and conducted to the camp of Teymûr; by whom he was kindly and honorably received and conveyed to the presence of his father: who had, by this time, been lodged in a magnificent suite of pavilions, adjoining to the imperial head quarters, subjected to no other restraint, than the superintendence of the guards appointed to observe his motions, and watch over his safety.

From the field of battle, Teymûr returned shortly afterwards, in triumph, to the plains in the vicinity of Angouriah; of which city, the governor Yakoub now presented the keys without further difficulty. He was consigned to the safe custody of Ally Sûltan Towatchei; and the agents of the imperial exchequer were immediately dispatched into the town, in order to levy upon the inhabitants, a ransom for the security of their persons and property. At this crisis, Mahommed Sûltan, with a division of the army, accompanied by Mirza Aba Bukker, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, was detached towards Brûsa, or Prusa, at that period, the metropolis of the dominions of the house of Othman; Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein being appointed to take charge of the revenues of the province.

Here, we may be permitted to observe, that some pains have been taken, without effect, to identify the Axalla described by Knolles, as a christian officer of Genoese extraction, born at Caffa in the Crimea, high in the confidence of Teymûr, and bearing the most distinguished command in his armies. On this occasion, he is said, by the author just adverted to, to have commanded the division dispatched towards Brûsa; but, according to our original, that command was entrusted to Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, and we are therefore reduced to the necessity of recognizing this celebrated personage either in Ameir Jahaun Shah, or Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, of whom we are disposed to fix upon the latter—with the reflection rather mortifying, that he must have been an apostate from the faith of his ancestors.* Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops under his orders, proceeded, however, without delay, to the execution of the service entrusted to his direction; over-running in his course, the whole of the country to the confines of Isara Yaca, more generally known, according to our author, by the appellation of Ghaur-e-Eskunder—the cavern or valley of Eskunder—of which more hereafter. The Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Rûstum Toghâi Bougha, and Seyud Khaujah, were dispatched at the same time, in a southern direction, towards Kouniah, Auksheher, Alauniah, and Adauliah; all celebrated cities in the peninsula of Asia minor.

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A. D. 1402.
Rouzut-us-
suffa.

Having conveyed intelligence of his great victory, to every quarter in the vast circuit of his dominions, and detached his grandson Khaleil Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Mûbasher, and Dowlut Teymûr Towatchei, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, to protect the distant frontiers of the empire, towards Tûrkestaun, Teymûr quitted the neighborhood of Angouriah; and, in six stages, proceeded to Sourihessaur,† after surveying the citadel of which, he pitched his camp on the grounds adjoining. In the mean time, Shah Rokh with

* Those acquainted with the blind prejudices of Mahomedan writers will, however, be sufficiently aware, that the exploits of a christian adventurer would find but little notice in Asiatic history. Amidst the nations of a more civilized quarter of the globe, half a century hence, how small a niche will be assigned to the exertions of British Soldiers, in the annals of Spain!

† About 20 leagues, or half way, between Angouriah & Kotauhiah.

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suffa.

ten Tomauns, or divisions of ten thousand, of the army, was sent off in a northern direction, towards Kuzzul, or Gûzzulhessaur, [the red city], Estanous, and Ketheir, all lying in the route to the shore of the Euxine; Teymûr in person continuing his march to Kotauihah, which he appears to have reached in two days. Here he fixed his abode, for a period of one month, finding it a very fair and beautiful city, remarkable for the amœnity of its situation; in the midst of gardens and plantations, which yielded the most delicious fruits of every description, and on a spot abounding on all sides with the most salubrious and fertilizing springs. The inhabitants of the town, on depositing a competent ransom in the imperial treasury, were favorably treated; and a prodigious sum of money the property of Teymûr Taush, left here for security, became a splendid addition to the amount of the contribution. On his arrival at Kotauihah, Teymûr perceived the expediency of further detaching a division of the army, under the Ameirs Shah Melek, Abdulkereim the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and other distinguished chieftains, towards Keraudah, Khoujah-eyly, and Menteishah, all in the territory of Asia minor, nearly opposite to the island of Rhodes.

The whole of the peninsula of Anatolia, having thus become, as it were, one vast parade of evolution, [Jowlangâh], to the victorious myriads which composed the host of Teymûr, and the representative of the house of Othman, with some, at least one, of his children secured beyond the power of harm, in the fetters of captivity, his numerous cares seemed to exact from the conqueror, that he should now devote a short interval to celebrate, in a splendid course of festivities, this most important of triumphs. For this purpose having, accordingly, invited to his presence a magnificent assemblage, composed of the princes and princesses of his family, together with the Ameirs of his court and the generals of his armies, he hastened among these, to circulate by the handsomest boys in the bloom of youth and beauty, in unceasing round, and in goblets of gold and chrystal vases, the exhilarating juice of the grape; while a thousand minstrels on every side, united to fill the azure vault of heaven, with their melodious strains. In the mean time, while the sovereign was thus engaged in celebrating their triumphs, his victorious troops were not

the less active in extending his conquests to the various quarters of the Turkish dominion; and were possessing themselves of such a prodigious accumulation of spoil, as to banish from among them, for a time, both the speculations of usury, and the cravings of indigence.

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suffa.

Dismissing, however, these scenes of soft and luxurious indulgence, the author resumes the course of his narrative to state that Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops destined for Brousa, proceeded for five days and as many nights, with such celerity on his march, that out of thirty thousand horse which had left the imperial head quarters, under his orders, he found on his arrival before that city, that not more than four thousand had been able to keep up with him. Mûssulman Tcheleby had, nevertheless, contrived to get there before him; and after taking possession of as much of his father's treasures, as he could conveniently carry with him, had hastened, without delay, in quest of an asylum in some quarter more remote from the pursuit of his enemies. Some of the inhabitants had withdrawn into the recesses of Kouh Kesheish, or Kesheish Taug, or Mount Olympus so called by the orientals; the metropolis of Brousa being seated not far from the foot of that mountain; while others of the more wealthy fled towards the sea-coast, but were many of them intercepted in their flight by the Teymûrian cavalry, dispatched in pursuit of them. Two of the daughters of Bajazet, who lay concealed at Yenguisheher, or the new city, about four leagues from Brousa, and six days journey from Constantinople,* together with the daughter of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, betrothed at the request of Bajazet, to his son Mûstafa, and who had remained to abide her fate at Brousa, now fell into the hands of the victorious Teymûrians. On other authorities it is stated, that the princess Despina, daughter of Lazarus, or Eleazar Despot of Servia, and favorite wife of Bajazet, was among the captives seized at Brousa, on this occasion. Kâra Yûssuf, however, who had fixed his residence in that city in conformity with the particular instructions of the Turkish monarch, had prudently withdrawn, the moment it was announced that the Teymûrian armies were at Kaysereiah, and had returned in safety towards Hellah, and the inaccessible territory of Arabia.

* According to De la Croix.

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suffa.

The city of Brousa having, in the mean time, submitted to Mahommed Sûltan, without resistance, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein entered the castle, in order to secure the treasures of Bajazet, which had been lodged there to a vast amount, in specie and jewels, and other valuable effects; and two of the secretaries of the imperial exchequer were immediately employed, to take a regular account of the whole. But when this rich deposit had been secured for the state, every other description of property in the town and neighborhood, was swept off, without exception, by an indiscriminate pillage of the troops; after which, the city was set on fire, and being, for the greater part, constructed of wood and reeds, it was, in a short time, reduced to ashes. This useless and unavailing act of rigor consummated, Mahommed Sûltan, when he had been joined by the whole of the troops who had dropped in the rear during his rapid march to Brousa, proceeded towards the sea coast; first detaching Mirza Aba Bukker, with a division of ten thousand men, to the right hand towards Neike, or Nice, one of the most respectable cities in Natolia, famed for the salubrity of its climate, the purity of its waters, and defended by a strong and lofty wall of hewn stone. Before the entrance of one of the gates, [that towards the north-west], lies a spacious lake of two days journey in circumference; and the town is seated on the direct road to Constantinople, not far from the Ghaur-e-Eskunder, or cavern, or valley of Alexander, alluded to in a former page. At the same period, Ameir Sounjek was sent, with a considerable detachment, towards Kanendab, a city on the gulph of Nice, which he subsequently pillaged and laid in ruins.

Mirza Aba Bukker, on his part, proceeding to Nice, obtained possession of that place also, without resistance; Mûssulman Tcheleby, notwithstanding its reputed strength, and the superior force by which he was still attended, having abandoned it on his approach, and fled across the Aub-e-Boghaur, or Bosphorus, or straits of Gallipoli, into Asra Yakia, Thrakia, or Thrace, into which the appellation may without much difficulty be now resolved. The wives and family of the Ottoman prince, were disgracefully left, at the same time, to fall into the hands of the Teymûrians; who were thus suffered without restraint, to pillage the town and lay waste the neighborhood. A

report of his success was now conveyed by Aba Bukker, to Mahommed Sûltan, at this period encamped on the plains of Mikhauleje, about three or four and twenty leagues south-west of Brousa; and a selection of one hundred of the most resolute and active of his soldiers, was immediately appointed by the Shahzâdah, to communicate to the imperial head quarters the intelligence of the capture of Nice, and of the actual flight into Europe of Mûssulman Tcheleby. By the same opportunity, Auk Sûltan was dispatched by Aba Bukker, with the present of a Shonkaur, or white falcon, for his imperial grandsire.

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Between Brousa and Kotaubiah, distant about two days journey (from either), is described to have existed a very difficult pass on the ridge of a mountain, thick set on every side by an almost impenetrable forest. As soon, therefore, as the troop dispatched by Mahommed Sûltan entered this pass, they were suddenly attacked on all sides by a vast number of the natives, who conceived it a favorable opportunity to inflict some punishment on their invaders; and they would, peradventure, have completely succeeded, were it not for the singular firmness, courage, and skill, with which they were received by their veteran opponents. In the issue they were, however, repulsed with loss and disgrace, and this chosen band of warriors was suffered to continue its march without further molestation to Kotaubiah; where it soon afterwards arrived in perfect safety, with the several articles entrusted to its conveyance. Almost at the same period, Shums-ud-dein Almauleghy was employed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with a similar escort of chosen troops, to convey to the presence of Teymûr the gold and jewels, which had been set apart for this purpose from the treasures of Bajazet, and which now reached their destination with equal felicity.

Mahommed Sûltan returned, shortly afterwards, from the plains of Mikhauleje to the ruins of Brousa; where he was joined, first by Aba Bukker with the plunder of Nice, and subsequently by Ameir Sounjek, from the destruction of Kanendah, and the pillage of the adjoining sea-coast. From thence the shahzâdah proceeded to encamp on the meadows of Yenguisheher, which are here said to lie contiguous to Brousa, probably extending from the one place to the

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other; and here, in concurrence with an intimation conveyed from Teymûr, Mirza Aba Bukker espoused the eldest daughter of Bajazet.

On the other hand, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Eskunder, who had been detached to the left, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, having by forced marches, first surprised the encampment of a Tûrkman chief of the name of Kebek, or Kepek, which they plundered, thence continued their progress to Auksheher, and Kârahessaur, the white city, and the black fortress; of both which they appear to have obtained possession without difficulty, if not without resistance, the inhabitants contributing a sufficient sum of money by way of ransom for their lives and property. After this, they proceeded to pillage the territory of Tchegherbâlegh, and the Arab tribe of Hameid; finally collecting together so vast a multitude of cattle of every description, particularly in camels, horses, and sheep, that it became at last utterly impossible to drive them along. They then reduced and ransomed the towns of Shehermata, and Aukserâi; after which Ameir Sûliman Shah appears to have separated from his associates, in order to fix his head quarters at Kouniah, or Iconium, among the vallies of the Karamanian mountains. From that station he dispatched, to the presence of his sovereign, a proportion of the booty which he caused, on this occasion, to be taken from the soldiers of his division;* the Mirzas, with Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and the other chiefs just mentioned, directing their march, at the same time, towards the territory of Aydein; the whole of which they plundered and laid waste, with cruel slaughter, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In the mean time, the hoarded treasures and rich property of Bajazet, together with his consort Desteina, or rather Despina, the daughter of Lauss, or Lazarus or Eleazar prince of Servia, and all the females of his household, were conveyed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, from Brousa, to the imperial head quarters at Koutahiah. With a magnanimity very honorable to his memory, the princess with all her equipage, was immediately restored to her husband, by the conqueror; the lady, however, having been first prevailed upon, peradventure compelled, to embrace the doctrines of Isslaum in preference to the errors of

* De la Croix asserts that it was a tribute from the captive soldiers of the enemy.

infidelity, or christianity, which she had been hitherto permitted to retain. About the same conjuncture, Ameir Mahommed, or Mahommed Beg, the son of Allâ-ud-dein formerly prince of Karamania, who had been detained in the prisons of Bajazet ever since he was twelve years of age, was conducted to the court of Teymûr, by whom he was entertained with distinguished kindness. Together with a rich diadem and girdle, the Tcheghatâian monarch immediately conferred upon him his hereditary government of Karamaun, including the cities of Kouniah, Larendah, Aukserâi, Anzariah, and Alaniah, together with all their lands and dependencies; and, as a further proof of his especial favor, superadded to the rest the sovereignty of Auksheher—all of which remained for a long time after this in the possession of the same Ameir Mahommed, or his children.

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suffa.

Having now consumed the period of one whole month, in triumphal festivity at Kotauhiah, Teymûr conceived it expedient again to set his army in motion, directing his course to the west-ward. He was shortly afterwards joined on his march, by Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Sûliman and Sounjek; Shumsud-dein Abbas having been left in charge of the encampment on the plains of Yenguisheher, Shehernou, or the new city, near Brousa. At this conjuncture the anger of his sovereign, for reasons not explained, was excited against Sâeine Temôr, who was now put to death together with one of his brothers on the spot; and two more, who were absent, were condemned to share the same fate, wherever they could be found. Not long after their arrival in the imperial encampment, on this occasion, the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs by whom they had been attended, received orders to return, and rejoin the troops at Brousa, and Yenguisheher; while Teymûr with the main body, continued his march towards Teighourleg, or Tungouzleg, in a south-west direction; and crossing a mountainous ridge, or pass, on his way, again encamped among some delightful meadows in the neighborhood of Altûntaush, or the golden rock. Here the ministers of wrath were again in activity, to carry into execution a mandate now issued for the death of Khaujah Feyrouz, or Firozes, who had some time since held the government of Asrayakiah, or Thrace; the part of the European continent which was first occupied by the house of Othman.

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suffa.

On the plains of Altûntaush, the scene of festivity and triumph was re-opened, with all imaginable splendor, by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; and at the moment when the hearts of all lay expanded from the effect of the most copious libations, a summons was dispatched to invite the captive Bajazet, to participate, if that was possible, in the pleasures of the entertainment—in order that having already witnessed their matchless prowess in the field of battle, he might also be convinced that the Teymûrians were equally unrivalled in the bowers of mirth and social enjoyment. The illustrious captive was received with every expression of kindness and hospitality, nor was any thing omitted to soothe, and alleviate, the anguish of misfortune; and, to complete the measure of imperial bounty, it was finally announced to him by his conqueror that, at the proper season, he should be actually reinstated in the possession of all his dominions in Natolia. Teymûr, shortly afterwards, resumed his march for Tungouzleg.

About this same period, Teymûr conceived it advisable to try the effect of another embassy to the court of Melek Faredje, or Feridje, Sûltan of Egypt; at the same time to announce his conquest of the dominions of the house of Othman, and to demand that his name should be inserted, without further demur, in the Khotbah, and on the coinage both of Egypt and Syria. The liberation of Ettelmeşh was again insisted upon; in default of which the Sûltan was to be formally apprized that, immediately on their return from the Peninsula of Asia minor, the imperial armies would most assuredly enter his country. The person whom he selected to take charge of this embassy appears to have been a certain Budder-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of Shums-ud-dein Jezzer, or Jezzer, one of the vassals of Bajazet taken prisoner by the troops on his flight from Brousa; and recently introduced, by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, to the patronage of his sovereign.

While he resided at Kotaubiah, similar missions were employed in other quarters, on the part of Teymûr; and among others, two persons were dispatched to Constantiniah, or Constantinople, with a demand of tribute on the Greek Emperor, [Emanuel Palæologus], here distinguished by the unaccountable appellation of Takour. Two more were authorized, at the same time, to proceed to the court of

Mûssulman, or Sûliman Tcheleby, [Calepinus], the son of Bajazet, who had, as recently described, effected his retreat into Asrayakiah, or Athrakia, on the European side of the Bosphorus; where he now resided at Gûzzelhessaur,* a castle, or fortified town, said to have been erected by his father, opposite to the city of Constantinople, on the land side. The object of this latter mission was to require that Mûssulman Tcheleby would either repair in person to the imperial presence, or transmit the ordinary tribute of homage, or Peishkesh, in token of his submission to the imperial authority. The envoys to the court of Constantinople returned, a short time afterwards, accompanied by an Ambassador of distinguished rank and abilities, from the Greek Emperor, conveying a competent sum of money in florins, [Felouri] together with the most superb display of presents, consisting of all that was precious and rare to be found in the once splendid metropolis of the Cæsars. He was further charged to declare on the part of his master, [Emanuel] that as an acknowledged vassal of the Lord Paramount of the world, his mind was already devoted to the most unreserved and submissive obedience; and that he therefore consented without hesitation, to the payment of any tribute that Teymûr, in his imperial pleasure, might be disposed to levy upon him, since he had already experienced too much from unavailing hostility, not to be utterly averse to engaging in fresh contests with any power whatever. Having accordingly fixed the amount of tribute to be remitted to the imperial treasury, by the Greek Emperor, Teymûr dismissed his agent, after presenting him with a Khelaut, or dress of honor, and otherwise treating him with the ordinary marks of favor.

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As the above are the only circumstances related by our author, with regard to the communication between Teymûr and the Emperor Emanuel, or the Takour, as he is here fantastically denominated, we cannot forbear to introduce in this place, without pronouncing either on its truth or fallacy, the following curious statement from Knolles's history of the Turks.

“These Ambassadors, [of the Greek Emperor] by the command; “ment of Tamerlane, were by Axalla royally feasted, and all the “honor done them that might be. One of them being sent back, to “carry these unexpected newes unto the Greeke Emperor, filled both

* Solyman Tcheleby is said to have retired to Gallipoli.

A. H. 805. " him, and all the citie of Constantinople, with exceeding joy and
 A. D. 1402. " gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in generall, spared not
 Knolles's " with bonfires, and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest;
 history. " and the more to shew his thankfulnessse, shortly after by the ad-
 " vice of his grave counsailours, passed over the strait into Asia, to
 " see Tamerlane at Prusa, and in person himselfe to give him thanks;
 " who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently upon the
 " first daye's journey, sent the prince Axalla to meet him, and to
 " certifie him of the joy that he conceived, to have the good hap for
 " to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa: where those two great
 " princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so
 " spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor, the next day
 " taking his leave, was by Tamerlane, with much honor, conducted
 " out of the city. Now had Tamerlane himself, conceived a secret
 " desire to see this so famous city as was Constantinople, from which
 " he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour,
 " but as a private person: which by the meanes of Axalla, was ac-
 " complished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperour, privatly
 " received, and with all familiaritie possible entertained: the Emper-
 " our shewing unto him, all the rare and excellent things that were
 " therein to be seene: and the other Greeke princes devising all the
 " meanes they could, to do him pleasure, and them which did accom-
 " panie him; who were in a manner all apparrelled after the Greeke
 " fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperor himself was curious
 " to shew unto him, all the faire gardens amongst the sea coast, a league
 " or two from Constantinople, and so privatly conducting him, spent
 " five or six daies, with all the mirth that might be possible: Tamer-
 " lane by the way oftentimes saying, that he had never seene a fairer
 " citie: and that it was indeed the citie (considering the faire and rich
 " situation thereof) of right, worthie to command all the world. He
 " wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingraven
 " pillars, the high pyramides, and the making of the faire gardens,
 " and oftentimes afterwards, said, that he nothing repented him of so
 " long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to have pre-
 " served from fire and sword, so noble a citie as that was. In the
 " Greeke Emperour, he commended greatly his mild nature and cour-

"tesie: who knowing him above all things, to take pleasure in faire
 "and serviceable horses, gave unto him thirty of the fairest, strongest,
 "and readiest that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnish-
 "ed; and sent likewise, faire presents unto all the princes and great
 "commanders of the armie, and bountifully caused to bee delivered
 "unto them, all things which he thought to be necessarie for the
 "armie. So after many great kindnesses in short time passed, and a
 "strait bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed be-
 "twixt the two great princes, Tamerlane, with great contentment,
 "took his leave of the Emperour, and returned again to his armie
 "at Prusa. Wherewith he now at his pleasure, without resistance,
 "wasted and spoiled all Bajazet his dominion in Asia, no man
 "daring to make head against him."*

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Knolles's

history.

But to return to our narrative; when the imperial standard reached
 the station of Belek, or Boulouk, to the east-ward, or north-east-ward
 of Smyrna, the agents dispatched to treat with Mûssulman Tcheleby
 also returned to the presence of Teymûr; attended by Sheikh Ramzaun,
 a distinguished personage who, during the government of Bajazet,
 had exercised the function of grand Kauzy, conjointly with that of
 principal minister of state, and who was now employed on the part
 of Mûssulman Tcheleby, to convey to Teymûr, together with suitable
 presents, in animals of the chase, and curiosities of various descripti-
 ons, and, moreover, a considerable sum in florins, the most positive
 assurances of the Turkish prince's entire homage and allegiance; to
 declare that the humane and liberal treatment experienced in the
 person of his father, had increased his confidence a thousand fold in
 the bounty and generosity of his conqueror; and that he was ready,
 the moment a wish of the sort was expressly intimated, to hasten with-
 out hesitation to the threshold of the imperial residence—there to offer
 in person his pledge of allegiance, and to share more immediately in
 those proofs of imperial munificence so liberally extended to his fami-
 ly. These professions on the part of the Turkish prince were favor-
 ably received by Teymûr; and he desired it might be communicated
 in reply, that he had dismissed from his mind all recollection of the
 past; had closed in oblivion the career of hostility; and with respect

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* Knolles's History of the Turks, folio edition, page 222.

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to the son of Bajazet, that it behoved him, without further delay, to repair to the presence, banishing from his mind all apprehension of danger, all traces of the recent disastrous events, and exchanging for the milder feelings of harmony and reconciliation the unavailing projects of animosity and revenge. By this he would fully entitle himself to a liberal participation in his imperial bounty. And, with these sentiments committed to writing, Sheikh Ramzaun, whom in modern language we should call Ramzaun Effendi, was allowed to return to his employer, after having been presented with a tiara and girdle of the usual rich materials.

Among the events of this period, in the mean time, we find recorded the death of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular monarch of Transoxiana, or Mâwer-un-neher. He had accompanied Ameir Shah Melek, to over-run that part of the territory of Asia minor, lying between the gulph of Satalia and the coast of Karamania; and falling ill at the place called Ketch, or Ketchik Bûrlûgh, little Bûrlûgh, to the eastward of Menteishah, or Myndus the ancient chief city of Caria, he there resigned his spirit to the mercy of Olûgh Tongry; the great, or supreme being, so denominated among the Moghûl nations. Teymûr either was, or affected to be, extremely concerned at the intelligence; but being one of those events against which there is no alternative, he soon reconciled himself to his loss, repeating the usual formula from the Koran; "We came from God, and to God we must return." This did not, however, occasion any interruption to the design in which Shah Melek and his associates were engaged. They proceeded in their plans of desolation, with unremitting activity, seizing with little resistance, and pillaging without remorse, each of the towns of Ketchek Bûrlûgh, Aukbekah, or Aukeyaca, and Adauliah, or Satalia. Before this latter place, however, two respectable officers were killed, of the names of Sheikh Ally Seilauny, or perhaps Seblâi, and Sheikh Hadjy Seldûz. From thence, allowing the interval of one night to intervene, they extended the ravages of fire and sword along the adjoining sea coast, pillaging and destroying the territory of Menteishah, and Tekah-eyli, [Lycia, Caria, and Pamphylia], with merciless fury; and, having rendered the whole one frightful solitude, finally returned, as usual loaded with booty, to rejoin the imperial encampment.

In the beginning of autumn, Teymûr had encamped with the main body of the army at Tanghouzlig; a place set down, in De la Croix's sketch, about six and twenty leagues E. b. S. of Smyrna. At this station, he was further joined by Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with the division which had been employed against Aydein, or Atina, further to the south-ward, opposite to the island of Samos, and south of Ephesus; great numbers of the soldiers of this division having suffered, in consequence of the heat of the weather, and noxious air, of the country in which they had been serving.* Seyud Khaujah was himself, for some time, in extreme danger, from the same causes, although he finally escaped; a visit from his sovereign, during which he experienced the most affectionate marks of condescension, contributing, as it is affirmed, in no small degree to the recovery of this favored chieftain. It is observed, as a very singular fact, that there exists in the neighborhood of Tanghouzlig a petrifying spring, and that many soldiers who ignorantly drank of its waters, perished on the spot in the coldness of death.

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As the season for active operations was now drawing to a close, Teymûr proceeded to deliberate with the princes of his blood, and most distinguished generals, with regard to the disposition which he should select for the winter quarters of the army; and it was determined, that the several divisions should take up their stations for the season, in the different towns of the two Eylies, Sarûkhaun, and Gurmian-eyly; in a line, as it would appear, across the course of the rivers Meander, and Meinder, in the ancient Ionia, parallel with the coast of the Archipelago. In this disposition, the city of Maghnisiah, or Magnesia, on the former river, was assigned for the accommodation of Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops recently stationed at Yenguisheher of Brousa; and Shah Rokh, with the divisions of the left wing, the rear of the army being considered as resting on the sea-coast, was directed to occupy the territory of Gurmian-eyli, fixing his head quarters between the stations of Olûgh Bûrlûg, and Ketchek Bûrlûg, to the left of the Meinder.

In conformity with this arrangement, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops at Yenguisheher, broke up from that place accord-

* De la Croix affirms that their sufferings were occasioned by the air of Tanghouzlik; but in that case, the whole must have been equally exposed to suffer.

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ingly ; and, after halting for some days on the plains of Mikhauleje, had passed the station of Balkessry, marking his course with the usual scenes of plunder and devastation, and pitched his camp among the groves and meadows, not far from the place last mentioned, when, at the expiration of the first watch of the night, he was suddenly attacked by Eliaus the Soubaushy, at the head of a large body of the Tchi-taughies, or native peasantry ; who had taken post in the neighborhood to protect themselves against the rapacity of their invaders. The officers who had been detached to guard the avenues to the encampment, having been too dilatory in announcing the approach of the enemy, they were suffered to enter without resistance ; the main body of the troops having either retired to rest, or dispersed to plunder. The Shahzâdah had, however, mounted his horse on the first alarm, and instantly abandoned the encampment, for the purpose of rallying his troops in the rear ; and being shortly afterwards joined by Ameir Jahaun Shah and the other commanders, the whole together turned upon their assailants, who were immediately repulsed in every direction, with infinite slaughter. Ameir Jahaun Shah, having remained on the spot for some days awaiting the baggage of the Shahzâdah, was then dispatched by that prince, together with Ameir Sounjek, towards the city of Beirauna, lying between Magnesia and the sea-coast ; which, with all its dependencies, became in consequence, the theatre of every species of cruelty and horror. The Shahzâdah, after having at the same time, with barbarous absurdity, over-run and wasted the settlements on that part of the coast of Ionia, finally proceeded to Magnesia, where he continued for the winter ; that place being also seated at the foot of a mountain, teeming with the most delicious and refreshing springs, and surrounded by an atmosphere so salubrious, as, according to our author, to restore health and animation even to putrescence itself.

In the mean time, the imperial head quarters were removed from Tanghouzleg, to Doughourleg ; a city, according to our author, known to the ancients by the name of Ladkeia, or perhaps, Laodicea. It is possible, however, that the author here alludes to the celebrated city of Ephesus, the ruins of which are represented to lie in this neighborhood. But, at all events, either from regard to its ancient

renown, or from admiration of its then still beautiful structures, and not less of its singular abundance in all that could contribute to the enjoyments of life, Teymûr is said to have exempted the inhabitants from every species of injury and exaction, beyond a reasonable contribution which was levied upon them by way of ransom.

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Crossing the Meinder, or Mendouras, shortly afterwards, Teymûr encamped on the left, or southern, bank of that river, and there was visited by Ameirs Mahommed, and Asfendiaur, the sons of Mahommed late prince of Menteisha; who took care to ensure a favorable reception by a present of one thousand horses. They were each presented, in return, with a girdle and rich tiara; and it was agreed that Asfendiaur should attend the imperial court, while his brother having engaged for the payment of a stipulated sum of money, should return to his principality, accompanied by the officers of government authorized to receive it. Teymûr then proceeded to Gûzzulhessaur, for which purpose, according to the modern maps, he must have recrossed the Meinder; and here he continued for several days, while the agents of the treasury were employed to levy the contribution which had been imposed upon the inhabitants. While he remained at Gûzzulhessaur information was conveyed to him, that his foraging parties were considerably molested by a garrison of about two hundred of the natives, who were in possession of a strong hill-fort in the neighborhood. In consequence of this, the place was surrounded by Teymûr's orders, one evening after sunset; and by the ensuing morning, before the sun had arisen from behind the hill, the imperial troops had not left a single vestige of these daring unfortunates alive to tell the tale. From Gûzzulhessaur, Teymûr proceeded next to Ayaslik,* north-west, and from thence, turning again to the north-east, he directed his march to Teirah, here mentioned as one of the most distinguished cities of the Anatolian peninsula; but though rendered on this occasion further illustrious by the presence of the Tcheghataïan conqueror, it was not by any means exempted from the contribution laid, by way of ransom, upon every place which came within the sphere of his operations. While he remained here, for a period of some duration, the officers who had

* According to the modern maps, the ruins of Ephesus are to be sought for here; for I suppose Aiastsoluk to be the same place, differently spelt.

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been dispatched to Menteshah, in order to receive the tribute agreed upon with Ameir Mahommed, returned; bringing with them specie and valuable effects, to an immense amount, exclusive of a splendid peishkesh, or present of homage, from that Ameir, to be laid before the conqueror.

During this interval, information had been conveyed to Teymâr, that there stood on the neighboring sea-coast, at the distance of about five and thirty, or forty miles, a fortress of hewn stone, or of the best masonry, of great strength and magnitude, enclosed on three sides by the sea to a prodigious depth; and, on that part by which it was connected with the main land, secured against attack by a very wide and deep ditch excavated entirely across the isthmus. He learnt, at the same time, that this formidable post was in the hands of a numerous and daring garrison of Frenguies, Franks, or European Christians, so in general denominated by the oriental nations. These were the knights of St. John, at this period in possession of the Island of Rhodes. This celebrated fortress bore the name of Izmeir, [Smyrna], was considered by the natives as a place of extraordinary sanctity; and therefore resorted to, from all parts of the surrounding territory, by a crowd of superstitious zealots, bringing with them alms and oblations, in different shapes, to the infinite advantage of the town, in the belief that they were thus performing an act of the most pious and meritorious devotion. Opposite to this, at the distance of about as far as a horse can gallop, and on the summit of a high hill, was another fort, likewise called Izmeir; but in possession of a Mûssulman garrison, betwixt whom and their opposite neighbors, there existed a state of perpetual and inveterate hostility.

Being washed on three sides by the sea, the Izmeir of the infidels, or christians, was, at the same time, on all occasions, open to every species of supply from the maritime resources of the enemies of the true faith; and, being continually exposed to the enterprises of the warlike inhabitants of the Mahomedan Izmeir, the Franks, together with the ordinary precautions for the maintenance of their impregnable station, which was always kept in the most perfect repair, took care, moreover, to provide for its security by an annual reinforcement of

one thousand veteran soldiers, amply furnished with the means of defence and subsistence for every emergency. Hence it arose, that not one of the Mûssulman states by whom it was assailed, had hitherto been able to make any effectual impression upon it; neither, from the period of its existence as a military station to the present moment, had its inhabitants paid tribute to any sovereign prince, of whatever religion. It is, moreover, added, that Sûltan Mûrad, or Amurat, the father of Bajazet, more than once attempted to reduce it without effect; and that Bajazet himself had actually besieged it, for seven years, with no better fortune. All which did not contribute to render the garrison by any means less insolent, and aggressive, to the Mahommedans of the adjoining territory.

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On coming to the knowledge of these circumstances, Teymûr determined to undertake the reduction of this celebrated place; as a service of importance to the Mûssulman community, and not unworthy of his own exalted renown. Accordingly, Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, together with Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein and other distinguished commanders, at the head of a competent force, was dispatched towards Izmeir; with instructions to propose to the garrison, in the first instance, the terms of the early Mahommedan conquerors—Islaum, the tribute, or exterminating war. To these proposals, on his arrival before Izmeir shortly afterwards, Peir Mahommed, through his messengers, received from the infidel garrison no other reply, than what was conceived in the language of rude and insolent defiance: the principal inhabitants, literally the bellmen, adverting to the practice among christians for assembling to public worship, instantly dispatching to the christian states to require immediate aid. In consequence of this, they were in the course of a very short time powerfully reinforced in men, and supplied with arms provisions and stores, to an extent that enabled them to enter upon their defence with singular advantage; and they did not appear at all disposed to suffer their resources to waste away in inactivity.

Peir Mahommed and his associates did not fail, in the mean time, to transmit without delay, to the head quarters of Teymûr, the necessary report of what was passing; and that monarch, leaving his

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heavy baggage at the foot of the hill, on the summit of which the city of Teirah appears to have stood, on saturday the sixth of the latter Jummaudy of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah,* in the very depth of winter, and in the midst of incessant rain, proceeded in person at the head of his principal force to join the divisions already before Izmeir; Mahommed Sûltan with the troops of the left wing from Magnesia, and Meiran Shah and his son Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs under their orders, having, at the same time, received instructions to hasten to the same destination. Immediately on their arrival, the imperial troops of the main body commenced an attack on that part of Izmeir, by which it communicated with the main; the principal generals setting the miners to work, and planting their machines of war, and other implements of annoyance, on those points from whence the besieged appeared to be most assailable. But, as the works of the place were on three sides protected by the waters of the deep, Ameir Shah Melek, by direction of Teymûr, caused a number of strong wooden piles, of the necessary length, to be driven triangularly into the bottom of the sea, at short distances from each other; on the tops of which, thick planks being laid connecting them substantially together, a sort of bridge, or stage, was thus constructed of sufficient breadth and stability to receive considerable bodies of troops; and thus, to the astonishment of those within, a barrier shot up from the very bosom of the deep to cut them off from all possibility of egress and ingress, and effectually to deprive them of those supplies of arms and provisions, which they had calculated to receive from the shipping of the friendly maritime states.

In these circumstances, Meiran Shah with his division, and Mahommed Sûltan with the troops from Magnesia, having left that station in charge of Shums-ud-dein Abbas, arrived before Smyrna; the troops of Mahommed Sûltan in particular, animated by the example of their prince, immediately joining, and with singular ardor, in the operations of the siege. The exertions of the whole army were now united to harass the troops, and beat down and destroy the defences of the enemy, by all the expedients which they

* 1st of December 1402.

could devise from the whole theory of the art of war as then in practice; neither were the garrison in any shape less active in repelling the attacks, and retarding the operations of the besiegers, both by incessant discharges of fire-works, and an indefatigable application of the various means of annoyance, which they possessed in inexhaustible abundance.

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The period of a fortnight had thus elapsed in unremitting hostilities; and time and fortune, the witness and agent of so many portentous revolutions in this everchanging world, might smile and shed a tear upon the unavailing efforts of this unhappy garrison, when the miners, by removing part of the masonry, at last succeeded in carrying their galleries under the foundation of the works on the land side; and the walls and towers were thus left with no other support than the rude frame-work, introduced by the engineers, to sustain them from immediate and total subversion. Nothing was therefore further wanting to complete the necessary arrangements, than to charge these galleries with the usual combustibles, dry faggots overlaid with naphtha. At a signal from the imperial head quarters, the whole was accordingly fired, and the entire line of works was almost at the same instant precipitated to the earth; numbers of the garrison being at the same time carried to the bottom, and perishing in the ruins. The imperial troops, sword in hand, immediately rushed to the assault, and, in spite of all resistance from their already terrified opponents, entering the breaches, put all to death that fell in their way; although there were some few who contrived, after all, through a thousand difficulties, by some of the vessels in port to effect their escape.

Glutted with blood and slaughter, the Teymûrians then received orders to demolish the whole of the buildings of the town, composed for the greater part of brick and mortar, and many of which exalted their proud turrets from earth to skies. These accordingly, together with the fortifications, were now levelled to the foundations; and not a vestige, but the name, remained to indicate the spot which had been once covered by a place so celebrated and formidable. In the mean time, several large vessels bearing two masts, and here denominated Karekah, [caracs] full of soldiers, provisions, and arms,

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dispatched by some of the European powers, now approached, when too late, to the relief of the christian garrison ; but, finding the place reduced to a heap of ruins, immediately stood off in equal astonishment and alarm, without daring to enter the port. They were, however, not at such a distance, but that several heads taken from the bodies of the slaughtered garrison were, by order of Teymûr, cast on board by the catapultæ ; and having thus received such ghastly and convincing proofs of the disastrous fate of their friends, the European reinforcements made sail without further delay, and departed with disgrace and sorrow to communicate the report of what they had witnessed. The unexampled celerity with which the reduction of Smyrna was accomplished on this occasion, is said to have struck the inhabitants of the adjoining territory with astonishment and admiration ; but no one experienced this astonishment in a greater degree than the unfortunate Bajazet himself, convinced as he had been by protracted trial, of the strength and resources of the place ; for the present siege, from the investiture to the close, did not occupy altogether a period of more than twenty days.

While the attention of Teymûr was engaged in the reduction of Izmeir, the Sheikh Ramzaun who had on a former occasion been presented as the agent of Mûssulman Tcheleby, again appeared in the imperial encampment ; where he was permitted once more to lay at the foot of the throne a rich assortment of rarities in splendid variety, and in all things suitable to the grandeur of the monarch for whom they were destined. He conveyed at the same time, in terms of the utmost humility, assurances of the sincere submission of his employer, as well as the expectations which he had been encouraged to entertain of the bounty and liberality of a magnanimous conqueror. These communications were received by Teymûr with singular complacency ; and as a proof that the prince's expectations were not ill grounded, he immediately caused a patent to be executed in his favor for the government of Asrayakiah ; or the territory on the European side of the Thracian Bosphorus, which had been long since taken possession of by the house of Othman. With this, a splendid Khelaut, or dress of honor, a horse in golden caparison, and a tiara and girdle enriched with jewels, the agent was then most honorably

dismissed. About the same conjuncture, Kâtib-ud-dein, deputed on the part of Eissa Tcheleby another of the sons of Bajazet, who had escaped from the catastrophe at Angouriah, also appeared at court with similar professions of allegiance on the part of his master, and was dismissed after a reception equally gracious and honorable.

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In the mean time, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, after the reduction of Izmeir, proceeded by order of his grandfather towards a castle on the sea coast, about a days journey to the northwest;* which, as it furnished an asylum to a great number of the infidel, or Christian Franks, he was to employ the vigour of his genius to subdue. The prince, however, no sooner made his appearance before the place, than, terrified by the appalling array of the Teymûrian divisions, the garrison and inhabitants, abandoning all thoughts of resistance, dispatched a deputation of their principal officers in order to treat for a capitulation; offering, on the sole condition of their lives being spared, to submit to any tribute that might be imposed upon them. To these terms the prince appears to have acceded without difficulty; and having determined the amount of the impost, and employed the proper persons to receive it, returned shortly afterwards, according to his instructions, together with the troops under his orders, to his winter quarters at Magnesia.

Having discharged his vengeance, in the manner just related, on the christian garrison of Izmeir, and furnished the neighboring fortress, the Izmeir of the Mosslems, with ample supplies of arms and warlike stores, together with many other proofs of his regard, not without a strict caution to a strenuous exertion of zeal in the prosecution of hostilities against the enemies of their faith, Teymûr, on his part, finally quitted the neighborhood, and proceeded towards the plains of Ayazlik; on which he again encamped shortly afterwards. Here he received an embassy from the prince of Safent†, or Scio; the island in the neighboring Archipelago, which produces the fragrant gum mastick. To this chief our author assigns the appellation of Sopah, or Sobah, perhaps Scopas, with the rank of independent sovereign among the monarchs of the Franks. The envoy, however that may be, was admitted to an audience by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; to

* Fodjia, according to De la Croix.

† The concluding *fn*, having, through the perplexing negligence of transcription, been substituted for *ya*.

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whom he conveyed from his master, together with a suitable peishkesh, some very zealous professions of allegiance and attachment; and he was also permitted to return to his employer, after a kind and indulgent reception.

A predatory expedition, under Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by Ally Sûltan Towatchei and other respectable chieftains, was now dispatched into Aeily-ezem, the country of Yezem, or perhaps Bezem, as in De la Croix; although it is not easy to identify the precise state to which the name belongs in our present surveys. It was, however, entirely pillaged and laid waste, and a heavy contribution, moreover, levied on the capital of the province, by way of ransom from further mischiefs; with which the young Mirza and his associates hastened, in triumph, to rejoin the imperial head quarters, which were shortly afterwards transferred from Ayazlik, to the station of Tungouzlek formerly mentioned. At this latter place, Teymûr received a short visit from Mahommed Sûltan, who had separated from his division after quitting Magnesia; and was now instructed by his grandfather to lead the troops of the right wing,* under his orders, in a direction to the left hand by the route of Angouriah—so as to form a junction with the main body on its arrival at Kaysereiah. Mahommed Sûltan remained accordingly at Tungouzlek, expecting the arrival of his division; while Teymûr proceeded to Sûltan-hessaur, on one of the streams which runs into the Meinder. Here his troops were employed, by way of recreation perhaps, in doing some execution among the Tchitaughies, mountaineers peradventure who had taken refuge against foreign violence among the neighboring hills.

About the same period, he further signalized his bounty by conferring upon Yakoub Tcheleby, a younger brother of the house of Othman, the government of the territory of Gurmian-eyli, together with the cities of Kotauiab, Tangouzlek, and Kârasheher, which already belonged to him by inheritance. On some former occasion, this prince is here stated to have fled from the tyranny of Bajazet into Syria; on the subjugation of which by the Tcheghataïan armies, he had placed himself under the protection of the imperial standard,

* The right in advancing, now the left.

and had ever since been an inseparable attendant on the person of Teymûr. It is obvious further to remark that he was probably the younger brother of Bajazet; on whom, when his father Mûrad had been assassinated on the field of battle, after his victory over Lazarus Despot of Servia, the European writers have bestowed strangulation by the Pashas of the empire, under the instructions of Bajazet, although it is acknowledged by Knolles that the genuine Turkish annals lay no such matter to his charge; and it must therefore be an error to allege that by him was exhibited the first example of that sanguinary policy, which condemned the younger brothers of the race of Othman to perish by the bowstring.

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Teymûr proceeded next towards Olûgh Bourlûg, or the greater Bourlûg, at which station on his arrival he was joined by Shah Rokh; who had also broke up from his winter quarters, in order to accompany the movements of the main body of the army. The castle of Olûgh Bourlûg, which had not yet submitted to the imperial troops, was now attacked and reduced; the men were all put to the sword; the women and children made slaves; and the place was levelled with the ground. From a couplet at the close of this section in the manuscript, the event just mentioned, together with the death of Jullaul-isslam who was killed during the siege, appears to have taken place in the middle of the month of Rujub of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.*

In the territory of Hameid, or Hameid-eyli, north of the Gulf of Adaulia, or Satalia, is described to exist a small sea, or lake, of fresh water twenty farsangs in length, and four in breadth, laid down in modern geography about five and twenty or thirty miles south-east of Olûg Bourlûg. The dimensions of this lake are reduced, however, by De la Croix, to five farsangs in length, by four in breadth.† Into this lake several streams are described to enter on one side to discharge themselves on the other; its banks embellished to the water's edge by innumerable gardens and plantations, furnishing every species of flower, and fruit, and fragrant shrub in the greatest variety and abundance. But what particularly calls our attention to it in this place is the walled city, or fortress of Egrider, or Agride;

* About the 7th of February, A. D. 1403.

† From its appearance on the map, it may be about 5 by 3, or about 18 miles in length, by 10 in breadth.

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seated on the lake, enclosed on three sides by its waters, and supported on the fourth by a mountain. In the midst of the lake, at a short distance from the city just mentioned, which has, at the same time, from historians received the further designation of Fullukabad, arose two islands, one of which bore the name of Gûl-staun, the other of Nessebein. On the latter, which was the largest of the two, a castle had been erected, together with some other very handsome and spacious buildings; and, of this castle, the inhabitants of the vicinity of the lake had availed themselves, as a depot for their more valuable effects, as well as for their ordinary means of subsistence, in cases of emergency. The other island, from its name, possibly served as a resort for recreation and parties of pleasure.

At the period under consideration, it is moreover added that the castle of Nessebein was thronged to excess by the concourse of inhabitants, who fled to it from the neighboring territory, in the confidence of its secure situation; the lake being in all parts of a great depth, and rendering it unassailable by any ordinary method of attack. These various circumstances combining, at all events, to excite his attention, Teymûr determined at all hazards to make himself master of both city and island; and, as a previous arrangement, immediately issued orders that his heavy equipments should be conveyed towards Auksheher—the Antioch of Pisidia, about forty miles to the northward of the upper extremity of the lake. As the captive Bajazet was, at this period, laboring under the attack of a severe and dangerous malady, Teymûr directed that he should proceed at leisure with the heavy baggage of the army to the same place; attended by Moulana Mûssaoud of Shirauz, and Jullaul-ud-dein the Arabian, two of the most skilful physicians of the court, selected to prescribe to his relief on this occasion.

The imperial troops were then put in motion from Olûgh Bourlûg, and, with one intervening night, on the morning of the second day's march, appeared before Egrider. On the morning of the day following, the Mirzas Shah Rokh, Eskunder, and Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, Ally Sûltan Towatchei Sounjek Bahauder, and other eminent chieftains, were directed to advance against the town. Ascending the hill by which it was over-

looked, and partly skirting the base, in order to attack the principal gate, the assailants appear to have made themselves masters of the place, without any extraordinary resistance; the garrison and inhabitants, very possibly, resting their hopes of effectual defence on the protection of the neighboring islands, to which vast numbers now made their escape, plunging without hesitation into the waters of the lake. Orders were then issued to prepare, with the necessary dispatch, a great variety of rafts, and boats, the latter composed of poles, covered with the hides of oxen and horses. On these, and such other craft as could be provided on the occasion, the princes and principal generals embarked shortly afterwards, and proceeded to the attack of the fortified island of Nessebein, completely investing it on every side. Little expecting, peradventure, to be so immediately assailed in their fondly imagined inaccessible retreat, the inhabitants were not less astonished than appalled, at the celerity and boldness of their enemies; whom they beheld approaching to the attack, amidst the most tremendous din of trumpets, kettle-drums, and horns. Every idea of resistance seems to have been in a moment abandoned; and the governor, a chief of the name of Sheikh Bâba, hastened at the hazard of inevitable death from the weapons of the assailants, to throw himself on the moderation of the shahzâdahs who conducted these operations, intreating that they might be his intercessors for the mercy of Teymûr. This, so far as regarded the lives of his fellow citizens, he succeeded in obtaining; but it was stipulated, without alternative, that they should relinquish every article of property, and immediately remove from the island; which was accordingly delivered up to the imperial commanders, the whole of what was found upon it, without exception, being by an express decree of Teymûr, on the spot distributed to the army.

While engaged in the operations against Egrider, the son of Mûbasher Bahauder arrived from the head quarters of Mahommed Sûltan, to announce to Teymûr, that that prince, the darling of his hopes, was languishing under the effects of some severe and alarming malady; and as this inauspicious intelligence occasioned, in the mind of the conqueror, the utmost anxiety and apprehension, a person in whose judgment he could confide was immediately dispatched, in order to bring him a faithful report of the actual situation of the favorite.

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shahzâdah, without disguising the slightest circumstance of danger; while he himself proceeded on his way towards Auk, or Augsheher, already mentioned. The march of the main body now leading through the cantonments of the left wing, under the orders of Shah Rokh, an opportunity was furnished to that prince of giving scope to the spirit of hospitality, in the sumptuous and magnificent entertainments provided for the reception of his august parent; and, peradventure, of disposing of a part of the splendid spoils of Asia minor, of which he must have had an ample share, in the expensive presents, which it was usual to offer at the foot of the throne, on such occasions. At the same time, and through a similar medium, the most acceptable proofs of loyalty, attachment, and zeal, were also exhibited by Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, and by that gallant and distinguished commander, Ameir Sûliman Shah. Another who availed himself of the opportunity that now offered, was Ameir Mahommed, prince of Karamania, who hastened from his capital of Kouniah to the imperial head quarters; and, in testimony of gratitude for his recent restoration to his hereditary states, presented on his introduction, not without a considerable sum in specie, the most splendid variety of every thing that was costly and rare, whether from the inventions of art, or the rich productions of nature. These proofs of gratitude were received with extraordinary complacency; and the same royal bounty which had given him freedom from the prisons of Bajazet, and re-established him in the inheritance of his ancestors, was, on this occasion, afresh extended towards him in the most distinguished manner—after which he was very honorably dismissed for his own country, Teymûr then resuming his march for Auksheher.

At that city on thursday the fourth of Shabaun,* it was now announced at the imperial head quarters, that the august captive, the royal and unfortunate Bajazet, had finished his mortal career, of an asthma, and inflammation of the throat.† Teymûr evinced the utmost concern, either sincere or affected, at this irremediable event; and it was then averred that when the subjugation of the dominions of the house of Othman should have been effectually completed, it was the

* 26th of February 1403.

† Khenauk wo Zeyk-un-nuffus. De la Croix says it was of an Apoplexy.

intention of the conqueror, to have restored his illustrious captive to the full possession of the whole of the territories, of which he had been deprived by the fate of war; in order, as it is further stated, that he might be able to resume his laudable and zealous exertions against the detested advocates of image worship—the corrupt and idolatrous christians. But, since this appeared to be at variance with what was inscribed on the tablets of an irreversible destiny, it became necessary to submit, with humble resignation, to the will of that ineffable Being who has existed from, and will continue to exist, to all eternity. Of his patience under affliction the monarch was, however, shortly to exhibit some more decided proofs, when the sorrows of death invaded the more cherished recesses of his own family.

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On his arrival in the territory dependent on Auksheher, information was conveyed to Teymûr, through Daunah Khaujah, from the headquarters of Mahommed Sûltan, by which he was apprized that the medicines administered to the young prince, had failed in producing the hoped for relief; and that the ascending humours, or morbid exhalations, had attacked the brain—in other words that he was delirious. Teymûr received the account with deep and unaffected concern; and the same person was immediately sent back, with instructions to keep him apprized, by continual expresses, of the progress of his grandson's disorder, until he should himself arrive upon the spot. He encamped shortly afterwards at Auksheher, where he hastened to administer every possible consolation to the family of the departed Bajazet; bestowing upon his son Eissa Tcheleby in particular, whom we now first ascertain to have been on the spot, a Khelaut of the most costly materials, a baldrick, belt, or girdle, and sword enriched with jewels, a quiver, and quiver-belt of gold, and one hundred horses of the choicest breed and superior fleetness. Last of all, he presented him with a patent under his own sign manual, being literally the impression of his hand in red ink, possibly investing him, although this is not actually stated, with the government of Anatolia. He charged him, at the same time, to take the corpse of his deceased father, which had for the present been deposited in the mausoleum of Sheikh Mahmûd Heiran at Auksheher, and convey it, with all the honors due to departed royalty, to the metropolis of

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Brousa; there to be laid in the sepulchre long since prepared for its reception, by Bajazet himself.

Leaving his heavy equipments and baggage at Auksheher, Teymûr now made the best of his way towards the encampment of Mahommed Sûltan. Finding, however, on his march, that two chiefs of the Durghoth Tûrkmen, of the name of Khuzzer Beg and Ibrauhim, had rebelled against the imperial authority, and fortified themselves on a mountain which commanded the road, he directed the troops by whom he was accompanied, to attack and dislodge these unlicensed banditti from their posts. The mountain was accordingly invested on every side, and the Tûrkmen finally hunted out with considerable slaughter; their property, women, and children, becoming as usual the prey of their assailants. In the mean time, while he was thus prosecuting his march, Doulut Khaujah, or Khoujah, the son of Eiltchy Bougha, brought further intelligence from the division of Mahommed Sûltan, announcing that the prince's malady was hourly gaining ground. This necessarily hastened the approach of Teymûr. When, however, he reached the bedside of his grandson, he found him speechless, and reduced to the last stage of debility. Overcome by excess of grief the afflicted monarch caused him, notwithstanding, to be immediately placed on a litter, and continued his march the same day; probably for the purpose of removing him to a milder or purer air. But, when they had proceeded three stages beyond Kârahessaur, [Melainocastion], and there halted to encamp, the soul of the young prince finally quitted its frail enclosure—directing its flight towards that indefinable centre point, from which we all derive our existence. This much deplored event is stated to have taken place on the eighteenth of the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjera*; when the young Sûltan had about completed the nine and twentieth year of his age.†

The grief of Teymûr, on this occasion, is described to have surpassed all bounds of moderation; and the universal mourning, which extended to all orders of his court and army, bespoke the extraordinary degree in which the public at least appeared to participate in the sorrows

* 11th of March 1403.

† De la Croix asserts that he was but nineteen, but this appears to be an error.

of their sovereign. When the first paroxysms of affliction had, however, in some measure subsided, he directed the shrouded remains of his grandson to be laid in a Tâbout, which in general is constructed to represent the exterior of a shrine, or ornamented sepulchre, and this was deposited in a travelling litter, or Tukht-e-rouaun, suspended between mules; in which state it was entrusted to the charge of Eleiaus Khaujah, and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, to be conveyed to Aouneik, or Avanic. From thence, after removing the body into a new shell, they were instructed to take it to Sûltauniah, to be there deposited until, at a future period, it might be finally transported to Samarkand. In the mean time, part of the attendants were to remain in charge of the empty shell properly fastened up, at Aouneik.

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Having acquitted himself of these proofs of affectionate regard for the person and memory of his departed grandson, Teymûr returned back, to rejoin the main body of his army, with the heavy baggage and impediments; which shortly afterwards broke up from the plains of Auksheher, and prosecuted the march to the east-ward. Time and a variety of scene and occupation operated, however, as usual, to suspend by degrees the violence of affliction; and the remonstrances of his generals produced at length from Teymûr an order, that the army should put off the gloomy badges of sorrow, and cease from those barbarous and melancholy clamours which had, for a period of some duration, filled every quarter with lamentation and woe.

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IN the mean time, the triumphant issue of his Anatolian campaign had secured, from the government of Egypt, an attention to the claims of Teymûr, very different from what had been experienced on former occasions. For Melek Faredje, who had assumed the title of Melek ul Nausserah, receiving accounts of the captivity of Bajazet, whose power had been long regarded with awe and apprehension throughout the neighboring countries of Asia, was early led to a persuasion that perseverance in hostility against one so manifestly under the guidance of heaven, as the Tcheghatâian conqueror appeared to be, must assuredly terminate in disgrace and discomfiture; and he accordingly proposed to his cabinet, without further demur, the release of Ettelmesh, so unwarrantably detained by the misguided policy of his father. With this view, the imprisoned Moghûl chief was sent for, and, in the most conciliating terms of personal esteem, and of regret for the harsh usage which he had experienced, apprized that a resolution had been adopted to include the name of Teymûr on the coinage, and in the public prayers, throughout the provinces under the authority of the Sûltan of Egypt. In conclusion, he was requested to undertake the task of mediating between the Sûltan and his victorious sovereign; and two persons of the name of Ahmed, and Auktah, were at the same time, appointed to accompany him to the imperial head quarters, authorized to subscribe to any demand that might he further insisted upon in the article of tribute. They were also charged with the conveyance of a rich and splendid Peishkesh,* consisting of money and jewels, of costly furniture of the most finished workmanship of Alexandria, of the best tempered swords, the manufacture of Kâherah, and of other expensive and valuable particulars too numerous to mention. With these important objects the envoys left the capital of Egypt shortly afterwards, accompanied by

* Present of homage.

Ettelmesh. The latter, however, when he gained the frontiers of Anatolia, took leave of his associates and made the best of his way to the camp of Teymûr; where he proceeded to furnish a faithful disclosure of the state of Egypt, and particularly of the extraordinary impression produced upon the Sûltan and his ministers, and indeed upon every description of the inhabitants, by the rapid success of the Teymûrian armies. The envoys were not long behind him; and, having obtained admission to the presence of Teymûr through the usual introduction, did not omit to communicate, without reserve, all that they had been instructed to explain on the part of their master.

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Softened either by the remembrance of his recent domestic affliction, or by a submission so much more prompt and compliant, than from former experience he had been prepared to expect, Teymûr received this embassy with singular affability; and he condescended to observe that, having at an early age been bereft of a father's counsels, Melek Faredje had the greater claim for support on his imperial bounty; and that if his professions of homage and obedience were followed by a sincere and faithful performance of his engagements, there was no proof of affectionate and parental regard that would be omitted on his part, to confirm and protect him in his authority. He had, therefore, nothing further to stipulate, than to urge a continuance of his watchful care over the temporal and eternal interests of the people committed to his government; of his unremitting attention to the peace and safety of the two sanctuaries of their common faith, the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeinah, and to secure to the merchant and to the stranger of every country, an unmolested intercourse through the provinces under his controul. The ambassadors were then dismissed, loaded with marks of distinguishad favor; and together with the usual Khelauts for themselves, received, for their sovereign, a diadem set with precious stones, a royal robe and girdle most splendidly enriched with jewels of every description and variety—accompanied with repeated assurances of the continuance of that friendly disposition, which had now determined to include him among the most esteemed and faithful vassals of the Teymûrian power.

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To speculate at this distance of time on the probable motives of so singular an instance of moderation, on the part of Teymûr, would be but little interesting to the reader. His mind was doubtless engaged in the contemplation of some more important object, and his views to the westward may have now terminated: and yet the wealth of Egypt had again, it is conceived, even at this period accumulated to a degree that might have excited the cupidity of abstinence, and glutted the cravings of avarice itself. In these pages it has been, moreover, seen that the injuries which he had received from the Mamlouk Sultans, not only in the unprovoked detention of his vassal, but in the repeated insults offered to his authority, in the persons of his ambassadors, were of a nature the most flagrant and aggravated. This, in justice to his own dignity, and in vindication of the violated law of nations, was an offence which it was, as he had frequently arrogated, his peculiar province to chastise. Forgiveness of injury does not appear to have been the prominent feature of his character; neither was it, perhaps, a character at which he was very ambitious of aspiring. Possibly the hand of age had by this time softened the asperities, and subdued the violence of his temper; and a slight acknowledgement of submission was thus it seems sufficient to arrest the arm of vengeance, however gross the provocation, and however inexorable in its course on other occasions.

An object towards which the attention of Teymûr appears, however, to have been more particularly directed about the present period, was the deportation, into the countries beyond the Oxus, of the Kâra-Tatârian colony, originally introduced into the territory bordering on Anatolia, eastward, under the government of Hûlaukou Khaun. The original tribe when, at a remote period, it consisted of seventy thousand families, was seated on the frontiers of Khatâi; and, having subjugated the greater part of those adjoining to it, continued for many years to maintain itself in great glory. But a state of inextinguishable hostility having long subsisted between it and those of the Moghûl race, as may be found related in detail in the annals of Tûrkestaun, the immortal Jengueiz, as soon as the decrees of providence had elevated that monarch to the supreme power over the oriental world, issued a

mandate for the entire extirpation of the male part of the hostile tribe, to the very infant at its mother's breast; the turbulent and refractory spirit of the whole, having attained to a pitch of atrocity no longer to be endured. This mandate was carried into execution with all possible rigour by the Jenguizians; but, during the reign of the great monarch just mentioned, many of his subjects, both Moghûls and others, having entered into matrimonial engagements with the Kâra-Tatârian young women, ventured to conceal the offspring of their union; until, in the process of time, the indignation of their sovereign subsiding, many of this mixed race, on their arrival at years of discretion, were exalted to the highest dignities of the state. Hence on the accession of Mangou Kaun, when that monarch determined on dispatching his brother Hûlaukou, to take possession of the Persian empire, the Kara Tataurs, were for the greater part enrolled in the army of that prince. As soon, however, as he had finally established himself on the throne of Tebreiz, finding, on experience, that the natural depravity of the tribe had been but little ameliorated by intermarriage, Hûlaukou contrived to rid himself of these same Kara Tataurs, or black Tataurs, by sending them to settle on the frontiers, between Anatolia and Armenia. Here they continued until the death of Abû Sâeid; when the disorders which succeeded to that event furnishing too favorable an opportunity for the designs of the turbulent on every side, they separated into fifty two distinct bands, each proceeding to seize upon such part of the neighboring territory as suited its convenience. And thus they remained until the time of Kauzi Bûrhaun-ud-dein; when Sûltan Bajazet, having made himself master of Sevauss, that monarch again caused them to be enrolled in the armies of the house of Othman, assigning them settlements within his own territories. In these circumstances, the charges of subsistence, and the demands of the state, being then extremely moderate under the Turkish government, the tribe arose, in the course of a few years, to such a degree of importance from their immense pastoral wealth, as well as other descriptions of property, as to have become of the highest consequence, in that part of the country which had been allotted for their residence.

However, Teymûr had no sooner ensured his final success in Anatolia, by his signal victory on the plains of Angouriah, than he

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conceived the design of transplanting this thriving and powerful colony, from the land in which they had so successfully naturalized themselves, into certain districts among the nations of Jettah, or interior Tartary; where he might avail himself of their martial habits to protect his dominions on that distant frontier, without endangering the tranquillity of his possessions more recently acquired on the borders of the Persian empire, towards Asia minor. But, as it was at that moment not exactly convenient to disclose this design, the chiefs of the tribe, when they repaired to his presence to do homage to his superior fortune, were received by the conqueror, with every mark of liberality and kindness, and with every expression of imperial favor that could encourage hope, and banish apprehension. Observing, moreover, that the Teymûrians abstained most scrupulously from molesting them in any shape, they became, in general, soon reconciled to the transfer of allegiance; and they accordingly remained in the settlements allotted to them by the former government, in a state of comparative repose and freedom from alarm.

The plan for their deportation was, however, not the less determined upon; and accordingly, when he found it expedient to halt for three days on the same ground, in order to attend to the reception of the embassy from the Sûltan of Egypt, Teymûr availed himself of the interval to make his design the subject of a consultation with the princes his sons, and his other principal generals. A proposal of the sovereign was not likely to meet with any opposition of importance in the cabinet of Teymûr; but, as the colony consisted of not much less than forty thousand powerful families, containing among them an uncommon proportion of individuals of more than ordinary intelligence and sagacity, it was thought necessary to proceed with some caution, in carrying it into execution: and as a preliminary step, Teymûr now gave directions that the whole of their settlements should be immediately approached, on every side, by detachments of the imperial troops, in such a manner as to cut off all possibility of escape; at the same time, without offering the slightest injury or violence to any of the tribe. Accordingly, Ameir Jahaun Shah with the commanders and troops of the right wing, recently under the orders of the deceased Mahommed Sûltan, proceeded immediately to the left

towards Tokaut and Amausiah; while Ameir Sûliman Shah, with part of the left wing, [the different divisions of the army retaining it would appear the same relative designations on their departure from, as on their advance into the Turkish dominions,] took the direction to the right, towards Kayssereiah and Sevauss; Teymûr with the main body of the army, proceeding by a central route into the plains inhabited by the Kâra Tataurians—extending, at intervals, from Amausiah, to Kayssereiah. Shah Rokh and Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne were, however, more particularly employed in the charge, with this body of the army, of blocking up the roads and passes, and thus precluding all speculations of escape by flight.

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Having crossed by the bridge of Kersheher, and approached the boundary of the Kâra Tatârian settlements, a messenger was dispatched by Teymûr, to require the attendance of some of the principal chiefs; two of whom, of the names of Aukhy Teberrek, or brother Teberrek, and Merowut, respectively, repaired without difficulty to the imperial presence. Here, after every expedient had been employed, by embroidered vestments, and girdles enriched with gold and jewels, and finally by a solemn oath on the part of the monarch, to reassure their confidence, Teymûr proceeded to disclose his views. And first, as if he considered it a grievous misfortune that their ancestors, at a period however remote, should have been withdrawn from the country of their fathers, and placed as exiles in a foreign land, he stated that since a gracious providence had at last reduced under his paternal government, and thus united under one head, the whole of the countries from the remoter frontiers of China to the utmost bounds of Anatolia, it was to be justly expected that they should yield to the sentiment which attests, that the love of our country, next to that of our religion, forms the most sacred principle of the mind; after which he proposed to them without further delay, to avail themselves of the triumphant return of the imperial armies, and to accompany them, together with their families, flocks, and herds, and every other description of property, into Mawer-un-neher; where he assured them that nothing should be omitted on his part to render them prosperous and happy, during the remainder of their lives.

The two chiefs, possibly aware that expostulation and resistance,

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would be equally in vain, acceded with a good grace to the proposal; declaring, with many protestations, that they could not but consider it as an instance of rare and singular felicity, to become enrolled by any circumstance, among the vassals of so puissant and victorious a monarch; and to these protestations, Teymûr appeared to yield implicit credence. Nevertheless, as a precaution not to be dispensed with, he ordered that their arms should be taken from the whole of the tribe, and deposited for security in the imperial stores. It was afterwards arranged that the whole of the people should be distributed, by troops, to the commanders of Tomauns; and instructions were moreover circulated that none should presume to purchase from them either sheep, or cattle of any description, lest such a relief from incumbrance might at any time induce them to form plans of escape. They were, however, exempted from every charge of subsistence; and the Yourut-tcheis, or officers of the imperial armies entrusted with the arrangement of quarters, were particularly directed in their allotment, to assign the clearest springs, and the most luxuriant pastures to the Kâra Tatars; who, to the number of thirty or forty thousand families, with their domestics, and an immense accumulation of sheep and cattle, thus accompanied the movements of the imperial armies, with no other inconvenience than was inseparable from a state of restraint, and perhaps some degree of incertitude, as to the destiny which ultimately awaited them.

This object dispatched, and the subjugation of the dominions of the house of Othman, in the peninsula of Asia minor, being considered now compleat, Teymûr resolved without further delay to conduct his armies back again into Azerbâijaun and Irâk; it being his design to make a permanent arrangement of the affairs of those great countries, before he should finally return to the metropolis of Samarkand. In the mean time, the queen consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Touman Agha, together with the princess Khaunzâdah, the mother of the deceased Mahommed Sûltan, and other branches of the family, were instructed to meet the imperial standard at Aouneik, or Avanic—the same according to De la Croix, as Van, near the northern extremity of the lake of that name. Finding, on his arrival at Kayssereiah, whither it was probably necessary to deviate, in order

to avoid the defiles of Mount Taurus in the direct road from Kersheher, that many of the inhabitants of the adjoining territory had been impelled by their fears, to seek for safety in the caverns and subterraneous retreats in the neighborhood, he employed a part of his troops, under Ally Sûltan Towatchei, to hunt out and destroy them. In effecting this piece of service, that distinguished chieftain, as he was reconnoitering the entrance of one of the caverns, was pierced by an arrow in the royal artery,* or vena cava, in consequence of which he instantly expired. The authors of his death were taken by the soldiers immediately afterwards, and, being placed at the disposal of his brother, were the whole of them, on the same spot, sacrificed to his vengeance. Having then prosecuted his march to some distance beyond Sevauss, Teymûr took the opportunity of dismissing Kâra Othman the Tûrkman, who appears to have been the son of Kauzi Bûrhaun-ud-dein, formerly prince of the adjoining territory, to take charge of his hereditary government; after which he proceeded to the plains of Arzenjaun, where he experienced afresh the most splendid attentions from Ameir Taherten, that chief, after having accompanied the imperial stirrup a stage or two from Arzenjaun, being then also permitted to withdraw to his government with every mark of imperial favor. At Erzeroum, where he arrived shortly afterwards, the conqueror was met by his grandsons the Mirzas Olûgh Beg, Ibrauhim Sûltan, Mahommed Jahaungueir, Ayjeil, and Saud-e-Wokauss, who had, by previous instructions, hastened post from Sûltauniah, for the purpose of anticipating the embrace of their imperial grandsire.

At the castle of Aouneik, where the princesses of the imperial family awaited his arrival, Teymûr gave fresh indulgence to his sorrows for the death of Mahommed Sûltan; which was now for the first time made known to his mother, the Khaunzâdah just mentioned, whose grief for the loss of a beloved son it would, perhaps, be easier to imagine than describe. The empty shell, or coffin, prepared as it seems for the purpose, and left at Aouneik, was laid in her presence; and the lamentations to which she gave a loose, over the supposed remains of her offspring, might have produced tears of blood from a heart of stone. Fortunately the paroxysms of grief are not more obstinate in their du-

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ration than those of joy. The great drum, and other instruments of martial music belonging to his court, continuing to sound, and the whole Korân from first to last, having been recited for several days successively, in propitiation for the soul of the departed prince, the mourning ceremonies were finally concluded by an extraordinary distribution of alms and food to the poor; and a multitude of aged and pious persons assembled from different quarters, having greatly contributed by their expostulations and condolence to moderate and assuage his affliction, Teymûr evinced his gratitude by the most honorable treatment, and by loading them, on their departure, with accumulated proofs of his bounty and liberality.

To return once more to the more material part of the narrative, it was, perhaps, not unreasonably expected, that, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty concluded the preceding year, Gûrguein, or Gregory, prince of Georgia, should about this period not have failed to present himself before the throne of Teymûr. But it seems that he could still venture to elude the performance of his engagements. A renewal of those scenes of spoliation and violence, which had, in part, been already inflicted upon that devoted country, was therefore determined on, as the next object towards which to convey the stream of imperial vengeance; and for that purpose, Teymûr, at the head of his whole force, right, left, and centre, proceeded immediately to the northward, to the plains of Menkoule, already adverted to on some former occasions.

By this time, sufficiently convinced of the folly and inutility of any further opposition to the power of Teymûr, of which he had long since suffered the punishment, if the attention of his puissant adversary had not been otherwise more materially employed, Sûltan Eissa prince of Mardein, now hastened, by the most humble and abject submission, to avert that vengeance which, however delayed, sooner or later could scarcely fail to overtake him. On paying into the treasury his arrears of tribute, he succeeded, through the intercession of Shah Rokh, not only in securing pardon for his offences, but in obtaining, previous to his departure, the most substantial confirmation of his peace with the conqueror, by an alliance with the imperial family, through the proposed union of his daughter with

Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah. Amongst other chiefs who embraced the same opportunity of presenting themselves to Teymûr, we must not omit to mention Koustendeil, the brother of Gûrguein prince of Georgia; whom an unnatural family feud had thus driven to claim the protection of the implacable enemy of his country.

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Without accompanying our author further, in his indefatigable detail of circumstances, which would swell these memorials beyond all bounds of proportion or necessity, it will be sufficient to notice, that at the period still under consideration, the opportunity was embraced to confer upon Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, the government of Shirauz, and the territory, of old, dependent upon it; while Mirza Aba Bukker, one of the most able and active of the Teymûrian family, was selected to undertake the charge of rebuilding the dilapidated city of Baghdâd, and of restoring the imperial authority in Arabian Irâk, and the countries adjoining. The officers commanding at Wausset and Bassorah, at Diaurbekir, and Mardein, and throughout Kûrdestaun, were at the same time directed to co-operate with the young Shahzâdah, in the expulsion of Kâra Yûssuf the adventurous Tûrkman, who had again contrived to make himself master of the greater part of those countries; but, by what concurrence of circumstances, for the reasons already repeatedly alleged, as well as because it could be productive of no advantage in any degree adequate to the labor, we must decline following the author, in his almost interminable digressions, to describe.

It may, nevertheless, be still expedient to notice that, having enriched himself in his course by the plunder of Kayssereiah, Kâra Yussuf once more descended the Euphrates to Heit; and taking post in the neighboring desert, he there soon assembled a considerable force of his own tribe, and of the wandering Arabs of the adjoining territory. Unfortunately for Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir, who was again in possession of Baghdâd, and who was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of his own son Sûltan Tâher, that prince ventured to call in the assistance of the Tûrkman; by whom he was indeed soon enabled to chastise the perfidy of his rebellious child, the latter, in his flight from the field of battle near Hellah, perishing under the

A. H. 805. weight of his armour, in a river which intercepted his retreat. But
 A. D. 1403. discovering that the rapacious Tûrkmen harboured the design of
 Rouzut-us-suffa. plundering his property, whose cause they were engaged to support,
 the Sûltan fled in the course of the same night towards Baghdâd;
 whither, after having extorted all he could raise from the inhabitants
 of Hellah, he was shortly afterwards pursued by Kâra Yûssuf. The
 perfidious Yûssuf appears to have obtained possession of the city
 without much difficulty: the unfortunate Sûltan having contrived, how-
 ever, to secrete himself during the day, was conducted under cover
 of the ensuing night beyond the precincts of the town, by one of
 his faithful adherents of the name of Kâra Hussun, who actually
 carried him on his back for the space of five farsangs; until falling in
 with a solitary bullock, the Sûltan was then more conveniently
 mounted, and conveyed without further accident to Tekreit. Here
 he was very hospitably entertained, and liberally assisted, by Saurek
 Omar, of the Tartar tribe of Wayraut, or Oweyraut; and from thence,
 after having been joined by several of his officers, he finally effected
 his escape into Syria; in consequence of which it was that Kara
 Yûssuf had now obtained possession of the greater part, if not the
 whole of Arabian Irâk. This will sufficiently account for the ani-
 mosity which henceforward subsisted between the two chiefs, and
 which terminated only in the death of the Sûltan, as was observed
 at the close of the second volume.

Having received his instructions, Mirza Abû Bukker proceeded
 to Arbel,* or Arbela, where he seized upon the person of Abdullah,
 the governor of that place, together with several other officers accused
 of seditious practices; all of whom he immediately sent in irons to
 the imperial head quarters. Leaving his heavy equipments, the
 young prince then prosecuted his march without interruption to
 Hellah on the Euphrates; where he was joined, in concurrence with
 orders previously conveyed to that prince, by Mirza Rûstum, from
 Ouroujerd, or Verujerd, to the eastward of Nihawend. The two
 Mirzas after some deliberation now recrossed the Euphrates in con-
 junction, and on the banks of the canal of Ul-Ghaunem, below
 Hellah and opposite to the village of Seib, found themselves in the

* It is Ardebeil in the manuscript, but that would be entirely out of his road.

presence of the Tûrkman chief; who had here taken post, in formidable strength, availing himself of the line of the canal as a ditch to cover his position. The whole of the force with the princes did not exceed three thousand men; nevertheless, it was immediately determined to attack the enemy, the only point in debate being with respect to the command, Aba Bukker insisting that his kinsman, as the senior, should take the superior station in the centre. This, however, Mirza Rûstum declined; and, to put an end to all debate, immediately crossed the canal to the attack. His brother Yaur Ally having, however, fallen in the action which ensued, Kâra Yûssuf felt himself, very shortly afterwards, disposed to relinquish the contest, and accordingly passing to the opposite side of the Euphrates, with a small body of his followers, directed his flight also towards the frontiers of Syria; leaving the remainder, amounting to not much less than fifteen thousand families, together with an immense booty in sheep and cattle, to the mercy of the Teymûrians. The wife of the Tûrkman chief, and mother of his two sons Eskunder and Espend, or Sepend, with the greater part of his family, were also among those who fell into the hands of the troops of Mirza Rûstum. The subjugation of all Arabian Irâk was the immediate result of this victory; and Aba Bukker was now at full leisure to attend to his charge, the rebuilding of Baghdâd, and the repairing of the numerous disorders produced by such repeated usurpations, in this rich and fertile province.

In the mean time, the Tcheghataïan army, conducted by Teymûr in person, had quitted the plains in the neighborhood of Karss,* and entered the Georgian territory; Ameir Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, ever anxious to signalize his loyalty and devotion to the service of his lord, having already preceded with the troops of his province, in order to seize and secure the approaches into the country. On the other hand, apprized of the object with which the imperial armies were advancing, Melek Gûrguein is described to have experienced the utmost possible alarm; under the impression of which, he delayed not a moment to dispatch to the presence of Teymûr some of the most prudent and skilful agents of his court. In the most humble and submissive language these were instructed to urge, how far beneath

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* Where we are therefore to look for the plains of *Menkoule*.

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the dignity of so puissant a monarch, to engage his person in a contest with one so mean and insignificant as the prince of Georgia: that, if the object was submission to the imperial authority, he was already in sincerity of heart the most dutiful and obedient of subjects; and if merely a demand of tribute, that he was perfectly willing to engage for the punctual remittance to the imperial treasury of any annual proportion of his revenue that might be determined upon. But, that the very shadow of the imperial umbrella was to him an object so tremendously awful, that he had not yet been able to awaken sufficient resolution to approach the royal presence in person. If, however, a reasonable interval were allowed him, in order to subdue these discouraging impressions, that he would not hesitate to present himself, like the Sûltan of Mardein, and many other chiefs, under the shadow of the imperial pavilion; in the hope of being re-admitted to enjoy his portion of that favor, in which, on former occasions, he had not been thought unworthy to share.

These overtures on the part of the prince of Georgia, together with the valuable and splendid presents with which they were accompanied, were, nevertheless, disdainfully rejected by Teymûr; and the agents were sternly charged to inform the christian chief, that he was to consider himself in circumstances very different from those to whom he presumed to allude, and in whose favor a conformity of religion constituted so superior a claim. That, if he entertained any regard for his existence upon earth, he would without the smallest further delay convey himself to the head quarters of the Teymûrian armies, where he would be merely be called upon to decide between two simple alternatives—either to embrace the doctrines of the Korân, by which he would find himself re-instated in favor to a degree that should excite the envy and admiration of all mankind; or, should his better destiny fail to direct him to such a choice, to submit to the payment of the regulated tribute; by which he would at least secure a liberal dismissal to his government with the prerogatives of his power confirmed, and, what was of no slight importance, a seasonable exemption from the horrors and enormities of invasion. That he could be no stranger to the distinguished and liberal treatment experienced by the monarch of Constantinople, like himself

a Christian, when he claimed the protection of the majesty of Teymûr; and that this ought to operate as a conclusive example for his imitation. But, at all events, that his actual presence at court was indispensable, and that no apology for further delay would longer avail him in any shape whatever; and with this final declaration the agents were permitted to take their departure.

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The season for collecting the harvests was, however, now arrived; and Teymûr felt himself but little disposed to permit the infidels, before his eyes, by the unmolested removal of their crops, to provide the means of successful hostility. Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with several other distinguished officers, was therefore directed by a sudden and rapid movement to enter the Georgian territory. This service was carried into immediate and successful execution, and the troops of the enemy having been dispersed without difficulty, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein remained in the country, to cover the operation; while the Teymûrians were employed in securing and carrying off the most ample supply of grain and forage. After which, he returned without the smallest loss, to rejoin the main body of the army.

Within the Georgian frontier, some distance in advance of the present position of the imperial armies, and possibly some where in the line from Karss to Teflis, there lay, it seems, in the interval between two deep and intricate defiles, or vallies, a high mountain, on the very summit or table land of which stood an insulated rock, terminating on all sides in a vast precipice one hundred and fifty cubits in depth, excepting on the south side; where by an inaccessible ridge it communicates with another rock, by which it is overlooked. To the principal rock there was no ascent, otherwise than by a single spiral foot-path winding up the precipice; at the same time, that the chasms and inequalities of the mountain at its base, denied all means of lodgment, or encampment, at least for any body of troops adequate to the purposes of attack.

This insulated rock was that on which the Georgians had chosen to erect the fortress of Kûrtein, sparing neither art, expence, nor labor, to render it impregnable. A strong gateway protected the only entrance, and several deep and capacious cisterns, excavated in the rock, served to retain an abundant supply of rain-water for the

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numerous garrison ; which was, at this period, commanded by a war-like chief of the name of Nezaul, or perhaps Teraul, assisted by thirty distinguished Oznawers, or Georgian captains so designated, as formerly explained. They were all, at the same time, supplied in sufficient abundance, with sheep and hogs; and they had provided, moreover, in jars without number, ample store of the best wine of the country, of the deepest blush of the ruby. The importance of this place had early arrested the attention of Teymûr; but as it stood far within the territory of the enemy, and any smaller body of troops would be exposed to the utmost hazard of being cut off by superior force, the most experienced of the Moghûl generals did not hesitate to pronounce any attempt at the reduction of it, as an undertaking of the highest rashness. The towering genius of their sovereign disdained, however, to recoil from any enterprize, through a consideration of difficulty, or danger, of whatever magnitude; and he accordingly determined to prosecute the design in person, not without some expectation that his presence might have the effect, in some degree, of intimidating the enemy into early submission.

In concurrence with this resolution Teymûr, on the fourteenth day of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and sixth of the hidjerah,* displayed his victorious standard before this impregnable rock. The garrison, by the transmission of some presents of trifling value, affected at first to greet the arrival of the Tcheghataïan monarch with respect; but, speedily recollecting that the experience of age is not, like childhood, to be amused with almonds and raisins, they soon betrayed the determined hostility of their designs, by volleys of stones and arrows discharged without intermission upon the troops below, as they advanced to take post for the attack. Finding that the terror of his presence had failed to produce the effect which he had hoped for, he proceeded to avail himself of the resources which he possessed, and in which he was never yet deceived, in his own unrivalled talents, and the irresistible valour of his armies. In order to complete the investiture of the place, and to cut off all intercourse from without, the Ameirs and Nûyans were directed to take post with their divisions on every point on which it was in any

* 2nd of August A. D. 1403.

way accessible. Shah Melek, in particular, received orders to construct in front of the gateway, a strong and spacious redoubt or counterfort, while two other works of a similar description were raised by other commanders on opposite sides of the place; designed for the lodgment of a body of troops, to continue the blockade, and confine the garrison to their works, should the reduction of this stronghold fail to be accomplished at so early a period as the besiegers were disposed to expect. At the expiration of three days the work consigned to the execution of Shah Melek was completed, of a magnitude sufficient for the reception of a garrison of three thousand men. Teymûr then removed his head quarters from the front to the rear of the fortress; taking up his ground on a spot where it was conceived that his warlike machines might be planted, to work with effect against the defences of the place. Instructions were issued, at the same time, to erect against this part of the rock a *Meljour*, agger, or cavalier of stone and timber, of a sufficient elevation to overlook and command the works of the enemy. In the mean time, the catapultæ, and other warlike engines of the besiegers, had been planted at such a distance as to produce no other effect, than to increase the fancied security, and to provoke the derision of the garrison.

When, however, affairs had continued in this train for about a week, a certain native of Mekreit, in Eastern Tartary, of the name of Begtchek, accustomed to climb the steepest precipices in search of wild fowl, on the night of the twenty second of the month,* secretly explored his way to the summit of the rock which communicated, from the south, with the fortress of Kûrtein; and having proceeded to the very foot of the wall of the place, and brought away a goat which he killed on the top of the same rock, in order to indicate the path by which he might again be able to approach, descended to the bottom without discovery, and returned to camp. Next morning he did not omit to report, to Teymûr, his adventure of the preceding night; on which, having caused a ladder of ropes of raw silk and hemp, with the steps of wood, to be provided for the purpose, the Tcheghatâian monarch directed the just mentioned Begtchek, accom-

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* 10th of August.

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suffa.

panied by three of his countrymen, on sunday night of the twenty third of Mohurrim, again to ascend the rock by a narrow and dangerous ledge, or perhaps arch, taking with them a long cord with which to draw up the ladder. The rock was again ascended by these active and adventurous Moghûls, without either discovery or obstacle; and having dropped the end of the cord from the summit, they easily drew up the ladder of ropes, as they had been instructed to do, and securely fastened it to the trunk of a tree that grew out of the rock, as if there planted by the hand of destiny, for the express purpose of promoting the design of Teymûr. Ameir Shah Melek then approached the foot of the rock, leading a detachment of fifty Tûrkmauns and Khorassaunies, all enrolled for the service in the presence of their sovereign, to the ladder; which they all successively ascended, making their way good to the summit, without giving the slightest alarm to the enemy.

At day break the following morning, observing the Georgians in motion still unconscious of their danger, one of the Khorassaunies, led by an impulse which he could not controul, suddenly and with a loud voice proclaimed the Tekbeir; and a trumpeter of the name of Mahmûd, belonging also to the division of Shah Rokh, immediately sounding his trumpet on the rock above them, the astonished garrison became apprized of what, to this moment, had never been within the range of their conceptions. In the utmost alarm they rushed, however, from every side to repel the danger. Teymûr on his part, in expectation of the crisis, had mounted his horse, and passing through the intervening hollow, had taken his station opposite to the rock on which his adventurous warriors had lodged themselves: the whole army advancing, at the same time, with loud cries, to the sound of their horns and kettle-drums, in order to support the attack, and encourage the assailants. As the approach from the rock to the fort lay along the summit of a narrow ridge, which did not admit of the advance of more than three a-breast, one of the warriors devotedly stepped forward, covering himself with his shield; while two of his associates followed close behind, keeping up a discharge from their bows in order to check the attempts of the enemy. But the soldier who bore the shield receiving an arrow through the eye, and being compelled

through the anguish of his wound to drop his defensive armour and draw back, the Georgians were encouraged to advance and carry off the shield. Another warrior, a native of Subbuzwaur, animated by the fervor of religious zeal, next stepped forward sword in hand; but he also, after exhibiting some very conspicuous proofs of courage, was finally compelled to retire with ten or a dozen wounds on different parts of his person. A Turk, or Tartar, of the name of Mahinûd, armed with a mace at last, however, opposing himself to the Georgians, and having broke the legs of one of their Oznawers, or captains, on whose courage they appeared to repose particular confidence; while others of the fifty who had scaled the rock, now rushing forwards to attack the gate, possibly from within, and the troops from without hastening at the same time to their assistance, it was soon broke open; and a fortress, of the strength of which, some estimate may be formed from the preceding statements, was thus in an instant laid at the mercy of an overwhelming superior force. The Georgians immediately called for quarter, but in vain. The governor with some few of the principal officers, bound neck and heels, were conveyed to the presence of Teymûr; but the remainder of the men were wholly put to the sword, and the women and children driven into captivity. As a peculiar mark of imperial favor, the wife of the governor was, however, bestowed upon Ibrauhim prince of Shirvaun. Teymûr then gave orders that the warlike machines, which had probably, been constructed on the spot, should be immediately burnt, together with the Meljour, or cavalier of stone and timber; after which, he quitted the place, and returned to his camp, where he most liberally rewarded the adventurous Begtchek and his associates, through whose daring enterprize and contempt of danger, he had obtained possession of this impregnable post. The government of Kûrtein was finally conferred upon Mahommed Tûraun a Khorassaunian chief of some respectability, and a strong garrison of his countrymen was placed under his orders; with instructions to employ the resources of the surrounding districts for their support, and to prevent the Georgians from the commission of any further acts of violence and aggression against the territory of the Müssulmans.

A. H. 806.

A. D. 1403.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 806.

A. D. 1403.

Rouzut-us-
suffa.

Among other matters of inferior importance which occurred during the period under consideration, we may be permitted to notice the death of Sheikh Mahmûd Zengui Ajem, the author of a work entitled the *Joush Kheroush*, [agitation and clamour], recording the exploits of Teymûr. This person had accompanied the imperial agents from Kermaun; and in passing the bridge on the Kûrr in the neighborhood of Teflis, had fallen over and been drowned in the river. Hence it may be inferred that the scene of operations, and the fortress of Kûrtein, lay in the territory to the left, or north-eastward, of the Kûrr; but on what particular spot it would be in vain to conjecture.

After the reduction of Kûrtein, Teymûr, on consultation with his generals, determined on extending his vindictive depredations to Anjauz, or Abkhauz, on the remoter limits of Georgia, towards the north. Accordingly, a numerous body of troops was dispatched in advance, under the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and other distinguished commanders; who apparently, without meeting any other obstacle than what occurred in the wide-spread forests of the country, through which it was found necessary to cut their way, succeeded in penetrating through the interior of that difficult province, marking their progress with the customary scenes of havoc, massacre, and conflagration. Nearly seven hundred towns, hamlets, and monasteries, every church built of stone, and perhaps those of less solid materials were not exempted, were here levelled to the ground by the ferocious zeal of these enlightened reformers. The persecuted natives were hunted to their retreats, in the caverns formed along the precipitous sides of the mountains, dislodged, and finally slaughtered, by the novel species of attack formerly described—wooden coffers, or caissons, charged with armed warriors, and let down by ropes from above to a level with the entrance. Hence, after having executed this service of desolation to the very trees and shrubs, which when other means of destruction failed, they either stripped of their bark or scorched with fire, they returned, on the fourteenth of the former Rebbeia,* to rejoin the main body of the army.

In the mean time, while the Tchegbatâian monarch was employed in exercising his troops, preparatory to future hostilities, in the

* 30th of September.

less serious occupations of the chase, certain Georgian captives in his camp, who had, by some means or other, been suffered to escape the fury of military execution, availed themselves of an opportunity to apprise their prince, of the total destruction which awaited their common country, at the very next movement of the invaders, unless, by some expedient or other, he could contrive to disarm the vengeance, and conciliate the mercy of Teymûr; and very shortly afterwards, a deputation from the Georgian chief accordingly arrived to solicit, in behalf of their master, the intercession of some of the principal Ameirs of the imperial court. Teymûr continued, however, inaccessible to every intreaty, until the Mûfties, and teachers of the law, were finally prevailed upon to remind him that, by the express ordinances of his religion, he was forbidden either to slaughter, or pillage, or exercise any species of violence towards these people, when once they should have consented to become tributary, and engaged no longer to molest, or commit hostility against, the advocates of the true faith. It was then only that Teymûr, in concurrence with this solemn declaration of the oracles of the law, condescended to signify his compliance with the solicitations in behalf of Melek Gûrguein; and that Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim, who had been his most zealous advocate, was authorized to announce the success of his mediation to the agents of that prince, who had, in the painful incertitude between hope and despair, been long anxiously awaiting their permission to depart.

At the expiration of a few days the agents returned, bringing, from their master, a thousand pieces of gold struck in the name of the Tcheghatâian conqueror, together with one thousand excellent horses, and a vast variety of the most curious and costly articles of manufacture and merchandise, of gold and silver, and lastly, with a ruby of the most perfect water and beauty, of the weight of eighteen methkauls, or about 432 carats—equivalent to three ounces and a half. Of all these, which indicated a degree of opulence that we should not have expected at this period to find among the vallies of Mt. Caucasus, they made an humble offering in the presence of Teymûr; engaging at the same time, on the part of their master, for the punctual payment of the tribute, for which he was now to consider himself responsible to the imperial treasury.

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A. D. 1403.

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The treaty with Melek Gârguein thus satisfactorily concluded, Tey-mûr hastened to withdraw his armies from the country, and in several marches returned to Teflis; not omitting, however, to perpetuate the recollection of his immitigable hatred of christianity, by the destruction of every monastery, and every church, throughout the districts adjoining to his march. He now repassed the Kûrr; and, having proceeded two stages, determined to quit his heavy baggage and make the best of his way to Kârabaugh; in order to carry into execution the design, which he had long had in contemplation, of rebuilding the town of Beylekaun. In the neighborhood of the former place, he accordingly encamped shortly afterwards; and being joined at the expiration of a fortnight, by the remainder of the army, and the heavy equipments, he was enabled, without further delay, to proceed in the execution of his design. Of the old town of Beylekaun, which had long lain in ruins, there remained not at this period one brick upon another in its proper place; and the imperial surveyors and architects had been employed, the very moment of their arrival, to trace out a plan for its reconstruction in all its parts, comprising a spacious rampart and ditch, with numerous squares, or market places, caravanserais, and baths, and indeed every thing else suited to the convenience of an extensive population—all distinctly measured off by line, and allotted in regular proportions to the several Shahzâdahs, and principal Ameirs, who undertook as usual, to superintend and carry the whole into execution, through the exertion of their respective divisions. It is almost incredible, although there cannot be any reason to doubt the fact as here related, that under every disadvantage of severe cold and incessant rains, a work of this magnitude should have been completed in the short space of one month, including every description of building above enumerated, and all of burnt brick; a great proportion of which might, however, have been furnished by the ruins of the old town. In the mean time, the walls are stated at two thousand four hundred of the royal, or larger cubits,* in circumference, fifteen cubits in height,† and eleven cubits‡ in the width of the rampart; and the ditch at thirty cubits broad, and twenty cubits in depth. On the ramparts were constructed lodgments, or barracks, for the accom-

* About 5600 feet, at 28 inches to the guz.

† 35 feet.

‡ 25 feet 8 inches

modation of the garrison ; on each of the four angles of the wall was erected a lofty and spacious tower, or bastion ; and above the gates in particular were formed open battlements, behind which were planted machines for the discharge of stones, and other means of offence, in case of attack. And finally, not less to ensure a constant supply of water to the inhabitants, than the means of irrigation for the culture of the adjoining districts, the wisdom of Teymûr produced a mandate for the formation of a canal, fifteen cubits broad and six farsangs* in length, in order to conduct the waters of the Araxes to the town ; a work which was also executed by the troops under the superintendence of the Shahzâdahs, with that celerity and zeal which might be expected from the energies of disciplined veterans, when ably directed towards whatever object.

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He further signalized his residence at Beylekaun, on this occasion, by some laudable acts of retributive justice against the rapacious agents of his government in various quarters ; and in particular by compelling a certain Moulana Kûtb-ud-dein Kerremi, probably Kouummy, recently employed in the collections of Farss, to refund to the inhabitants of that province the sum of three hundred thousand dinaurs,* extorted from them, under different pretexts, when he quitted Shirauz in order to repair to court. His subordinate agent, Arghûn, was at the same time suspended by the neck, for those arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of which he had been guilty under the authority of his superior.

Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, who had been ordered from Samarkand for the purpose of being invested with the government of Azerbâijaun, is stated to have arrived at the imperial head quarters, while at Beylekaun, on the first of the former Jummaudy of the year 806 ;† and it was, therefore, subsequent to that period, after having completed the reconstruction of Beylekaun, that Teymûr removed to the winter quarters of Kârabaugh ; where he lodged his troops in cantonments of huts [Kouria] previously erected for their reception.

The most remarkable circumstance that seems to have occurred

* About 21 miles.

† About £137500, at the lowest computation.

* 15th of November.

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during the winter of eight hundred and six, was the rebellion of Eskunder Sheikhy, who had formerly been dismissed to take possession of the territory of Feyrouzkouh, and Demawund; but who was now announced to have set at nought his innumerable obligations to Teymûr, and to have openly thrown off his allegiance. This unexpected event is described to have produced considerable irritation in the mind of the Tcheghataïan monarch; and Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by Ameir Sûliman Shah, was directed to proceed immediately to Rey; with instructions, should the intelligence prove true, to collect the troops from Koumm, Kashaun, and Dergûzein, and to proceed in quest of, and inflict a just and severe chastisement on that perfidious rebel. Another circumstance which it becomes necessary to mention, and which, however an oriental writer may attempt to disguise it in the language of metaphor, reflects but little credit on the vaunted magnanimity of his hero, is the death of Nûr-ul-werd, [the splendor of the rose], the son of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd; who was brought, about this period, from Irâk Arab, and in the bloom of youth, being not yet more than eighteen years of age, torn up by the roots, and, cruelly sacrificed to the fury of imperial vengeance in the very height of the festivities which were introduced to soften the rigors of winter.

The petty chiefs who ruled in the province of Guilân, although they had felt it prudent to transmit to the court of Teymûr some trifling and insignificant presents, had, however, hitherto declined to make their personal submission to the conqueror. A detachment of the imperial troops had therefore been directed to take post, during the winter, in the forests which extend for the greater part along the boundaries of that province. They were followed, in due time, by Shah Rokh, and his son Ibrauhim Sûltan, together with several divisions of the army, to Ghuzzelniauje, where they remained in considerable force. Alarmed at the approach of the Teymûrians, the Guilauny rulers hastened to avert the storm, by dispatching their agents with offers to submit to the payment of a large sum of money, by way of tribute; and such offers being immediately transmitted to court, by Shah Rokh, they were, without much difficulty, acceded to, by Teymûr. The proper officers proceeded in consequence into

Guilân, in order to levy the stipulated tribute; and several of the most respectable native chiefs of the province hastened, shortly afterwards, to the presence to do homage in the usual forms to the imperial authority, and were very favorably and honorably received by the Tcheghatâian monarch. Among others was Seyud Rezza Keya, for whom, in consideration of his illustrious descent from the prophet, Teymûr evinced a disposition to exhibit the most distinguished preference; and, with this view, the imperial agents were instructed, in the tribute, which on the whole of the province was fixed at fifteen thousand statute Maunns* of raw silk, seven thousand horses, and three thousand dinaurs in specie, to abate in the proportion of one moiety, from what might be due from the districts of the Seyud, as well as from those belonging to Ameir Mahommed of Resht: and to reserve from all the other districts a third part, for the use of the same Seyud, in order to enable him to support a more splendid establishment than his brother chiefs. Before he broke up from his winter quarters at Kârabaugh, on this occasion, Teymûr further resolved to attest his paternal regard for Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, by bestowing upon that prince the government of Hamadaun, Nihawend, and Veroujerd, together with the territory of Lerr Koutchek, or the lesser Lerr, along the western acclivities of the mountains of Irâk-Ajem.

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One of the first objects that seems to have occupied the attention of Teymûr, on the return of spring, was to provide that all classes of the race of Hûlaukou, whose influence in the province of Azerbâijaun was not yet by any means entirely extinguished, should from every family convey either a son, a brother, or a wife, to reside at Samarkand, as pledges for the fidelity of the remainder. This measure of precaution executed, and a period of some days having been devoted to the pleasures of a royal hunting match on the plains of Aktaum, nothing of importance was now left to detain the Tcheghatâian monarch any longer in this quarter; and he accordingly determined to carry into execution, without further delay, the design which he had for some

* According to Richardson, the Maunn-e-shâhy, or Royal Maunn, was 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb Amsterdam. The smallest Hindostauny Maunn is equal to 28lbs; at the former calculation this would amount to about 85 tons.

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time had in contemplation, of revisiting the metropolis of the empire. For this purpose, on the fourteenth of the month of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and sixth of the hidjerah,* he quitted the cantonments of Kârabagh; and a temporary bridge having been thrown across the Aras, or Araxes, he proceeded to pass that river to the right, or southern bank; where, on the meadows in the neighborhood of Niammetabad, one of the towns on the canal of Berlas excavated by himself at a former period, he shortly afterwards encamped. At this station he was joined by Shah Rokh from Ghuzzelniauje.

In the meantime, as it had been long since determined upon to invest Omar, the son of Meiran Shah, with the government of Azerbâijaun, and the provinces formerly dependent upon it to the frontiers of Natolia and Syria, letters patent to that effect under the imperial Altumgha, or sign manual, accompanied by an ordinance enjoining the shahzâdahs in the direction of the provinces of Farss, and both the Irâks, notwithstanding that his brother Aba Bukker was one year older than himself, to be in all cases obedient to his authority, were now formally delivered to him, in the presence of a numerous and splendid assembly of the Ameirs of the empire. The troops attached to his father's government were, at the same time, placed under his orders, and the able and gallant Ameir Jahaun Shah, and many other distinguished captains were nominated to compose his court, and to fill the different employments under his authority: but, with respect to Ameir Jahaun Shah in particular, the prince was expressly admonished, in all his undertakings, to yield undeviating attention to the judgment and experience of that veteran chief. The shahzâdah was then dismissed for the summer quarters of Allatauk, or Allahtaug, accompanied by many of the vassal princes of the provinces adjoining to his government; and among others by Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, Sûltan Eissa of Mardein, and Koustendeil the Georgian, the brother of Melek Gûrguein formerly mentioned.

From the plains of Niammetabad, Teymûr now proceeded on his march, encamping next at the station of Jâi-belawerd, on the banks of the river Oghlaurk, or Oghlûk; where he remained to the conclusion

* 25th of March 1404.

of the month of Ramzaun—there discharging the customary ceremonies of the Eid-ul-fettrah, and compensating for the rigorous abstinences of the preceding month, by a display of his munificence, and by a royal and splendid entertainment given to his court and army.

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A. D. 1404.

Rouznt-us-suffa.

It has already appeared that Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh, and Ameir Sûliman Shah were dispatched at no distant period to examine into, and to check the turbulent spirit recently displayed in the conduct of Eskunder Sheikhy. On their arrival at Rey, the Shahzadah and his associate found the intelligence confirmed, that the rebel had thrown off the mask of allegiance; and after placing the strong castle of Feyrouzkouh in a respectable state of defence, with a garrison composed of his own relatives, had himself withdrawn to the hills and forests of Jelladoun, or Jellâoun, and Rûstumdaur. Having remained at Tehraun of Rey for the space of twenty days, and succeeded in collecting together about two thousand of the troops of the adjoining territory, the shahzâdah and his coadjutor boldly entered the passes of Rûstumdaur, in quest of the insurgent. When, after a short siege, they had made themselves masters of the fortress of Nour, Melek Keyomars, one of the native princes, presented himself in the camp of the Teymûrians; and, in conformity with the maxim that all war is a system of deceit, and that in war therefore every species of stratagem is fair, immediately entered into a collusion, sufficiently simple, with them, by which he agreed that they should seize his person, and deliver him up to the rebel Eskunder, with whom he had long been at variance. This project was carried into execution without delay, Keyomars being conducted immediately to the advanced posts of his adversary, with an assurance conveyed to the latter, from the Teymûrian generals, that he might without the smallest risk of danger return to his allegiance; and that his early submission on this occasion would be received, not only as an atonement for his offences, but as an undoubted proof of the zeal and sincerity of his former attachment.

Conscious, however, that he had offended beyond all reasonable hope of forgiveness, Eskunder eluded the snare; and having, without much difficulty, effected a reconciliation, and concluded, what we

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were not precisely prepared to expect, an alliance with his recently mortal foe, he then retreated further within the forests and defiles of the country. Of these circumstances Teymûr received intelligence in the commencement of Shavaul,* while he continued still encamped on the Oghlûk river: in consequence of which orders were immediately dispatched to Ameir Mûzraub in Khorassaun, directing him to proceed without delay, at the head of the troops of the province, by the route of Amûl and Saury, to attack the insurgent from that side. On the seventh of Shavaul,† an officer from Khaleil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, arrived with satisfactory accounts of the state of affairs at Samarkand; and shortly afterwards, Teymûr removed his head quarters to the territory of Ardebeil. From thence he dispatched the Ameirs Shah Melek and Peir Ally Selduz, to Rey, with instructions to raise a body of troops from among the Khelege, and Arab tribes, settled about Komm, Kashaun, and Sawah, and other places in the vicinity. At the same time, Mirza Eskunder was directed to join his brother Rûstum, and the Ameir Sûliman Shah, in the operations now carrying on for the subjugation of the rebel Eskunder Sheikhy.

Passing by Ardebeil and Miaunah, Teymûr soon afterwards encamped at the station of Serjem, or Sertchem; to which place he was followed by Douldâi, the governor of Aouneik, an old and faithful servant, whom, in consideration of his long tried zeal and unshaken attachment, he most affectionately embraced. To this personage he expressly intimated that the present might be their last interview in this world; and he therefore, with more than ordinary seriousness, enjoined him to be vigilant in his attention to the state of affairs on the neighboring frontiers of Armenia and Kûrdestaun. From Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd he alleged, however, that he did not conceive there was any thing further to apprehend; but against the enterprising and ambitious Kâra Yûssuf, he contended that the most vigilant precautions were indispensably necessary, which he therefore charged his vassal, on his allegiance, never to lose sight of. After this he dismissed him to his government. Teymûr then prosecuted his march to Sûltauniah, where he arrived on the twentieth of the month of Shavaul.‡ Two days afterwards he quitted Sûltauniah; and in

* About the 11th of April.

† 17th of April.

‡ 30th of April.

several stages conducted his troops to the plains in the neighborhood of Kazvein. Here he was joined by his grandson Aba Bukker, from Ardebeil, [rather from Arbeil, or Arbela] having travelled post from thence, in the short space of nine days.* During his visit on this occasion it was that, through the intercession of Serâi Melek Khaunum, and the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, the young prince obtained his grandsire's permission that Meiran Shah should thenceforward take up his residence with him at Baghdâd. A donation of four hundred thousand kopek dinaurs,† with one hundred horses, and several other articles of rarity and value, was at the same time bestowed upon Meiran Shah; who was then permitted to return to Sûltauniah.

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Although, at a period so long subsequent, the minuteness of such a detail might be irksome to the generality of readers, yet there are doubtless not a few to whom it would be still acceptable—whom it would still gratify to be apprized of the most trifling circumstance that distinguished the concluding year of the life of this celebrated conqueror, at whose very name it would be useless to deny that a great part of the habitable world so long trembled in dismay and affright.

From Kazvein, or Casbin, Teymûr continued his march to the station of Sougbulauk, where his regard for Mirza Aba Bukker was afresh displayed, in a donation of one hundred thousand kopek dinaurs, accompanied with a present of two hundred horses, and one hundred coats of mail, or perhaps cuirasses. The village of Dejeil, dependent on the city of Baghdâd, was conferred at the same time, in perpetual fee, upon Shâhy Melek the daughter of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and consort of Aba Bukker. The young prince was then dispatched to join Ameir Sûliman Shah; with whom he was instructed to unite his exertions, in order to quell the rebellion of that audacious traitor Eskunder Sheikhy. Aba Bukker proceeded accordingly, and after several marches came up with the imperial troops under the Mirzas Rûstum and Eskunder, and Ameir Sûliman, at a station

* It does not, however, appear to be more than three hundred miles, across the mountains of Kûrdestaun.

† Of seven livres each, according to De la Croix.

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called Kejoud, where they had taken post; strengthening their position with a ditch, and abbatis, or branches of trees with the ends sharpened and pointed outwards, and omitting no precaution to guard against the designs of an enterprising and active enemy. Here they remained for a period of twenty days, expecting further reinforcements; instead of which, at the expiration of that period, they received fresh orders from Teymûr, to proceed without further delay in quest of the insurgent chief. These orders they hastened to carry into execution; but, as their march lay through a deep and gloomy forest, their progress was unavoidably slow, since it depended on the labour of the Yessauki, or pioneers, of the army, employed to cut down the trees for their passage; and not only that, but to lay poles and planks, over the hollows and ditches rendered otherwise impracticable by the enemy.

In the mean time, quitting the station of Sougbulauk, Teymûr proceeded towards Rey; in the territory of which he displayed his standard on the first of Zilkandah,* encamping immediately afterwards on the plains of Saurok-kemmesh, in the neighborhood of that city. Here he determined to send forward the greater part of his cattle and superfluous baggage, by the way of Khowaur, or Khover, and Bestaum, for Samarkand. From thence also, he permitted the consort of Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, with her children, to take her departure for Gheznîn and Kabûl, both included under her husband's government. Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and the other Ameirs employed in escorting the Kâra-Tatarian tribes, and the hostages from Azerbâijaun belonging to the race of Hûlaukou were, at the same time, directed to proceed by the route of Khowaur, and Semnaun, also on their way into Transoxiana. Ameir Shah Melek, and Peir Ally Seldûz, who had been formerly dispatched to Rey, in order to collect together the troops of the neighboring districts, now joined the imperial head quarters. Not long afterwards, as he was passing the ruins of Gûlkhendaun, on the skirts of Demawend, Teymûr directed that fortress to be immediately rebuilt of brick and mortar; after which, leaving the celebrated mountain just mentioned behind him, he proceeded to Feyrouzkouh.

* 10th of May.

To this mountain-fortress, one of the strongest in the Persian empire, Teymûr immediately laid siege, and in the short space of two days, succeeded in making himself master of it; the garrison having been terrified into surrender by one of those instances, of daring spirit in the imperial troops, so frequently recorded in these pages.* The son of the rebel Eskunder, with a great part of his family, here fell into the hands of the conqueror.

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Leaving a competent garrison under an officer of the name of Zengui Touny, for the defence of Feyrouzkouh, Teymûr, on the day subsequent† to that on which he obtained possession, conducted his army to encamp in a fair valley, [mûrghzaur] at the distance of half a far-sang from the fort. From thence the consorts Serâi Melek Khaunem, and Tomaun Aga, with those illustrious off-shoots of the imperial stock, the Mirzas Olûgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, sons of Shah Rokh, Saud-e-Wokauss the son of Mahommed Sûltan, and Eyjel the son of Meiran Shah, were directed to proceed, by the route of Sûltan Meydaun, immediately towards Samarkand. At this very juncture, advices reached him that the Kâra-Tatarian families, whom he appeared so solicitous to convey to the country of their forefathers, notwithstanding all his precautions had risen on their conductors, in the neighborhood of Damaghaun, and effected their escape in great numbers into the forests of Mazanderaun, and towards the shores of the Caspian. Those who made for that coast were, however, in part overtaken by Ameir Beyan Koutchin, at the head of five hundred cavalry; and such as escaped immediate slaughter, to the number of two thousand families who fell into the hands of their pursuers, were compelled to embrace their destiny in the remote wilds of Tartary.

Intent, however, at this moment above all things, on the prosecution of his vengeance against the rebel Eskunder, Teymûr, after taking leave of Shah Rokh who was labouring under a fit of sickness, and whom he therefore permitted to withdraw to Herât, directed his march towards Jellâou, or Tchelaô; described to have been the principal

* An officer in the service of Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, accompanied by Mahommed Azaud, and other brave warriors, under cover of the night, found means to gain the foot of the walls; from which no exertions of the enemy availed to dislodge him.

† 20th of May.

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place of residence of the rebel. In the course of several days march, during which the troops surmounted a variety of obstacles in the steep hills and protracted defiles of Rôstumdaur, they at last gained the summit of Mount Jellâou; from whence the insurgent had, however, previously effected his retreat through innumerable difficulties to the Jehennum-derrah, or pass of hell, one of the most formidable and inaccessible, in a country where such positions are not unfrequent. From the station on Mt. Jellâou, after a repose of one day, the imperial troops continued the pursuit.

The direction which the march now took, led the troops through a long and deep defile overgrown with wood, impervious to the rays of the sun; and being immersed in perpetual fog, clouds, and frequent rain, the soil was reduced to one entire mass of mire and clay. The valley was, at the same time, divided in the middle by a broad and turbid stream, impassable either on horseback, or on foot; and the only bridge had been destroyed by the rebel. It was from these circumstances, and the indications of unseen danger, perhaps, by which it was in all directions environed, that the defile had obtained the peculiar appellation by which it was distinguished—the pass of hell. But the spirit of Teymûr, and of his invincible squadrons, was not to be foiled by any obstacles assailable by human prowess. A new bridge was expeditiously thrown across the stream. Several divisions, under some of the most distinguished commanders, instantly passed to the opposite bank, and proceeded to cut their way through the forest in pursuit of the enemy; and the Tcheghatayan monarch in person followed, shortly afterwards, and at the distance of one stage from the spot where he had effected the passage of the river, pitched his tents on the summit of a rising ground, which, as it was fortunately bare of wood, furnished a tolerable view of the surrounding country.

Of the divisions employed in the pursuit of Eskunder, that which was placed under the orders of Derrya Koutchin, Shah Melek Berlas, Sudder Berlas, and Sheikh Derveish Illauhy, in particular, conducted by some native guides, and in the midst of a forest on the caspian shore, succeeded at last in coming up with the rebel. At this crisis, of the whole division, not more than twenty men remained in a body;

and Eskunder, encouraged by the disparity of his pursuers, at the head of thirty horse and two hundred foot, boldly quitted his retreat to attack them. On the other hand, not less dismayed on perceiving the obvious disproportion of the imperial detachment, than by a perfect knowledge of the undaunted courage of Eskunder, which he had witnessed in many a perilous conflict, Sheikh Derveish Illauhy could not be withheld from deserting his associates, in the hour of danger. The courage of Eskunder, it might indeed be his boast to have derived, by inheritance, from the most illustrious warriors of ancient times; since it is described as an established fact among the oriental historians, that he was lineally descended from Pezhen, the son of Keyou, and grandson of Kouderz, or Gouderz—the mother of Pezhen being Baunû Keshasp, the daughter of the renowned Rûstum Zaul, all of them most distinguished characters in Ferdoussi's romantic story. The remainder of the imperial detachment, small as they were in number, maintained their ground, nevertheless, with unshaken firmness, repulsing their assailants in repeated onsets, by their steady and unerring skill in the management of their bows. The rebel, whose valour is again acknowledged, when engaged in a loyal cause, never to have receded before the enemy, was now again compelled to bury himself in the mazes of the forest; leaving his pursuers in a state of perfect ignorance, as to the direction in which he had contrived to escape.

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Joined by reinforcements the Teymûrians proceeded, without opposition, to pillage the camp of Eskunder, in which they found considerable booty; and having taken up their quarters for the night on the same spot, they were further strengthened by the arrival of Ameir Sounjek, belonging to the troops formerly advanced, under the orders of Mirzas Rûstum and Aba Bukker, and Ameir Sûliman Shah. Then taking the direction to the left hand in quest of the fugitive, they unexpectedly came upon his cousin-german Lohorasp, together with Ameir Ally, another of his sons, many of his women and other individuals of his family, all of whom they now secured. Their numbers were then further augmented by the junction of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, and Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, together with seventy of the light cavalry; and they then continued the pursuit,

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with redoubled activity and eagerness, through the woods, until about the hour of noon, when they again came up with the fugitive chief; who was still accompanied by fifty horse, and two hundred of his followers on foot. Driven to despair he stood, nevertheless, prepared to combat for existence like a man. In these circumstances, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne advanced to attack him; but suddenly drawing off in pretended dismay, Eskunder, deceived by the stratagem, imprudently quitted his advantageous position in the woods, and fell into the snare thus laid for him. Sûltan Hûsseyne, when they least expected it, wheeled round upon his pursuers, and put the greater part of the infantry to the sword. Eskunder himself contrived, however, to escape the slaughter, finally taking the direction which leads towards Guilân. What subsequently became of him is matter of conjecture, some writers stating that he perished under complicated distress and hardships, in his flight towards Guilân; while others represent that he finally escaped, and saved himself under the disguise of a religious habit. The former circumstance is, however, recommended as best entitled to our belief.

Here relinquishing the pursuit, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne returned towards the Caspian shore; where he found the Teymûrians now assembled in force, under the Mirzas Rûstum, Aba Bukker, and Eskunder, and the Ameirs Suliman Shah, and Sheikh Nâr-ud-dein, and still engaged in fruitless endeavours to explore the retreat of the rebel. With the same view, the whole again proceeded together, along the coast, towards Guilân, for the distance of five farsangs, or about eighteen miles; when they found it expedient to encamp. At length, since no trace of the fugitive Eskunder could be further discovered in this region of Cimmerian darkness, they came to a resolution to abandon their bootless errand altogether, and return to join the imperial head-quarters. By this, however, they exposed themselves, on their arrival, to the severest expression of displeasure, on the part of Teymûr; by whom they were immediately ordered back towards Guilân, to resume their pursuit of the insurgent, under the direction of the veteran Shah Melek. Accordingly they trod back their steps, with no very forward zeal to the service, and for the period of a day and a night, amidst sloughs, morasses, and rice fields, once more pro-

ceeded to explore these gloomy forests. During the whole of this time, as if, according to our original, heaven itself were disposed to weep without measure over the fate of the rebel Eskunder, the clouds descended in a deluge of rain; while the Shahzâdahs, in common with their troops, exhausted with fatigue and exertion, continued to traverse the howling wilderness, without being able to discover a single spot on which to pitch their tents. From this state of distress and embarrassment they were, however, at last most seasonably relieved by an order of recal; of which they hastened to avail themselves without a moment's delay.

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Concluding that his presence among these inhospitable forests, could be productive of no further advantage, Teymûr finally decamped from the hill on which he had taken post; and recrossing by the bridge which had been thrown over the river of the Jehennum-derrah, proceeded to the neighborhood of Nour, one of the fortresses of Rûstumdaur already mentioned. Here some of the imperial detachments delivered into his hands the son and nephew of Eskunder Sheikhy, with divers others of the family and clientage of the rebel; all of whom, and it seems to be recorded as an act of singular clemency, the conqueror suffered to remain alive. In the evening of the same day, a messenger from the Mirzas Aba Bukker and Sûltan Hûsseyne conveyed intelligence, that on their arrival on the banks of the river in the Jehennum-derrah, they found that the bridge had been either destroyed by the enemy, or carried away by the torrent; and that the stream was impassable, without a bridge, which they had not the means of constructing. In this dilemma, thirty watermen of the Jeyhûn, under the direction of Mahommed Azaud and Towukkel Bawertchei, were immediately dispatched to the assistance of the shahzâdahs; and having reconstructed a bridge of some description or other, enabled them to cross without further difficulty, and soon afterwards to re-join the imperial encampment. On the day following, the imperial standard was again in motion towards the fortress of Harny, or perhaps Harsy, still in the direction of Guilân, to the north-west; and proceeding to the plains of Kallan, or perhaps Kellar-desht, Teymûr there remained stationary for several days. During this interval of repose, Ameir Gheyauth-ud-dein the son of Seyud Kemmaul-ud-dein Ally, who

A. H. 806. had been long at variance with Eskunder Sheikhy, now received from
 A. D. 1404. Teymûr, with other proofs of favor, the government of Saury, with the
 Rouzut-us several districts dependent upon that place.
 suffa.

Finding, at last, that all his endeavors to seize the person of the rebel Eskunder proved unavailing, and, like the fountain of the water of life, that he had left no trace behind him but the name, while the greater part of his kindred and adherents were effectually in the custody of the imperial troops, Teymûr resolved to waste his exertions no further in the fruitless research, and to prosecute his march, without further delay, for the banks of the Oxus. Previous to his departure on this occasion, the Ameir Sâeid Berlas and some other distinguished officers were directed to accompany Mirza Rûstum, to his government of Isfahaun; while Mirza Aba Bukker received orders to proceed towards Baghdâd, accompanied by Ameir Sounjek; and Mirza Eskunder, another of the sons of Omar Sheikh, was dispatched for Hama-daun. At the same time, Seyud Ezz-ud-dein and Seyud Ally received their dismissal; the former for the district of Hazaur-guzzy, and the latter for his government of Ammûl, or Amol, in Mazanderaun.

These preliminaries dispatched, Teymûr broke up from the plains of Kallan-desht, [so clearly in the manuscript—the great plain] and returned towards Demâwend; in the neighborhood of which, after a march of several days, he took up his abode in the Koushek, or Kiosk, of Arghûn—a summer palace erected, by the emperor Arghûn Khaun, at the foot of that celebrated mountain. From thence, attended by the nobles of his court and those particularly attached to his household, he hastened once more to Feyrouzkouh, the government of which, together with that of Rey, he now conferred upon the gallant Ameir Sûliman Shah; Beyan Koutchin who, at present, superintended the affairs of Rey, being directed to take charge of the fortress of Gûlkhendaun, recently rebuilt at the foot of Demâwend. This was, according to De la Croix, about the twenty second of Zilhudje.*

From Feyrouzkouh, Teymûr appears to have continued his march by Sûltan Meydaun, to Bestaum, where, according to the same De la Croix, he arrived on the twenty fourth of the month; and from thence,

* 30th of June.

† 2d of July.

after visiting Sâltan Bayezzid Bestaumy, a celebrated doctor of that age, and receiving the homage of Peir Padshah, whom he had, at a former period, constituted governor of Asterabad, he proceeded further to the small town of Jeghdâd, or perhaps Jaghaz. At this place, Hussun Souffy presented himself with a message from Shah Rokh, at Herât, requesting to know his father's pleasure as to the spot where he should meet him, on his passage through Khorassaun; and the messenger was directed to return post, and inform the prince, that his father expected to see him on the banks of the river of Joghjeran, as far as we can judge, to the eastward of the town of Jaum. Teymûr then prosecuted his march to Neyshapûr; and from thence, on wednesday the first of Mohurrem, of the year eight hundred and seven,* proceeded to the town of Aishekabad.

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On friday, the third of the same month, he pitched his tents near the town of Jaum, where he proceeded to visit the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Zendah Peil; a celebrated Peir, or religious superior, of that place, the aid of whose sainted spirit he there invoked. Mounting his horse, he then hastened to the bank of the Jogjeran, or perhaps Joucoudgeran as in De la Croix, where, according to appointment, Shah Rokh repaired to meet him, with a display of presents of the utmost cost and splendor; all of which, with characteristic liberality, the monarch immediately distributed among the members of his court, and the officers of his household. During the period in which he remained encamped on this river, Auk Bouga and Kâra Bouga, both of the family of the unfortunate Jouny Gurbauny, who had availed themselves of the absence of Teymûr to revolt against the imperial authority, and whose persons had been subsequently seized by Ameir Hindû Shah, were, by that commander, placed at the mercy of their offended sovereign; and on competent proof of their guilt, they were both hanged at the entrance of a caravanserâi in the neighborhood. Teymûr now accelerated his progress; and, dismissing Shah Rokh for Herât, made the best of his way to Kerlan, or Korlan: where he was met by Temûr Khoujah Aukbougâ, who had hastened thus far from Samarkand to attend the orders of his master.

Encamping shortly afterwards on the Mûrghaûb, which is the river

* 9th of July.

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of Merû, a complaint of malpractices against the magistrate who had been deputed to preside over them was laid before Teymûr, by the inhabitants of Tchitchektou, a town somewhere in the vicinity; in consequence of which the accused was condemned, without ceremony, to be on the spot suspended by the heels, and there left to perish amid the scoffs and insults of his accusers. In the mean time, by the constant arrival of the governors and principal magistrates of the different towns and districts in the neighborhood of his course, and the presents indispensably laid at the foot of the throne, and as unreservedly distributed to those around him, the whole of the imperial retinue were enabled to remount themselves on fresh horses; and to continue their march with facility, and without, in the smallest degree, retarding the expedition with which their master was disposed to prosecute his journey.

In a few stages more, passing by Endekhcud, and some other places mentioned in detail in De la Croix's translation, Teymûr presented himself in the environs of the city of Bâkh, encamping in the village, perhaps the suburb, of Adeinah-Mesjid. After receiving the homage of the principal inhabitants of Bâkh, he continued his progress, without further delay, by the station of Siahguerd; and, crossing the Jeyhûn near Termed, took up his residence in that city, in the mansion of the Khaunzâdah Allâ-ul-Mûlk; who entertained the monarch in a manner not unworthy of his own distinguished hospitality, and of the exalted rank of his imperial guest. From Termed, through the pass of *Koluga*,* and by the stations of *Shekadic*,† and *Doulburji*,‡ Teymûr pursued his march to his country residence of Aukserâi, or the white palace, in the neighborhood of Kesh. Here he does not, however, appear to have continued longer than was necessary to visit the shrine of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kolaur, and the tombs of his father, and others of his family reposing in the silence of the grave, near that his native city. Having attested his regard for the memory of the illustrious dead, he then proceeded across the range of mountains to the north-ward of Kesh, by the Tukht-e-karatchah, or black palace, formerly erected

* † ‡ the places in Italics are enumerated from De la Croix.

by his orders, and in the course of a few days,* reached the gardens of Kâratoupa† in the neighborhood of Samarkand; where, in the palace of Jahaun-nemmâi, he now took up his abode, as it would appear, some time previous to the conclusion of the month of Mohurrem.

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Immediately on his arrival his great-grandson Mirza Keydou, the son of Peir Mahommed Jahaungueir, yet a child of about eight years of age, accompanied by Khaujah Yûssuf and Arghûn Shah, hastened to the presence of his august progenitor; and he was soon followed by the princess Towukkel Khaunum, and other ladies of the imperial family, succeeded by a numerous train of the nobles of the metropolis. Others of the principal inhabitants also repaired in crouds to offer their congratulations on the safe return of their victorious sovereign. Removing, shortly afterwards, from the palace of Jahaun-nemmâi to that in the Baugh-e-tchenaur, or garden of plane trees, Teymûr, from the latter place, made his entry into Samarkand on this occasion; proceeding immediately to the college of his departed grandson, Mahommed Sûltan—a structure which he had not before had an opportunity of visiting since its completion. He then returned to the Baugh-e-tchenaur; where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared for his entertainment, and that of his triumphant train. In the mean time, that part of the imperial family which had been sent forward from Feyrouzkouh, by the more direct route of Bawerd, or Abiwerd, Makhan, and Merû, were not yet arrived; and a messenger was accordingly dispatched to hasten their journey. The lapse of a few days, however, brought these also to the capital of the empire; the princess Serâi Melek Khaunum taking up her residence in the garden of plane trees, and Touman Aga in the Baugh-e-beshisht, or garden of paradise.

Soon after his return, Teymûr was seized by one of those attacks, which not unfrequently succeed to any sudden change from violent motion in the field, to perfect domestic repose. During his illness he appears to have resided altogether with the princess Touman Aga, in the Baugh-e-beshisht. Recovering, however, in the course of a

* The direct distance between Kesh and Samarkand, does not, by the map, appear to exceed thirty miles; the whole distance from Termed to Samarkand not being more than two degrees of latitude.

† Blackheath, perhaps.

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week, he removed, as soon as it appeared that his health was perfectly re-established, to the Baugh-e-shamaul; the spacious gardens, as the name implies, on the north side of the city, where he gave a most splendid entertainment, on the birth of a son to his daughter the princess Beggisy Sultaun. When he had terminated this circuit of pleasure round his fair metropolis, by a visit to the Baugh-e-belend, or garden on the heights perhaps, he finally entered the city, and took up his abode in the palace of the late Mahommed Sultaun; his attention being now directed to raise a superb mausoleum to the memory of that prince, in the shape of a dome, or portico, contiguous to the college already mentioned. In the short space of a few weeks the work was completed by the imperial architects; being entirely of white sculptured marble inlaid with gold, and azure, or lapis lazuli. According to De la Croix, it was only the cincture of the dome that received this beautiful decoration; but we are disposed to think that the whole of the interior, or concave of the dome, might have been wrought in this species of mosaic, not unfrequent in the east. A number of the surrounding habitations were at the same time removed; and a beautiful garden created on the spot furnished an elegant retreat, for those inclined to visit this splendid monument to the illustrious departed.

Previous to his setting out on the expedition into western Persia and the peninsula of Anatolia, Teymûr had given directions that the new metropolitan mosque, or Jumma-mesjeid, built on his return from India, should be surrounded, during his absence, by a spacious gallery, or corridor. Perceiving, however, when he came back from the recent expedition, that this work had been finished on a scale infinitely too contracted to correspond with his own magnificent design, he severely reproved the architect, Khaujah Ahmed Dâoud, for so grossly misapprehending his instructions; and, ordering the gallery to be immediately thrown down and removed, he caused a more lofty and extensive colonnade to be erected in its stead.

Amidst these minor occupations he did not, however, neglect the more important concerns of his government. He redressed the grievances of his people, upon those unprincipled and rapacious functionaries, who had dared to abuse his authority to their injury; and, in

particular, he caused Mahommed Dâoud and Mahmûd Jelled, the two chief secretaries of the exchequer who had been entrusted, during his absence, with the important duties of the Vizzauret, or prime ministry, to be ignominiously suspended by the neck, in the presence of the great diet of the states of the empire, convened some time afterwards on the plains of Kaun-e-gûll. It was at this period, also, that he received an embassy from Eydekou, the sovereign of Keptchawk, accompanied by a noble present, comprizing many articles of singular curiosity; among which is described, in particular, a Shongaur, or Shonkar, or white falcon, or some bird of prey of that species, extremely rare and highly valued in the east.

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But what it would have been inexcusable to omit, is the presence, on this occasion, of an ambassador from the Hâkem of Afrenje; that is from the ruler of some one or other of the European powers: for it seems at all times to have been repugnant to the arrogant pretensions of the oriental writers, to concede the title of king to the chief magistrate of any European state.* Be this as it may, the ambassador is here noticed as bearing from his master, an endless variety of the most rare and costly productions of art, for the acceptance of the Tcheghatâian monarch; among which are, in particular, described some figured curtains, or pieces of tapestry, so exquisitely wrought as in the judgment of the historian, to have infinitely surpassed the invention of Mâni himself, the most exquisite of painters, to imitate, much more to excel. From the preface of De la Croix's work we, however, learn, that this ambassador was no other than Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, dispatched by Henry III^d king of Castile, to the court of Teymûr; who left Madrid, accompanied by the Tartarian ambassador and two colleagues, on the 21st of May, A. D. 1403, and returned into Spain, on the 24th of March 1406.

In the mean time, in consequence of instructions recently given, another spacious garden, each of the four sides of which extended fifteen hundred statute cubits† in length, had been enclosed south of

* At a more recent period, that arrogant and bigoted upstart *Tippoo Sultaun* could find no other title to bestow upon the king of Great Britain, than that of the English Rajah! a designation held in common by the most paltry of the petty sovereigns of Indûstaun.

† About 3500 feet.

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the Baugh-e-shamaul; and in the centre of the new garden, the architects, and other ingenious workmen whom he had transported from Damascus, were now employed by Teymûr, in the erection of another royal palace, which was soon completed with such singular skill and ability, as to surpass, a thousand fold, the boasted palace of Khournek, constructed for the education of the celebrated Behram Gour.* The singular delicacy exhibited in all sorts of marble sculpture in the ornamental parts of the palaces and villas at Damascus, and in the neighborhood, and the wonderful contrivance with which the salubrious streams and springs of the country were brought to contribute to the use, recreation, and delight of the inhabitants, in a variety of shapes, had, it seems, long attracted the admiration of the world; and the unrivalled skill of the workmen by whom all this could be executed must have been universally acknowledged, whether for their masterly performances in sculpture, inlaying, or mosaic, and other branches of decorative architecture, or for their extraordinary taste and management in the construction and disposition of every species of waterwork. In sculpture and tessellated work, or mosaic, they are indeed represented as capable of executing with equal minuteness and delicacy in the marble floors and partitions, the same designs produced in ivory and ebony, by the most elaborate skill of the engraver. The new palace of Teymûr is described, at all events, as far loftier, and more extensive than any that had been hitherto constructed by his orders; and the workmen had produced such admirable specimens of taste and ability in design, and skill in execution, in the marble decorations of its several parts, as to furnish ample proof of the superior proficiency of their countrymen, in that particular branch of their art; and not less by the numerous fountains, jet d'eaux, and other waterworks, by which they contrived to surround this enchanting abode with all the freshness and verdure of perpetual spring. And last of all, according to De la Croix, the exterior of the walls was entirely sheathed, or overlaid, in porcelain of Kashaun, by the

* This was erected for Niauman the son of Amrû-ul-Keyss, prince of Heirah, by a Grecian architect of the name of Senmaur, as a place for the education of Behram Gour. The artist was thrown headlong from the pinnacles of his work, lest he might surpass his performance, in favor of any other prince.

workmen of Farss and Irâk, which gave the finishing stroke to the beauty of this superb pavilion.

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The whole being completed, Teymûr experienced equal delight and satisfaction, in the survey of this exquisite production of the united skill of sculpture and architecture; and having given orders that a sumptuous banquet should be prepared upon the spot, he proceeded with no less elegance than splendor, to entertain the nobility and generals of his court and army—not even the European ambassadors being excluded from the hospitalities of the day. For, with characteristic insolence our author observes, it is an established maxim, that, “every revel must have its rustic.”

As soon as he should be at leisure from the subjugation of Syria, and the peninsula of Asia minor, it had been long in the contemplation of Teymûr to add to his other conquests, that of the stupendous monarchy of China; in order, as it is alleged, by the demolition of idols, and the extirpation of their worship, to expiate, in some degree, the unavoidable excesses in which the ministers of his vengeance must have been implicated, in the course of his victorious career; or, in plain language, to atone for his numerous spoliations in the west, by the unprovoked invasion of a remote, and peaceable territory, in the east. But, as the ensuring of the perpetuation of the human species constitutes one of the most important obligations of society, he conceived it might be advisable to solemnize the nuptials of several of the princes of his family, before he proceeded on this distant and arduous enterprise. With this view, as well as to promote the ultimate design of the expedition, he determined to assemble a Koureltâi, or general diet of the states of the empire; and messengers were, accordingly, dispatched to every quarter, requiring the attendance at this august assembly, of the most powerful chiefs, principal nobility, and generals of the armies, throughout the wide extent of his vast dominions.

On this occasion, two of the princes of the blood of Jengueiz, Tæizy Oghlan, and Baush Temûr Oghlan, are described to have been pressingy urgent with Teymûr, on no consideration to exempt the Mirzas Shah Rokh, and Peir Mahommed Jahangueir, from among those whose presence was indispensably required to grace the illustrious assembly. To these he is said to have replied, that so far as

A. H. 807. related to his grandson Peir Mahommed, at this period residing in
 A. D. 1404. Gheznein, there could be no particular objection to his leaving his
 Rouzut-us- government for such a purpose; but with respect to Shah Rokh,
 suffa, that the case was extremely different, since the tranquillity and
 allegiance, not only of his own province, but of those of Azerbâi-
 jaun and Irâk Ajem, rested in a great measure, if not entirely, upon
 his personal residence at the seat of his government. A messenger
 was accordingly dispatched with a summons to Peir Mahommed; the
 beautiful meadows, or plains of Kaun-e-gûll, being fixed upon for
 the scene of this proud display of might and magnificence.

On sunday the first day of the former Rebbeia, of the eight hun-
 dred and seventh of the hidjerah,* Teymûr proceeded to the spot;
 his accommodation having been provided for, within four immense
 Seraperdahs, or cotton inclosures, containing in particular one vast
 Khergâh, or pavilion of state, divided into a great variety of superb
 apartments, and a Dowazdah-pâi, or Baurgah, or hall of audience,
 supported, as the name implies, on twelve pillars of embossed, or
 sculptured silver; the exterior of this vast pavilion being of broad
 cloth of seven different colours, in reference to the seven climates,
 and the interior, of European velvet, of every possible shade and
 variety, from the refreshing green of the emerald to the radiant blaze
 of the ruby. The floor was bespread with gold embroidered carpets,
 of the most costly manufacture, and the tent cords were of silk of
 various colours; an immense number of tent pitchers, and workmen
 of that class, having been employed for a whole week in arranging
 this stupendous moveable fabric, and completing the innumerable
 decorations. The superb pavilion is described to have been calcula-
 ted for the reception of ten, or even twelve thousand persons at a
 time. Other tents of various descriptions, with similar accommoda-
 tions, on a smaller scale, were provided for the princes of the blood,
 the ladies of the imperial family, and the nobles of the court.

The concourse of individuals, from all parts of the empire, that
 met together, shortly afterwards, on this highly decorated spot, is
 described to have been of a magnitude to excite the astonishment of
 every age. Among those considered most worthy of our notice, was

* 6th of September.

Monguly Boughâi Haujeb, the envoy of Melek Faredje Sûltan of Egypt, eminently distinguished for his endowments in every branch of oriental knowledge; who conveyed from his master the most splendid present in specie and jewels, and in the most beautiful variety of all that was rare and costly, in manufacture and workmanship. Among the curiosities of nature, which he also presented from his master, are mentioned, in particular, a Zeraufah, or Camelopard, and nine Shuttourmûrgs, ostriches, or camelbirds, which is the literal signification of the term. The Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan son of Meiran Shah, from the frontiers of Tûrkestaun, and Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, from Gheznein, also made their appearance at the diet; the latter prince re-awakening in the bosom of Teymûr his affliction for the loss of his brother, the much lamented Mahommed Sûltan.

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It would, however, be tedious further to enumerate the circumstances of this gorgeous display of oriental pomp; the reader will find them detailed, with sufficient minuteness and fidelity, in De la Croix's history of Teymûr, or Timur Bec. We shall, in the mean time, proceed to state that as soon as the astrologers had selected the auspicious moment, the Tcheghataïan monarch hastened to solemnize the nuptials of the Mirzas Olûgh Beg and Ibrauhim Sûltan, the sons of Shah Rokh, Ayjel the son of Meiran Shah, and Ahmed, Seidy Ahmed, and Baykera, all three sons of the departed Omar Sheikh, each respectively with a princess of the imperial family; the ceremony being performed by Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Jezery, and the mutual pledges of fidelity registered by Moulana Salah-ed-dein Yûssuf, the chief Kauzy of Samarkand. During the solemnization, Teymûr appeared in imperial pomp seated on the throne, surrounded by the ladies of his family, all disposed in regular order. The Princes of the blood, principal Ameirs, and generals of the army, with the Seyuds, and others of superior rank, took their seats according to gradation in the pavilion of twelve pillars recently described; while the commanders of thousands, with the inferior classes, arranged themselves at the distance of a bow-shot off, in the Sâoury-Mehel, another species of tents set apart for their accommodation. The state Yessâowels, exempts, or silver sticks, in embroidered vestments, and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, their

A. H. 807. saddles ornamented with gold and jewels, attended in every direction
 A. D. 1404. to preserve regularity, and to promote the general convenience. And
 Rouzut-us- last of all, a number of elephants in superb housings, bearing stately
 suffa. thrones, or litters on their backs, stood at convenient intervals to
 add to the grandeur of the scene.

Of the costly vases enriched with precious stones, the gorgeous services and variety of utensils of every description, in gold and silver, displayed in the course of the entertainments which followed the splendid ceremony, in quick succession, the number and value surpassed all calculation; and the articles for the supply of the innumerable guests, both in eatables and drinkables, are described to have been in such enormous abundance, that the sensations of hunger and thirst might well be said, for a time, to have been entirely forgotten. For many successive days and nights was the festive scene protracted, during which the prince and peasant, great and small, rich and poor, indulged without distinction or restraint, in all the gratifications that boisterous mirth, and wine, and music, may be supposed capable of affording. At the conclusion of the feast, Teymûr caused the most splendid dresses to be distributed to the several ambassadors from Syria and Egypt, from Europe, from the different powers of Hindûstaun, and from the boundless regions of Keptchauk, as well as to the whole of the Ameirs of the court, the generals and principal officers of the army, and the numerous individuals of his household. And when all had been dispatched that related to the pomp and display of these superb carousals, Teymûr, with no less application than usual, resumed the more serious concerns of his government; neither did he omit in the seclusion of his cabinet to offer up his sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to that *Almighty being*, who had ordained that so many stupendous events should terminate, with such unchanging uniformity, to the advancement of his designs for the subjugation of the world.

He now began to enter with more decided spirit on his preparations for the expedition against the empire of China; and his leading step was the employment of the imperial Towatcheis, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the numerical strength of every separate corps, and division in his armies, with orders, after making such

augmentations as they found requisite, to enregister the whole for his inspection. They were further instructed, when every other arrangement was complete, to deliver to each of the principal Ameirs, a Tûikaul, or Tûtikaul, or chart of regulations possibly, indicating the nature of the equipments they were to provide, and the disposition in which they were to present themselves at the general rendezvous. These arrangements in train, Teymûr quitted the plains of Kaun-e-gûll, and returned to the metropolis; where he took up his abode for the present in the college of Serâi Melek Khaunum. From thence he now permitted Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir and his retinue, to proceed, loaded with favors, by way of Herât and Kandahaur, towards Gheznein, accompanied by Seidy Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh; the mother of that young prince having been married, it seems, to Peir Mahommed, some time after the death of her former husband. The ambassador of Egypt was dismissed about the same time, after having experienced the most favorable reception, with an epistle to his master, not more than seventy cubits long and three cubits broad; all written in letters of gold, by Moulana Sheikh Mahommed the Tebrizian, the most skilful penman of that age. The Sûltan of Egypt had, it would appear, on this occasion announced by his ambassador, that he had recently seized and imprisoned both the fugitives, Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, and his treacherous ally the Tûrkman Kâra Yûssuf; whom he was ready to dispose of in any manner that might be intimated to him by the imperial will of Teymûr. In reply to this he was informed, with respect to Sûltan Ahmed in particular, that he was immediately to convey him in irons to the presence, where there can be little doubt of the fate which awaited him; but with regard to the Tûrkman chief, obnoxious as he had proved, and contradictory as this may appear to the opinion recently expressed of his character and designs, Melek Faredje was apprized, that he might set him at large without further delay. The letter was accompanied by a variety of presents of the most superb and costly description, either of which might, in the language of the east, be estimated at the revenue of a kingdom. The European ambassadors, together with those of Keptchawk and other foreign states, were also permitted to depart for their respective

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countries, after having shared most liberally in the bounty of this puissant monarch. We learn, however, from De la Croix's work, that although the Spanish ambassadors were dismissed at the same time with those of the Sûltan of Egypt, they were excluded from the honors of an audience of leave; Teymûr being reported as seriously indisposed. In consequence of which it is stated, in the relation of the Spanish embassy through mistake, that he was actually dead. Among other departures from court, which occurred at this conjuncture, it has been also considered of importance to notice those of the princess Melket Aga for Herât, and of the princess imperial Beggisy Sûltan, the daughter of Teymûr, for Hamadaun the government of her husband,* Mirza Eskunder.

It was at the same period that the government of Taushkent, Seiraum, Yengui,† and Asheirah, with the territory of Jettah to the borders of Khatâi, was bestowed upon Mirza Olûgh Beg; while that of Andegaun, Aukseiket, Terauz, and Kashghâr, to the confines of Khoten, was conferred on Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan—both sons of Shah Rokh, and neither of them at this crisis, more than eleven years of age. The Ameirs Peir Mahommed Toghâi Bouga, Sheikh Behloul, Beyan Temûr Auk Bouga, and Mahommed Azaud, proceeded at the same time to different quarters, in order to conduct the troops of the empire, to Taushkent, on the right, or eastern bank of the Seyhûn; which had been fixed upon for the general rendezvous of the army intended for the Chinese expedition.

These arrangements dispatched, Teymûr changed his place of residence from the college of Serâi Melek Khaunum to the Gougse-râi, or blue palace, formerly erected by his orders. Here Ameir Berendek was employed by his orders to make the most careful inspection of the rolls of his army; for the purpose of ascertaining the precise number of effective troops that he should be able to devote to the important expedition, towards which all his views were now directed; and that chief is accordingly stated to have exhibited a report, in which conformably with the resolutions already adopted at Kaun-e-gûll, the number of fighting-men drawn from the several provinces of Mawer-un-neher, Khaurezm, Târkestân, Balkh,

* The aunt, and the nephew.

† Probably the place called Yessy.

and Buddukhshaun, Mazanderaun, and Khorassaun, including the Kâra-Tatarian tribes transplanted from Anatolia, amounted altogether to two hundred thousand horse and foot, in every respect completely equipped and disciplined for battle. This is confirmed by the statements in the Zuffer-nâmah of the Yezdian. The author of the Rouzut-us-suffa, however, remarks that he had frequently heard one of his patrons, Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, assert that the register of Teymûr's armies, and their equipments, was in his possession; and that, at the period of the intended expedition, the troops in the immediate pay of that monarch alone amounted to three hundred and eighty two thousand men; adding, that the whole force of the empire, at the same period, did not amount altogether to less than eight hundred thousand horse and foot.

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However this may have been, the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan son of Meiran Shah, and Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, with the Ameirs Khodadaud ul Hûseyne, and Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and other distinguished commanders, were now directed, with the divisions and squadrons under their orders, to take up their winter quarters at Taushkent, Shahrokhia, and Seiraum, on the right bank of the Seyhûn, or Jaxartes; while Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne and other Ameirs, with their divisions of the left wing, proceeded far more to the northward, to pass the winter at Yessy, or Yassi, and Sabraun. In this place we are informed, that Shahrokhia was the city anciently known by the name of Finauket; which having been destroyed, during the invasion of Transoxiana by the troops of Jengueiz, so completely, that not one brick lay upon another, it had been rebuilt, in the course of the seven hundred and ninety fourth of the hidjerah, by the direction of Teymûr, and then received the designation of Shahrokhia, in honor of the fourth son of that monarch.

But to proceed in the narrative, having authorized Ameir Arghûn Shah to take charge of the government of Samarkand, during his absence, and consigned the imperial treasury to the care of Sheikh Tchehrah, Teymûr, on the twenty third of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah,* the sun being then in the middle of Sagittarius, caused his standard to be advanced

* 26th of November.

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towards the winter quarters of Aûksulaut; encamping soon afterwards at the station of Kârabulauk, where he was joined by the divisions of the imperial army, that were hastening to the place of general rendezvous on the Seyhûn. From thence he proceeded by the route of Eylan-outy, and in several days march further to Tablik, or perhaps Tambic; where he was encountered by the severity of winter, in all its rigor of snow, rain, and wind, accompanied by the most piercing cold. In these circumstances, it became expedient to make the best of his way to the cantonments of Auksûlaut; accommodations having been already prepared for his reception at that place, as well as for the princes of his blood, the generals, and indeed for the whole of the troops. The sun was now in the frigid mansions of Capricorn,* and the severity of the cold had increased to such a degree as to surpass all former experience.

In conformity with the instructions which had been conveyed to them, the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan, and Sûltan Hûsseyne, had conducted the troops under their orders, the former to Taushkent, and the latter to Yessy and Sabraun. But here, as a circumstance in some shape or other material to the sequel, the author has thought it expedient to suspend the narrative of public events, in order to introduce the subject of a violent passion which one of these princes, Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, had contracted for Shaud, or Shaudy Melek, a concubine, or supplementary wife, formerly in the haram of the late Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein. The prince was already regularly espoused to Jahaun Sûltan, the daughter of Mirza Ally, sister's son of Teymûr; but, taking advantage of the recent absence of the imperial court, he had rashly proceeded to include the object of his irregular passion among his lawful wives. In consequence of this, on his return to Samarkand, the abridgment of her conjugal rights was made the subject of heavy complaint to her imperial relative, by the neglected Jahaun Sûltan; and a mandate had been immediately issued to bring her odious rival to the presence of Teymûr. Mirza Khaleil had, however, contrived in the mean time, to place his favorite beyond the reach of discovery; by which the anger of Teymûr was so seriously excited, that sentence of death was passed against her, wherever she might be

* Jûdy.

found. The execution of this sanguinary decree was, however, suspended for the time, through the intercession of Mirza Peir Mahomed the son of Jahangueir. But it was no sooner communicated to Teymûr, on his arrival at Auksulaut on this occasion, that the obnoxious female was at this moment in the train of her lover at Taushkent, than Ameir Beraut was directed to proceed immediately to that place, in order to seize her person, and convey her to the presence. This was accordingly done; and an order was issued, afresh, that she should be borne to execution without delay. Again, however, her pitying angel interposed in her behalf, in the person of Serâi Melek Khau-num, who succeeded, with the aid of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Ameir Shah Melek, in persuading the angry monarch that the lady was pregnant; and that it would be inexpedient, if not unjust, to involve the unconscious and unoffending infant in the punishment of its mother. The latter was, therefore, consigned to the care of Nûyan, perhaps Bûyan Aga, until the period of her delivery; when proper measures were to be adopted for the education of the child, and the mother further given over to one of the attendants of the imperial household.

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Ameir Berendek had been dispatched in the mean time to Taushkent, in order to expedite the supplies of the army; and the number of carts, and other descriptions of conveyances with the various articles of consumption, which thronged the roads from every quarter, was so prodigious as to ensure inexhaustible abundance. Immense convoys of horses, and other descriptions of cattle, loaded with the produce of different countries, were also continually arriving at the imperial head quarters, and with the customary uncircumscribed liberality, distributed by the sovereign among the princes of his blood, the principal generals, and in short, to every class of individuals who followed in his train. At this crisis, indeed, the majesty and grandeur of the monarch, and the fortune of the satellites of his power, appear to have attained to that climax of human felicity, beyond which it is impossible to ascend higher. Men, therefore, of superior discernment, accustomed to look forward beyond the present moment, began to apprehend some further proof of the truth of the maxim which indicates that no human perfection is exempt from decay; and

A. H. 807. to feel the most alarming disquietude, lest that fortune which had
 A. D. 1405. continued so long triumphant was, at last, about to experience some
 Ronzut-us- awful circumstance of decline.
 suffa.

Although the sun was still lingering in the latter degrees of Capricorn, and the severity of the cold produced many a sigh for the scorching heat of the dog days,* yet, such was the impatience of Teymûr's zeal for the coercion of the idolaters, that he could no longer wait until the rigors of the season should have abated; and having, therefore, made himself acquainted with the state of the roads and other circumstances of the country through which he was to pass, he accordingly set his troops in motion for Otraur. In the mean time, orders had been dispatched to the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan, and Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, with the Ameirs, and divisions of the army at Taushkent, Seiraum, and Shahrokhia, to break up from their winter quarters, and repair towards the place of rendezvous, as soon as the sun should have approached the middle of the sign Pisces; similar instructions being conveyed to Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, and the troops cantoned at Yessy, and Sabraun, on the frontiers of Keptchawk, to break up for the general rendezvous, at the commencement of the spring.

Teymûr, with the troops immediately under his orders, now proceeded in several marches to the Seyhûn, on the right bank of which he soon afterwards encamped, having crossed that river on the ice; both the Jeyhûn and Seyhûn being this year so completely frozen over, from the period at which the sun entered Sagittarius to that at which he quitted Pisces, that wheel-carriages of every description passed in perfect safety—the Seyhûn, in particular, being frozen to the depth of three cubits. On the twelfth day of Rudjub,† he entered Otraur,‡ and took up his residence in the dwelling of Beirdy Beg; the shahzâdahs, and other members of his court, being accommodated at the same time, in various parts of the city. At this crisis a very simple accident occurred, which, although at any other period it might have passed without notice, was now converted into an omen of most fearful prognostication. On the very day on which he took possession,

* The original says, "for the flames of hell."

† 13th of January, 1405.

‡ 80 farsangs of three kôsse each from Samarkand. Abûl Fazzel.

the corner of the roof of the house which was selected for the abode of Teymûr, was set fire to, by some sparks from an adjoining chimney; and although this was extinguished without any great difficulty, it contributed, in an extraordinary degree, to augment the apprehensions which had already seized the minds of many men, in consequence of some frightful *dreams*. Teymûr was, however, not to be deterred from his purpose by superstitious fears; and Moussa Rekmaul proceeded without delay, by his orders, to examine whether the passage by Erdepûll were practicable. That chief returned soon afterwards with a report to the contrary; while another person, who had been dispatched for the same purpose towards Seiraum, came back to state, that the snow had accumulated two spears-length in depth, among the ridges of Kolaun.

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While the efforts of Teymûr's zeal were thus involuntarily suspended, through the inclemencies of the season, Kâra Khaujah, or Khoujah, the envoy of Tokhtemesh Khaun, who had long wandered without authority through the wilds of northern Tartary, presented himself at the imperial court in behalf of his master, and was introduced with extraordinary solemnity; Teymûr receiving him seated on the throne, with the princes Tâeizy Oghlan, Baush Temûr Oghlan, and Tchegher Oghlan, of the race of Jengueiz, on his right, and the Shâhzâdahs Olûgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, on his left hand. In the name of Tokhtemesh the agent proceeded to state, that by a protracted period of suffering in the solitudes of the desert, under every circumstance of privation, alarm, and distress, he trusted that he had sufficiently atoned for his disobedience and ingratitude, and that he had thus discharged the full penalty of his guilt. Provided, therefore, the imperial clemency might be extended in oblivion of the past, he was authorized to engage for the future, that his master should prove an example of fidelity and devotion, for the remainder of his days. With a compassion for the distresses of an unfortunate prince, proceeding not less, peradventure, from his indignation at the recent refractory conduct of the monarch whom, to his prejudice, he had raised to the throne of Keptchauk, Teymûr evinced considerable kindness for the Khaujah, who was among the oldest and most faithful retainers of his master's court, and expressly assured him that,

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when he should return from the important expedition, which at present so deeply engaged his attention, he hoped to purify the regions of Keptchawk, and the patrimony of Jûjy Khaun, from the agitations of all those pestilent animosities by which the land had been so long afflicted, and finally to re-establish the illustrious fugitive on the throne, from which he had been so untowardly extruded.

Teymûr had, indeed, fully resolved to take his departure from Otraur, in the course of a few days, on his march towards the Chinese frontier; and with that view it was his design, as an immediate preliminary, to dismiss the princesses, and such other branches of the imperial family as had thus far accompanied him, from motives of respect and affection, on their return to Samarkand; at the same time, that he permitted the ambassador of Tokhtemesh, loaded with proofs of his kindness, and an abundant assortment of the most costly productions, to proceed to the presence of his master. But all these arrangements, however skilfully concerted in the contemplation of human wisdom, were destined to be very suddenly overruled by the decrees of an eternal providence, by which it had been long since otherwise pre-ordained.

As a poet and moralist the author here pauses to remark, that were a human being to exalt himself so high as to make the firmament his foot-stool, or to take the moon for his pillow; yet, in the sequel, must he submit to lay his head in the lowly chamber of the dust; for what son of earth ever became an inmate under the blue expanse beneath which we inhabit, at whose door the angel of death hath not finally claimed admission? or, for what child of mere mortality hath nature ever found its cradle, for whom she hath not ultimately provided its coffin? Alas! the fairest flower of the garden blooms but to perish, and the most fragrant herb of nature's growth, but to wither before the thrilling blast of autumn. The tall and graceful cypress, nay the stateliest tree that towers above the forest, is it not equally doomed to fall either through the silent lapse of time, or the fury of the storm? We may venture to add from De la Croix's translation, what is there cited as a passage from the Korân, "that when God created the world for the service of man, he created man for his own

glory." Hence we are to learn, that the dignity of the human soul is of a nature too refined and exalted to be forever attached to this natural body; and that a substance so pure and excellent cannot possibly find permanent felicity, elsewhere than in being reunited to that eternal spirit which created, and gave it immortality. At all events, the crisis now approached in which, all puissant and prosperous as he had hitherto proved, Teymûr himself was to be finally instructed, and the world by his example, that no human power can be invulnerable to the stroke of death.

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In these circumstances, while detained at Otraur as already described, by the severity of the weather and the impracticable state of the roads, Teymûr, on the tenth of the month of Shabaun in the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah,* was attacked by a paroxysm of fever and ague; during which he expressed, without cessation, his unfeigned penitence for all his offences, whether of error or design. His complaint continued, in the mean time, to gain ground upon him every hour; and being aggravated, moreover, by the accession of other ailments still more serious and malignant, the prescriptions designed for his relief in the one case, produced the most unfavorable effects in the others. It was therefore soon discovered that the aid of medicine was unavailing, although that medicine was administered by Moulana Fazel-ullah, the most celebrated and skilful physician of the age in which he lived.

When, on the other hand, he became sensible that his disorder was incurable, and that his speedy departure for another state of existence was without alternative, Teymûr, humbly relying on the aid of a compassionate and beneficent being to wean him, with sufficient gentleness, from the ties of human affection, proceeded to assemble in his sick chamber, the princesses of his family, and the most distinguished members of his court; in order to make a formal and final arrangement of the concerns of his mighty empire. In their presence, accordingly, he directed his secretaries, while his intellects remained unimpaired, and a moment was yet left him to devote to the cares of humanity, to commit to writing the following last and solemn declaration.

* 10th of February, 1405.

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“I pronounce my grandson Peir Mahommed, the son of Jahangueir,
 “absolute heir and successor to my throne, and to the imperial dignity.
 “To him, therefore, it behoves you all to submit yourselves with zeal
 “and fidelity; cautiously abstaining from those contentious animosities,
 “which must compromise the peace and welfare of so many
 “nations, and finally subvert to the foundations, that superb fabric
 “of government, which it has cost me so many years of painful exertion
 “to erect. I demand that all present shall pledge themselves
 “to conform to this arrangement, under the most solemn engagements
 “of our common faith; and that the generals of the troops
 “that are absent shall bind themselves under the same solemn obligation,
 “not to defeat the object of these my last commands.”

The Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Shah Melek, together with the whole of the nobility and principal officers of the household now assembled round his pillow, with the tears streaming from their eyes, and invoking every blessing upon his head, protested that every day of their lives would be freely sacrificed to the preservation of a single moment in the life of their venerated sovereign.—That so far from counteracting in any shape his just designs for the arrangement of the succession, and they should consider any such ungrateful and refractory demeanor on their part as exposing themselves to everlasting reproach and infamy, they were on the contrary prepared, while a spark of vital principle continued to animate their frames, to hold stedfastly within the circle of their allegiance to his authority, and to sacrifice every minor concern to the advancement of his glory. In the mean time, they besought his attention to the necessity of requiring the immediate presence of Khaleil Sûltan, and of the generals who were absent; in order that that they might learn from himself the nature of his arrangements in favor of Mirza Peir Mahommed. All which, for obvious reasons, they could not conscientiously forbear to intimate as likely to produce the most material and important result on the future destinies of his people.

Teymûr observed, in reply, that he distinctly perceived the symptoms of approaching dissolution; and that the few fleeting moments of life that remained were far too short to admit of the possibility of the interview, which they seemed disposed to invest with such material im-

portance. Heaven be praised, he said for his own part, that he had nothing left to wish for, in this world, but the opportunity of consoling his eyes, for the last time, with the sight of his darling son Shah Rokh. But this was, it seems, an indulgence which he was not destined to enjoy. Then turning to the princes of his family who were present in the chamber, he proceeded to impress upon their minds the counsels of wisdom and experience, which he was so transcendently qualified to bestow ; pointing out to them, in particular, the inestimable advantages of fraternal union, and warning them above all things against the fatal evils of domestic strife. Having apparently concluded what he had to say, his disorder seemed to return upon him with increasing violence, and he swooned away. Coming, however, a little to himself, he indicated his wish that Moulana Heybet-ullah, from among the many who were employed without in reciting the chapters of the Korân, should alone enter the chamber; and the dying monarch soon afterwards surrendered his soul to his creator, continuing to repeat some particular passages of the sacred volume, and to attest the eternal unity of the supreme Being, to the last moment of existence.

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The death of Teymûr is ascertained with sufficient accuracy to have taken place on the seventeenth of the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah,* the year of his dissolution being contained in the letters numerically applied of the words "*wedda-e-sheheryaury*," adieu to royalty—the Persian characters of which making altogether the number 807. Had he lived to the succeeding month of April, he would have exactly completed his sixty ninth year; and he is said to have exercised the sovereignty without controul, reckoning from the eighth of April A. D. 1370, for a period of six and thirty lunar years; or more exactly, of four and thirty solar years, ten months, and eight or nine days. With six and thirty sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, whom he left to perpetuate his race, he left also the character of having been one of the most renowned monarchs recorded in the page of history. And, sooth to say, so long as a dauntless courage nurtured in the vicissitudes of danger, distress, and hardship—so long as un-

* Corresponding with the 17th of February, A. D. 1405.

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rivalled talents and experience in the trade of war and desolation, however combined with the most wanton prodigality in human blood, shall be held up to the astonishment and admiration of the world, the name of Teymûr will continue to retain its place among those of the most illustrious conquerors, either of ancient or of modern times.

We cannot, perhaps, close this chapter to better effect, than by exhibiting, from the *Kholausset-ul-akhbaur*, collated with Mr. De la Croix's version of Sheref-ud-dein's history, the subjoined account of the male line of Teymûr's family, who were living at the period of that illustrious monarch's death; and many of whom will be again introduced to the reader in the course of the succeeding pages.

Of the children of Gheyauth-ud-dein Mirza Jahangueir, who died A. D. 1375, there were, then, living eleven sons and grandsons; 1 Mahommed Jahangueir, nine years of age; 2 Saud-e-Wokauss, six years of age; 3 Yaheya, five years of age—these three were the sons of the late Mahommed Sûltan. 4 Mirza Peir Mahommed, son of Jahangueir, twenty-nine years of age, with seven sons—1 Keydou, nine years of age; 2 Khaled, seven years of age; 3 Bouzenjer; 4 Saud-e-Wokauss; 5 Sunjur; 6 Keysser; 7 Jahangueir.

Of the progeny of Omar Sheikh, who fell, as we have formerly seen, in A. D. 1394, before the castle of Khermautû, there survived sons and grandsons, nine; namely, 1 Peir Mahommed, twenty-six years of age; and 2, one son whose name was Omar Sheikh, after that of his grandfather; the latter was seven years of age; 2 Rûstum, four and twenty years of age, with two sons—4 Othmaun, six years of age; and, 5 Sûltan Ally, one year old; 6 Eskunder, the son of Omar Sheikh, one and twenty years of age; 7 Ahmed, the son of Omar Sheikh, eighteen years of age; 8 Sidy Ahmed, eighteen years of age; and 9thly Baykera, twelve years of age.

Jullaul-ud-dein Meiran Shah, thirty-eight years of age, with seven sons and grandsons; 1 Aba Bukker, twenty-three years of age, and his two sons, 2 Aylengur, nine years of age, and, 3 Othmaun Tcheleby, four years of age; 4 Omar, the son of Meiran Shah, twenty-two

years of age ; 5 Khaleil Sûltan, twenty-one years of age ;* 6 Ayjel, A. H. 807.
ten years of age ; 7 Seyûrghetmesh, six years of age. A. D. 1405.

Shah Rokh, eight and twenty years of age, with seven sons—1 Olûgh Beg, eleven years of age ; 2 Ibrauhim Sûltan, eleven years of age ; 3 Baysungur, eight years of age ; 4 Seyûrghetmesh, six years of age ; 5 Mahommed Jouky, three years of age ; 6 Jaun Oghlan, two years of age ; and 7th Yaurûi, one year old.†

In addition to the above, we must take into our account the Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, twenty-five years of age, the son of Teymûr's daughter Aukia Beggy, or Tajy Khaun, by Ameir Mahommed Beg, the son of Ameir Moussa ; as also one daughter, Sûltan Bukht Begum, and sixteen grand-daughters.

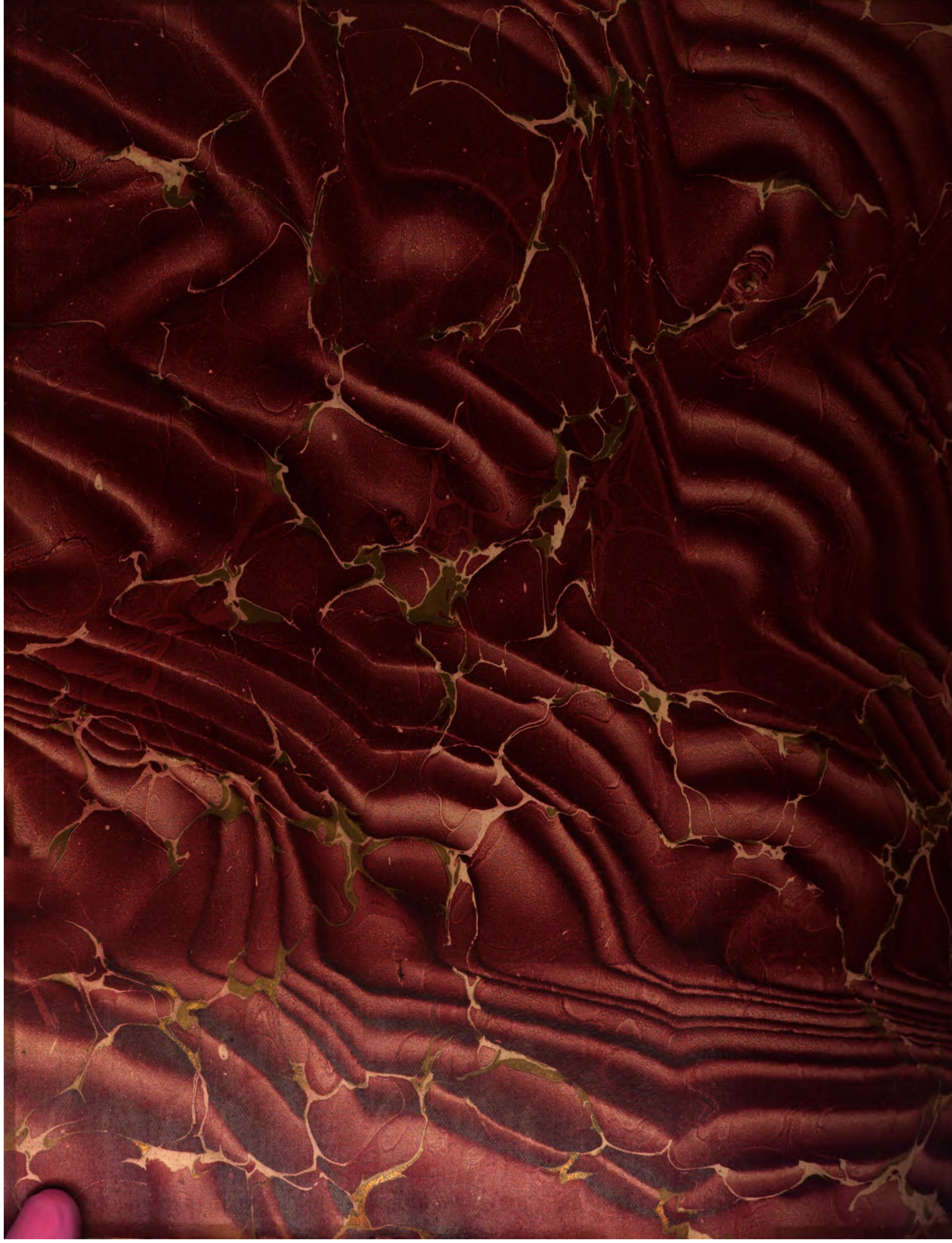
Here it becomes necessary to observe, that in order to confine the narrative to the limits prescribed at the commencement of this undertaking, we are constrained, with some reluctance, to recur to the abridged statements of the Kholausset-ul-akhbaur ; since, were we to persevere in wading through the inexhaustible materials of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, so far from redeeming our pledge of bringing the subject to a conclusion with the third, it would irresistibly bear us along through many a tedious page, to the end of a fourth volume ; and this must be the author's apology, for the conciseness which will be seen to pervade some of the succeeding chapters.

* There is here a most important omission, for *Sûltan Mahommed Mirza*, stated to be the 6th of the sons of Meiran Shah, was the lineal progenitor of that branch of the house of Teymûr which mounted the throne of Hindûstaun.

† The age is given from De la Croix, collated with the Rouzut-us-suffâ.

END OF PART I. VOL. III.

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